A POLICY MYSTERY:
THE PASSAGE OF THE 2004 SCHOOL CALENDAR CHANGES BILL

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ABSTRACT

KYLE P. HIGGINS: A Policy Mystery:
The Passage of the 2004 School Calendar Changes Bill
(Under the direction of Dr. Catherine Marshall)

The purpose of this research is to describe and explain how the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate for their needs and values for state policy initiatives. This study's focus on the politics of the school calendar made it necessary to collect data from the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system. There are four key state-level education interest groups or associations in North Carolina. They are the North Carolina Association of Educators (NCAE), the North Carolina Association of School Administrators (NCASA), the North Carolina School Boards Association (NCSBA), and the Professional Educators of North Carolina (PENC). In addition, the Public School Forum of North Carolina (PSFNC) is a sister organization to the four key state-level education associations in North Carolina. Further, another major player in the North Carolina education political system is the Education Committee's chief legislative staff members.

The conceptual framework devised for the study is adapted from both Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological System of Human Development* and Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin's (2005) *Politics from Margin to Center*. Each circle in the conceptual framework has a lens that any researcher can use to observe and then understand any political system. The

circles in the conceptual framework are arranged in order of concreteness. As one moves

outward through each circle, the behaviors become more internalized and less measurable or

observable. The political system is located in the center circle of the framework because the

political system is the logical and obvious location to begin a study of political power and

influence. The first circle exemplifies Mazzoni's (1991) Arena Model. The researcher found

that an arena shift occurred because Representative Culpepper placed the school calendar bill

into the Commerce Legislative Subsystem as opposed to the Education Legislative

Subsystem. The second circle exemplifies Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt's (1989) the

hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. The third circle exemplifies Marshall

et al.'s assumptive worlds model. The hierarchies of power, circles of influence and

assumptive worlds models formed the bedrock of this study. Many of the interview

questions spring from these models. These models also help to explain data describing

actions that occurs in the different circles as well. The fourth circle is best explained through

Elazar's (1966) political culture and Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky's (1990) cultural theory.

The researcher did discover evidence that North Carolina is a traditionalistic-hierarchical

state. The fifth circle is best explained through the competing-values perspective. The

researcher employed the competing-values perspective to flesh out details and to help refocus

the assumptive worlds model when behaviors or beliefs appeared to contradict. Beyond the

five circles are ideologies. The researcher found two major discoveries concerning ideology.

The first major discovery is that the ideology lens reveals North Carolina's persistent belief in

the myth that education issues and education legislation are non-partisan. The second major

discovery concerning ideology is that a political party in the majority can lock out the other

party as well as certain education interests from participation in the legislative process.

Finally, beyond the hegemonic policy square is situated politics from beyond the margins. The researcher discovered that a better classification system that denotes the political abilities of a marginal group is needed to structure a group's ability to maneuver beneficial legislation through the political and legislative arenas. Further, the conceptual framework provided a way to see how marginal groups must learn to organize, find their voice, make their issues more global, secure more money, communicate their issues more effectively to the media, free themselves from the myth of one champion and finally find voices from every region of the state to support their issues.

For Kylie and Morgan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Context of the Problem

As a Fellow for the North Carolina School Boards Association (NCSBA), the researcher had the opportunity to observe the association's lobbyist operate at the state's legislative building for several days. During those hot June days, legislators debated a proposed school bill that would change the school calendar to a later school-year start-date for many school systems. School districts in North Carolina had moved their start dates to early August to insure that snow and hurricane days as well as state mandated teacher workdays did not force schools to stay open until the middle of June. However, the travel industry and business community of coastal North Carolina disliked the decisions of school districts to have early start dates. According to the North Carolina travel industry and the coastal North Carolina business community, the school systems of the state were depriving not only North Carolina families of vacation time, but also high school students of an additional two weeks of employment, and, more importantly, the North Carolina travel industry and business community of the money generated by two more weeks of business. The North Carolina Association of School Administrators (NCASA), the North Carolina School Boards Association (NCSBA), the Professional Educators of North Carolina (PENC) and the Public School Forum of North Carolina (PSFNC) opposed this legislation because the calendar changes would lessen opportunities for school professional development and

school-wide planning. They also argued against the proposed calendar change because the late start might prevent some students – such as high school students taking Advanced Placement exams, who would have two weeks less to prepare for these exams – from being able to do excellent and difficult academic work.

As we walked to the committee room to hear the discussion concerning the proposed calendar bill, the researcher was surprised to see that we were not headed to the education committee room. The researcher asked the NCSBA's lobbyist why. The NCSBA's lobbyist told the researcher that the legislators, who were trying to pass the bill, knew that it would be a hard sell in the education committee. So they decided to introduce and debate the bill in the commerce committee in order to get the bill to the floor where proposed bills are rarely voted down. After the commerce committee had reported the bill favorably out of the commerce committee, a legislator and member of the education committee came and spoke to the NCSBA's lobbyist. The legislator said, "This was one of the most influential education bills to pass through the legislative building in years and this bill did not even come from the education committee" (House Legislator, Personal Interview, June 18, 2004). At that moment, the researcher learned that education leaders and education interest groups who decide to ignore the politics of education abandon the political and policy decisions of education to other non-education interests and interest groups. These non-education groups are very happy to set and change all education policies to favor their own values and needs. Therefore, it is of extreme importance for school leaders to learn and understand state politics and how the state capital shapes school policies.

The Need

School leaders who decide to learn and understand politics in education, quickly discover that the politics of education literature is scattered and patchy at best. Some topics, explaining how politics determines school policies, receive a great deal of coverage while other topics are scarcely mentioned, much less studied. One aspect of the politics of education field that is underdeveloped in the literature is how key state-level education associations create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives. Further, even when politics of education researchers address these issues in studies and research articles, few concentrate on such issues in the state of North Carolina. With North Carolina often viewed as a policy innovator in education in the early twenty-first century, this void is problematic. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to describe and explain how key state-level education associations in North Carolina create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives.

Statement of the Problem

The paucity of research on the present topic results from several factors. One factor is that researchers in the field of politics of education usually situate their studies in one political context. A researcher can choose between five political contexts. The five political contexts are international studies, national studies, state studies, district studies and finally school building studies. Another factor is that research conducted at the state-level concentrates on legislators and their power and influence. A review of the literature reveals that few researchers (Fleer, 1994; The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research) have ever conducted a study specifically on the legislators of North Carolina and the power

and influence of these legislators. The present study diverges even further from established research by concentrating on the leaders and lobbyists for the key state-level education associations as well as the power and influence of these same leaders and lobbyists. The major research question that the researcher explored in this study is: What are the experiences of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina as they negotiate and influence state policy?

The following questions guided the process of inquiry:

1. How do the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models (1989) help explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

2. How does the assumptive worlds model (1989) help explain the action of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

3. How does political culture affect key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

4. How do key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina manage competing-values?

5. How does the arena model (1991) help to describe and explain the power and influence of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

6. How do key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina explain the failures of political outsiders or others with no influence?

Chapter 2, the Literature Review, provides greater detail concerning these six guiding questions.

Significance of the Study

This study relied on Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt's (1989) assumptive worlds model and their hierarchies of power and circles of influence models (Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005). These three models in conjunction with the arena model, the competing-values model, political culture model and ideologies helped the researcher to determine how the educational interest groups of North Carolina manufacture and manipulate power in order to motivate, communicate and interact with policy-makers. The utilization of these perspectives made for a stronger study of state education politics and also furthered the knowledge base concerning the arena model, the competing-values perspective, political culture, the assumptive worlds model and the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Cibulka (1994) argues that the competing-values perspective fails to tell researchers much more than introductory information. According to Cibulka, the competing-values perspective fails to predict how political arrangements and processes hinder or assist policies favoring any value or multiple values. In addition, Cibulka states that the competing-values perspective offers researchers little aid in determining why under-represented groups have trouble gaining equal benefits and footing under the law. As a further component of this study, the researcher questioned the above Executive Directors and lobbyists about the failures of political outsiders and those who do not follow the rules of the assumptive worlds. This portion of the study discovered and identified insiders' views of what the outsiders do that make them unsuccessful and why their behaviors or actions are unsuccessful in the state capital. The literature reveals that no one has done this before. Therefore, the researcher's purpose with this portion of the study is to further the assumptive worlds model by asserting that those who do not follow the assumptive rules lose power and rarely meaningfully influence policy at the state capital.

Definitions of Terms

The following terms are used for the purpose of this study:

Arena. An arena is the location where politicians, interest groups and elites resolve political conflict. Politicians, interest groups and elites determine regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues.

Arena Model. Mazzoni's (1991) arena model examines the venues where politicians, interest groups and elites initiate, determine and legislate regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues.

Assumptive Worlds model. Marshall et al.'s (1989) assumptive worlds model focuses on the beliefs and insider knowledge of major players in any political system.

Cultural Theory. Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky's (1990) cultural theory attempts to capture what individuals want, why individuals want it and how individuals go about getting what they want.

Forum. A forum is the location where politicians, interest groups and elites share and debate political ideas with others. The forum is a venue that is easier to access than an arena. However, the forum is still limited to those chosen or deemed worthy to participate.

Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence model. Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models help to place rules and procedures on power and influence.

Ideology. Ideology is a lucid set of values and beliefs concerning the organization and operation of social, economic, and political systems as well as recommendations about how society should use these values and beliefs to shape every social, economic, and political system.

Interest group. An interest group is an association of individuals and organizations that attempts to create and influence public policy. Interest groups can be organized either formally or informally, but are usually formally organized.

Key state-level education association. A key state-level education association is an interest group that functions at the state-level.

Lobbyists. Lobbyists represent the values and beliefs of an interest group in a political system in order to influence the decisions of the political system.

Contract lobbyists. Contract lobbyists, also called professional lobbyists, are individuals who are political insiders. Interest groups do not hire contract lobbyists for any particular skill, but rather the people that the contract lobbyists know and that know them.

In-house lobbyists. In-house lobbyists are employees of a group or organization that requires the in-house lobbyist to lobby as part of their employment. In-house lobbyists usually possess knowledge of a particular skill and have the ability to mobilize their constituency.

Iron Triangles. The theory that a specific policy arena is ruled by interest groups within the policy arena along with the legislature and the specific policy arena state bureaucracy.

Major player. A major player is any individual or group that has significant power and influence in a political system.

Outsiders. Outsiders are individuals and organizations that have little power and influence in a political system.

Political culture. Elazar (1966) explains that political culture is the pattern or orientation to political action that every political system has embedded within its practices

and beliefs. Elazar concluded that political culture influences and guides the behaviors and values of the political participants in every political system.

Political system. Easton (1965) describes a political system as the "patterns of interaction through which values are allocated for a society" (p. 57). These interactions and allocations of values constitute public policy.

Values. Values are permanent principles that a particular manner of conduct or condition of existence is personally or socially desirable. Each individual and every organization arranges the different values into a system that gives the individual or group meaning. Individuals and groups with different values will not necessarily see the same problems or agree on solutions to individual or societal problems.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Purpose of the Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to provide a current as well as comprehensive review of the literature about how key state-level education associations in North Carolina create and use power and influence. This literature review reviews literature from the politics of education field in order to provide a clearer understanding of many of the theories in the field—such as the assumptive worlds model, the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models, the arena model, the competing-values perspective and political culture—that are invoked in the analyses that follow.

Organization of the Literature Review

The literature review consists of seven sections. First, a brief introduction reveals the under-investigation of the topic concerning how politics determines school policies. Second, the paucity of research on the subject requires a review of the intellectual roots of the politics of education field. This is necessary to situate and explain many of the disparate theories and models in the politics of education literature. Third, the limited investigation of the role of interest groups in education politics calls for a review of the literature from the field of political science in order to understand the intellectual and theoretical underpinnings of educational interest group studies. Fourth, the literature on educational interest groups will be discussed. Fifth, the literature on ideology will be discussed. Sixth, North Carolina politics

situated in Southern politics and specifically North Carolina education politics literature will be presented. Finally, the literature on calendar politics will be discussed.

The Need

School leaders who decide to learn and understand education politics quickly discover that the politics of education literature is scattered and patchwork at best[i]. Some topics, such as those explaining how politics determines school policies, receive a great deal of coverage while other topics are scarcely mentioned, much less studied. One aspect of the politics of education field that is underdeveloped in the literature is how key state-level education associations create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives. Further, when politics of education researchers address these issues in studies and research articles, no study or research article has concentrated upon all the above issues in the state of North Carolina. With North Carolina often viewed as a policy innovator in education in the early twenty-first century, this void is problematic.

The Absence of Literature on North Carolina Power and Influence

The limited investigation of power and influence in state-level organizations results from several factors. Researchers in the field of politics of education usually choose from five political contexts: international studies, national studies, state studies, district studies and finally school building studies. Of these five contexts, the final two contexts, district studies and school building studies are easier to manage and grasp since they both are more economical and finite with fewer variables than international studies, national studies and state studies. Another factor is that research conducted at the state level concentrates on legislators and their power and influence. A review of the literature reveals that few

researchers have ever conducted a study specifically on the legislators of North Carolina and the power and influence of these legislators. The present study diverges even further from established research by concentrating on the leaders and lobbyists for the key state-level education associations as well as the power and influence of these same leaders and lobbyists. Thus, no researcher has ever conducted a study specifically on the key state-level education associations as well as the executive directors of these same organizations.

Major Themes in Education Politics

Authoritative Allocation of Values

In the mid-1960s, political scientists produced theories and definitions that scholars in the field of politics of education continue to use to this day. In 1965, David Easton in his book, *A Framework for Political Analysis* introduced the term "values" into the lexicon of both the fields of political science and politics of education. Easton introduced the term "values" in connotation with his definition of a political system. Easton states that a political system is nothing more than the "patterns of interaction through which values are allocated for a society" (p. 57). These interactions and allocations of values constitute public policy. His definition of a political system reveals an important aspect of politics. Thus, values have been at the center of the field of politics of education from the beginning of the field. However, according to the literature, only a few scholars have tried to understand and research these values.

Values

King, Swanson, and Sweetland (2003) state, "A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode" (p. 10). Each individual and every organization arranges the

different values into a system that gives the individual or group meaning. Individuals and groups with different values will not necessarily see the same problems or agree on solutions to individual or societal problems. Fowler (2004) states, "Many of the value conflicts in democratic countries and in their education policies center around these values-around what they mean and how they can best be achieved, protected, or expanded" (p.112). Therefore, the values of every political system, group and individual person influence and shape the beliefs and the positions that every political system, group and individual person champions.

Values are such an explosive topic that scholars cannot agree to a number or how to arrange the different values. King et al. (2003) state that, "we focus on five metavalues or objects of policy that are particularly relevant to making decisions about the provision and consumption of educational services: liberty, equality/equity, fraternity, efficiency, and economic growth" (p. 11). Fowler (2004) organizes her values in clusters. She calls her value clusters self-interest values, general social values, democratic values and economic values. She then breaks the clusters into smaller values.

The first major value in King et al.'s (2003) model is liberty. Liberty means that individuals and groups can behave and think as they wish without unwarranted constraint or control. School choice and charter schools are examples of the value of liberty reflected in educational policies and practices. The second major value is equality/equity. Over time, equality and equity have merged meanings and the terms are used interchangeably. Equality means to have equal civil, social, political and economic rights as any other citizen. Equity means that society must remove or minimize any conditions that impede an individual or group from enjoying equal civil, social, political and economic rights as any other citizen. Ergo, equality and equity grant all citizens, regardless of gender, religious affiliation,

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economic status, sexual orientation, and physical as well as psychological impairments, the same representation under the law. Special education programs and school desegregation are examples of the value of equality/equity reflected in educational policies and practices. The third major value is fraternity. Fraternity focuses on a civic or communal bond that each society must build in order to sustain itself into the next generation. Fraternity stresses a need not only to understand the troubles of others, but also to have a sense of responsibility for others. Immigration policies and social arguments for education are examples of the value of fraternity reflected in educational policies and practices.

Since the fields of economics and organizational theory influence the next two values, the researcher needs to explain the terminology by using a simplified model of input-process-output. Owens (2001) states that environmental pressures called inputs stir the political-economic-organizational system. These input pressures come in two forms: demands and supports. Demands are the pressures of the environment and the supports are the tools and beliefs that support the political-economic-organizational system. The political-economic-organizational system can be as large as the United States Congress or as small as a local school board. The inputs go through the political-economic-organizational system and exit as outputs. Outputs are the actions, decisions and policies that the political-economic-organizational system produces to satisfy the demands. The fourth major value is efficiency. Efficiency means that a system works smoothly and inputs and outputs are in harmony. Those who stress the value of efficiency are happiest when educational systems achieve high results with low expenditures. The term accountability best captures the idea of the value of efficiency in educational policies and practices. The fifth major value is economic growth. Economic growth means that the market and economy need to expand. Those who stress the

value of economic growth believe that the best way to guarantee the expansion of the market and economy is to create better skilled worked in this nation's schools. The final major value is quality. Quality means that school systems challenge their students to do excellent and difficult academic work. The terms excellence and high standards best capture the idea of the value of quality in educational policies and practices (Fowler, 2004). Therefore, the definitions of the six values illustrate why value conflicts or competing values in educational policy are so common and so intense. This study employs and analyzes these competing-values to explore the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key North Carolina state-level education associations under normal legislative conditions as well as during the calendar change legislation.

Political Culture and Cultural Theory

The Work of Daniel Elazar

In 1966, another political scientist named Daniel Elazar introduced the term "political culture" to the lexicon of both the fields of political science and politics of education. Elazar, in his book *American federalism: A view from the states* explains that political culture is the pattern or orientation to political action that every political system has embedded within its practices and beliefs. Elazar concluded that there are three types of political cultures that influence and guide the behaviors and values of the political participants in every political system. The three political cultures are traditionalistic, individualistic and moralistic. Traditionalistic cultures are suspicious of a free market and hold that established political elites should provide leadership in politics. Citizens in a traditionalistic culture view politicians as paternalistic and expect politicians to execute duties in a conservative and custodial manner. Elazar (1984) states that political competition usually is "conducted

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through factional alignments, an extension of the personal politics characteristic of the system; hence political systems within the culture tend to have loose one party systems if they have political parties at all" (p. 119). Individualistic cultures wish to hold government to a minimum concerning families, businesses and churches. However, individualistic cultures prefer political systems to maintain the market so that it works efficiently. The individualistic cultures also operate with an understanding that the political process is based on mutual cooperation through political parties. Citizens in an individualistic culture view politicians as professionals and in an arena that lay persons have no concern (Elazar, 1984). Moralistic cultures hold that politics are a public activity and duty. Moralistic cultures view government and governmental bureaucracies as fair and impartial. In addition, moralistic citizens both value communal activism and desire governmental activity to solve societal issues. However, moralistic cultures do make a distinction "between what they consider legitimate community responsibility and what they believe to be central government encroachment, or between communalism, which they value, and collectivism, which they abhor" (Elazar, 1984, p. 145). Thus, moralistic citizens expect that the political system will create a better community for all (Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005). Therefore, according to both Easton (1965) and Elazar (1966), values and political culture influence every detail of the political process of any political system. In addition, several key studies have shown that the theories of Easton and Elazar help to explain political systems. This study as well utilizes Elazar's political culture to investigate the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations in the state of North Carolina.

The Work of Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky

In 1990, historically minded political scientists Thompson, Ellis, and Wildavsky published a work called *Cultural theory*. In *Cultural theory*, the authors explained a rival cultural typology while seriously criticizing Elazar's premises for his political culture theory. Ellis first credits Elazar for pointing out that individualism does not encompass the totality of the American experience. Thompson et al., then attack Elazar's political culture model with three criticisms. The first criticism involves the lack of distinctiveness to Elazar's traditional and moralistic political cultures. According to Thompson et al., Elazar's traditional and moralistic political cultures fail to differentiate groups sufficiently or even states that are truly different. Thompson et al. maintain that groups that Elazar bonds together in fact have dissimilar views of physical and human nature. Elazar's political cultures fail to distinguish between participation and deference. Elazar's criteria identify both Virginia and Alabama as traditionalistic states. Ellis (1993) then quotes V. O. Key from Key's 1949 seminal study *Southern politics in state and nation*. Virginia's political culture does fit Elazar's traditionalistic culture, but Alabama has "a wholesome contempt for authority and a spirit of rebellion akin to that of the Populist days resist the efforts of the big farmers and 'big mules'—the local term for Birmingham industrialists and financiers—to control the state" (Key, 1949, p. 39). Further, the moralistic culture tends to run together participation with deference. Elazar's political culture has placed under one moralistic tent "the radical abolitionism of William Lloyd Garrison and the hierarchical Whiggery of Daniel Webster, the patriarchal Mormonism of Joseph Smith and the egalitarian communalism of Hopedale, the leveling of the Populists and the paternalism of the Mugwumps" (Ellis, 1993, p. 169).

The second criticism of Thompson et al. involves Elazar's failure to produce categories that are derived from dimensions. There is no recognized continuum for Elazar's categories to fall upon in order to determine where a state is and whether the same state is moving toward a new culture. The same criticism is equally valid for Elazar's presentation of different groups within the same culture. Elazar's dimensions lump Abolitionists, Whiggs, Mormons, Populists and Mugwumps into one culture. Thus, Elazar's dimensions fail to separate groups that a continuum easily separates.

The final criticism is that since Elazar's categories are not found on a continuum, they do not travel across space and time. According to the authors, this is an old/modern dichotomy and is a major problem of many social science models (Thompson et al., 1990). The traditionalistic culture is almost dated since there are so few one party states in the south in the twenty-first century. Thus, it is problematic to attempt to compare a state with another state in the distant past or future because there are no parameters to justify what qualifies as a traditionalistic, moralistic or individualistic culture in the distant past or future (Ellis, 1993). Thompson et al. assert that they can remedy this situation by introducing their own theory of culture.

Thompson et al. organize their theory of culture around the combination of two continua called grid and group. The grid continuum measures the extent to which one individual is subject to group determination. The lower the grid score, the more that individual is able to negotiate relationships with others. The group continuum measures the extent to which an individual is incorporated into bounded units. The higher the group score, the greater the requirements to join that group and the further the separation will be from members and nonmembers. From these continua, the authors derive five ways of life

complete with a specific view of nature. The five ways of life are: individualistic, egalitarian, hierarchical, fatalistic and the way of the hermit. The authors identify an individual who scores low on both the grid continuum and group continuum as an individualist. According to the authors, an individual is an egalitarian if he or she scores low on the grid continuum and high on the group continuum. An individual is hierarchical if he or she scores high on both the grid continuum and group continuum. The authors identify an individual who scores high on the grid continuum and low on the group continuum as a fatalist. An individual is a hermit if he or she does not score on the grid continuum and group continuum by refusing to control others or be controlled by others. Thus, an economic conservative identifies with the individualistic way of life. An Abolitionist or Thomas Paine identifies with an egalitarian way of life. A Puritan or a Whig identifies with the hierarchical way of life. Finally, a slave or possibly even a social conservative identifies with a fatalistic way of life.

An individual's view of nature as well as human nature determines how he or she score on the two continua. Thompson et al. state that the five views of nature are: nature benign, nature ephemeral, nature tolerant, nature capricious and nature resilient. The authors' describe these five views of nature by referencing a ball and what happens if an individual strikes the ball[ii]. An individual who holds the nature benign view of nature believes that no matter what happens to the ball, the ball always returns unharmed. A human being who embraces this view of the physical world gravitates toward the individualistic way of life. An individual who holds the nature ephemeral view of nature believes that no matter what happens to the ball, the ball always returns damaged or worse. A human being who embraces this view of the physical world gravitates toward the egalitarian way of life. An individual who holds the nature tolerant view of nature believes that the ball can be knocked around, but

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a really big whack could cause major problems. The individual with the nature tolerant view of nature assumes that a group of experts should control the ball hitting to insure no accidents. A human being who embraces this view of the physical world gravitates toward the hierarchical way of life. An individual who holds the nature capricious view of nature believes that no one can learn anything from hitting the ball because hitting the ball could cause anything or go anywhere. A human being who embraces this view of the physical world gravitates toward the fatalistic way of life. An individual who holds the nature resilient view of nature believes that all views of nature are feasible at different times. A human being who embraces this view of the physical world gravitates toward the hermit way of life (Thompson et al., 1990).

Individualists believe that human nature is as stable as physical nature. The individualists assert that institutional settings do not change human beings in any way because human nature is unmalleable, but predictable. Individualists maintain that human beings are always self-seeking regardless of the institutional setting. Thompson et al. employ the writings of James Madison as an illustration of individualistic political thought. Thompson et al. (1990) state, "Madison deduces that the political system should be structured so as to take advantage of the inevitable conflicts among self-interested individuals and groups" (p. 34). Egalitarians believe that human beings are born good, but human nature is very malleable. Egalitarians conclude that all men and women are good, but that all can easily be corrupted by evil institutions. Thompson et al. quote the introductory sentence of Rosseau's *Emile* as an example of egalitarian political thought. *Emile* begins "God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil" (p. 34). Hierarchists believe that human beings are born wicked, but that institutions can redeem all humanity. Fatalists

believe that human nature is as unpredictable as physical nature. Fatalists distrust everyone and shuffle through life thinking that nothing can be learned from past experiences since physical and human nature are unstable. The hermit maintains, incorporates and conquers all views of human nature (Thompson et al., 1990). However, hermits have an individualistic view that human beings do not sin, but are ignorant. Thompson et al. explain, "It is up to the individual, not others, to do what he can to lessen his ignorance" (p. 36). Therefore, Thompson et al. assert that they have created a model that not only captures what individuals want, but also why individuals want it and how they go about getting it. Interestingly, no studies have tested the cultural theory of Thompson et al. However, this study uses Thompson et al.'s culture theory to delve into the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations in the state of North Carolina under normal legislative conditions as well as during the calendar change legislation.

Studies Exploring How State Political Systems Authorize the Allocation of Values
The Work of Campbell and Mazzoni

The seminal works discussed earlier of political scientists have deeply influenced the research and investigations of the scholars in the field of politics of education. There have been two major studies in the field of politics of education that have attempted to ascertain how specific state political systems authorize the allocation of values. Both studies examined how political institutions, actors and groups in a specific state employed power, influence and the ability to minimize conflict to advance the individual's or group's needs and values concerning state policy issues. Roald Campbell and Tim Mazzoni conducted the first major study in 1976 and reported their findings in the book *State Policy Making and Public Schools*. The researchers focused their study on twelve states: California, Colorado, Florida,

Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin. Campbell and Mazzoni's purpose was to answer six basic questions concerning the political system in each state. The first question sought to determine the major political players in each state. A major player is any individual or group that has significant power and influence in a political system. The second question investigated what resources were available to each of the major players. The third and fourth questions examined the major players influence and the significant relationships between the major players in the political system of each state. The fifth question analyzed what kinds of difference governmental structures make for the political system. The final question considered what other factors beyond governmental structure might explain the differences between states. The major finding of Campbell and Mazzoni's study was that the chief state school officers and educational interest groups had considerable control and influence over the political system concerning education. However, Campbell and Mazzoni also found that the political system in each state was considerably more open than earlier researchers had believed. The researchers noted that interest groups not connected to education interests, governors, state boards and legislators all possess viable access to and can influence the political system (Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976).

One criticism of Campbell and Mazzoni as well as of similar studies is that the researchers have proved nothing more significant than what was known before the study occurred. Thus, the research proves that rich countries pave more streets than poor countries (Peterson, 1974). Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) listed and ranked the relative power and influence of every major player in each state that they studied. Their lists and rankings uncovered that a state's teacher association is generally the most effective educational interest

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group. However, larger questions are unanswered such as what are the values or political culture that directs these lists and rankings. Nevertheless, the work of Campbell and Mazzoni is important and vital to the field of politics of education because at the time their study was only the second multi-state study and their work helped answer some questions as well as generated key questions for future research to answer. Thus, this study considers Campbell and Mazzoni's six questions to explore the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key North Carolina state-level education associations.

The Work of Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt

Catherine Marshall, Douglas Mitchell and Frederick Wirt conducted the second major study in 1989 and reported their findings in the book titled *Culture and Education Policy in the American States*. Marshall et al. studied how political institutions, actors and groups in a specific state employed power, influence and the ability to minimize conflict similar to Campbell and Mazzoni. These authors also focused on Elazar's political culture model discussed earlier. The researchers focused their study on six states. They picked two states from each of the political cultures. Arizona and West Virginia both have traditionalistic cultures. Illinois and Pennsylvania both have individualistic cultures. California and Wisconsin both have moralistic cultures. Marshall et al. (1989) developed two new models to help explain their data. The researchers called the first model the hierarchies of power and the second model the circles of influence. Marshall et al. state, "This perspective examines the relative power and influence of policy groups for education decision making and organizes them into a model for understanding their hierarchical relationship to each other" (p. 16). The authors then identify the names of each circle of influence working from the inside ring of power and then moving outward to the edges of power. The researchers called

the final model the assumptive worlds. The assumptive worlds model allowed the researchers to understand the way that political actors and groups introduced and negotiated their values within the political system. The authors discerned two major findings. The first major finding was that national policy movements can hinder political culture at the state level. In addition, the second major finding of the researchers is that in the absence of national policy movements political culture becomes an important variable in state educational politics.

Marshall et al. (1989) suggested that researchers could describe and explain the impact of values in a political system. The studies conducted before Marshall et al.'s study did little more than generate lists and rankings of the relative power and influence of the major players in whatever political system the researcher was investigating. The assumptive worlds model and the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models allowed Marshall et al. to discern the hidden agendas and to understand the paradigms that governed the actions and behaviors of legislators and the other major players in the state political systems. Therefore, these two models in conjunction with the competing-values model and Elazar's political culture model helped these researchers to understand actions and behaviors that many political scientist and politics of education scholars had concluded were unknowable. Thus, this study employs Marshall et al.'s hierarchies of power and circles of influence models to examine the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations in the state of North Carolina under normal legislative conditions as well as during the calendar change legislation.

Interest Group Studies

Definition and Function of Interest Groups

Thomas and Hrebenar (1996) state that, "Broadly defined, an interest group is an association of individuals and organizations, usually formally organized, that attempts to influence public policy" (p. 123). The private goal of any interest group is to promote and distribute information and programs to improve the professional or collective interests of their constituents. According to Thomas and Hrebenar, interest groups are not political parties. Interest groups enter the political arena when either legislation or other groups threaten the professional or collective interests of their constituents. When interest groups representing private interests do become involved in politics, they often perform five public roles. The first two roles that interest groups perform are to aggregate and represent interests as well as to contribute to public policy. Thomas and Hrebenar (1996) state that interest groups "act as major intermediaries between the governed and the government by representing the views of their members to public officials" (p. 130). Interest groups perform these roles not only by advocating for members, but by presenting and educating policy-makers with both technical and political information. Another role that that interest groups perform is to train or educate members concerning public issues and the political process. The final two roles that interest groups perform are to recruit candidates to run for offices and to finance campaigns of candidates that are supportive of policies that favor the particular interest group. Therefore, interest groups exist to promote and champion the values, causes and policies that best assist their constituents.

Elitist Theory

The early study of group approaches in the field of political science was split into two different factions: the elitist and the pluralist. The early elitists believed that a small group of prominent citizens decide public policy and govern through state bureaucratic agencies and public officials. According to elitist theory, these prominent citizens rarely held a public office, but rather were the heads of banks, businesses and corporations (Yeakey, 1983). Kimbrough conducted an elitist study and claimed that ruling elites could be found in rural Southern towns. Peterson (1974) dismisses Kimbrough's claims that ruling elites could be found in rural Southern towns by stating that "Kimbrough's own data do not adequately support his conclusion" and that "he presents little systematically collected information on the range of policies determined by the elite" (p. 358). There are very few elitist studies and the studies that exist have been severely criticized by pluralist and others. Thus, scholars in political science and politics of education have never accepted elitist theory as a legitimate method for explaining group approaches.

Pluralist Theory

The political scientist and pluralist David Truman wrote *The governmental process* in 1951. In his book, Truman discussed the nature of power and the role and influence of interest groups (Mawhinney, 2001). Pluralists assumed that the political life of any political system requires the interaction and struggle among groups. Pluralists believed that public policy could only result when struggling groups either reach consensus or arbitration. Struggling groups reach arbitration when opposing factions discover there is a balance or that their faction can never continuously hold the upper hand (Yeakey, 1983). According to the pluralist, this arbitration and consensus building is a never-ending cycle of individuals

joining interest groups and interest groups building coalitions to make sure that individual

needs and values were legislated into public policy. In pluralist theory, a disadvantaged

group today might be the group holding all the cards in just a few weeks (Johnson, 2001).

However, Hanne Mawhinney (2001) states that, starting in the late 1950s and especially

during the civil unrest of the 1960s, pluralism fell out of favor with political scientists

because of the growing evidence that power and influence were not equally distributed in

society. The elitist and pluralist traditions offered the first theories concerning interest group

power and influence, but by the 1960s most political scientists were retreating from both

elitist and pluralist assumptions.

Early Critical Theorists

In the late 1950s and the early 1960s, a group of critics severely denounced pluralism.

One of the most quoted critics was Elmer Schattschneider who wrote a book in 1960 called

The semi-sovereign people. In *The semi-sovereign people*, Schattschneider argued that

pluralism supported the status quo, which at this time included segregation in the South.

Schattschneider also pointed out that pluralist theories did little to explain why some groups

of people were never in an advantaged group. He stated that beyond race, social class also

kept 90% of the public from participating in the pluralist group system. As cited in

Mawhinney (2001), "Schattschneider argued that 'the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that

heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent'" (p. 190). Another strong and noted

critic of pluralism was Mancur Olson, who wrote *The logic of collective action* in 1965.

Olson argued that the assumptions of pluralist were flawed on many levels. Olson stated that

the model of the self-interested rational actor that was a bedrock assumption of pluralism was

simplistic and naïve. He revealed that context and the rules of political institutions constrain

the actions and rational choices of all (as cited in Mawhinney & Lugg, 2001). Another

fundamental flaw in the assumptions of pluralism is that pluralism viewed all potential

groups as having an equal chance to participate in the political system. Further, Olson

revealed that small, focused groups were better able to influence the political system than

were groups with many members who sought only collective benefits for the group

(Mawhinney, 2001). Therefore, both Schattschneider and Olson believe that interest groups

existed to promote and champion the causes and policies that best assist their constituents

and that interest groups in general compromise the political or democratic process because

the groups do not represent all segments of the population.

Iron Triangles

In the early 1970s, pluralists and elitists united with a new theory. The multiple elite

pluralists argued that power in the United States was scattered among multiple separate

elites. These separate smaller elites ruled very specific policy areas. Multiple elite pluralists

believed educational interest groups ruled education policy along with the legislature and the

state education bureaucracy. In the same way, multiple elite pluralists believed trucking

interest groups controlled state trucking policies along with the legislature and the state

trucking or transportation bureaucracy. The multiple elite pluralists labeled these

subgovernment/subsystem arrangements: iron triangles. This arrangement always involved

some relationship between legislators, bureaucrats and lobbyists who represented the interest

groups involved in the policy area. Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2005) state, "Media coverage

is scant and policies are formulated within the status quo limits" (p. 23). However, the

deregulation movement started by President Carter in the late 1970s and continued by

President Reagan in the 1980s totally dismantled these supposed iron triangles. Deregulation

led to a dismantling of subsystem arrangements in favor of issue networks. Issue networks are a never-ending cycle of individuals joining interest groups and interest groups building coalitions to make sure that individual needs and values are legislated into public policy. Thus, former elitists and pluralists now research questions involving issue networks and are called neo- or post-pluralist (Mawhinney, 2001). Therefore, the literature reveals the field of political science still does not understand interest groups or how interest groups create and employ power and influence in any political system.

The Arena Model

In 1991, Tim Mazzoni investigated iron triangles with the understanding that some groups of people are never in an advantaged group. Mazzoni chose to employ the Latin terms arena and forum to create a foundation for his model. Concerning the term arena, Mazzoni (1991) states, "This term is given varied meaning by political analysts (e.g., Allison, 1971; Bardach, 1972; Kiser & Ostrom, 1982; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988)" (p. 116). Mazzoni decided to provide his own definitions for the terms arena and forum in order to help explain the arena model. An arena is the location where politicians, interest groups and elites resolve political conflict. Politicians, interest groups and elites determine regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues. A forum is the location where politicians, interest groups and elites share and debate political ideas with others. The forum is a venue that is easier to access than an arena. However, the forum is still limited to those chosen or deemed worthy to participate. Mazzoni's (1991) arena model examines the venues where politicians, interest groups and elites initiate, determine and legislate regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues.

The arena model originally only focused on the subsystem and the macro arenas, but

Mazzoni (1991) quickly concluded that this narrow model "ignores completely decision sites

other than the subsystem and the macro arenas" (p. 128). Thus, Mazzoni's arena model

identifies four essential arenas: the subsystem, the macro, the leadership and the commission

arenas. The subsystem arena is the iron triangle that includes interest groups ruling a specific

policy domain along with the legislature and the state bureaucracy regulating and assisting

that specific domain. However, the macro arena is in many ways the exact opposite of the

subsystem arena. Those, who chose to utilize the macro arena, transform the forum into an

arena. Mazzoni (1991) asserts, "In this arena, top-level elected officials, such as executive

heads and legislative leaders, seek to promote and publicize policy positions" (p. 117).

Mazzoni calls this change or shift of arenas that executive heads and legislative leaders

initiate an arena shift. According to Mazzoni (1991), the arena shift begins with outside elite

forces or "sources external to the policy making system—or its subsystem" (p.118). Thus,

executive heads and legislative leaders simply see an issue they favor or decide to push an

issue that they believe will bring them advantages over their political competitors. Further,

the other two arenas the leadership and the commission arenas can also create arena shifts.

Elites utilize the leadership arena when the same elites want to initiate a change when there is

no internal or outside pressure. Thus, there is no push or resistance for change. Mazzoni

(1991) states, "The leadership arena consists of policy-oriented interactions that occur among

top-level government officials and between these officials and the private groups or

individuals—if any—who control them" (p. 125). Mazzoni asserts that elites employ the

leadership arena to create predictable change. In contrast, the commission arena occurs when

top-level elected officials want to initiate a change, but there is absolutely no leverage to start

the change. Mazzoni (1991) states that executive heads and legislative leaders initiate a commission arena in order to "arouse attention and help legitimate, consolidate, and extend policy innovations previously enacted by the legislature" (p. 129). Thus, this study utilizes Mazzoni's arena model to explore the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key North Carolina state-level education associations under normal legislative conditions as well as during the passage of the calendar change legislation.

Conclusion Concerning Interest Group Studies

Political science has made little progress in explaining why some groups of people are never in an advantaged group. The criticisms of Schattschneider (1960) and Olson (1965) remain, but post-pluralist argue that the interest group system is much more diverse because of the social movements of the 1960s. The increase in the number of interest groups alone now operating in this country make many post-pluralists conclude that interest groups are more diverse as well. Interest group numbers have been increasing in every sector since the polarization of this nation's politics in the 1980s (Johnson, 2001). In the Washington D.C. area, interest groups, according to V. Darleen Opfer have increased "from 4,000 in 1977 to more than 17,000 in 1999" (p. 135). However, Mawhinney (2001) cautions that just because there are more interest groups does not necessarily signal that interest groups are more diverse as well. Nevertheless, the criticisms of Schattschneider and Olson not only remain, but now appear to be discounted or worse ignored by post-pluralists. Thus, this study utilizes the theories of political science as well as the criticisms of Schattschneider and Olson to investigate why political outsiders fail to gain power or influence at the North Carolina state capital.

Educational Interest Groups

Growth of Educational Interest Groups

The under investigation of educational interest groups is overshadowed by the fact that the number and growth of educational interests groups in this country has exploded. Opfer (2001) provides data that in the Washington D.C. area, 76% of educational interest groups that currently operate in this nation's capital did not exist before 1960. Betty Malen (2001) explains the current underdevelopment of the literature for educational interest groups best. She states that the purpose of her article is to direct "attention to an important but understudied aspect of the politics of education, namely the interest groups that regularly or intermittently seek to influence education policies and practices" (p. 168). The literature on educational interest groups that does exist has focused on two areas. The first area is the description and interaction of these interests and the second area is the power and influence of educational interests concerning specific policy issues (Johnson, 2001). Within these two overlapping areas are two categories that researchers have employed to try to describe and interpret educational interest groups. The two categories are power/influence and values/political culture. A third category that is discussed, but that has rarely been researched, is ideology.

Power and Influence Studies

Basic Resources: Numbers and Lobbyist

Studies focusing on power and influence are more abundant than all the other studies combined. In 1976, Campbell and Mazzoni conducted the most famous and largest power and influence study as mentioned above. Their research included educational interest groups, but a better understanding of educational interest groups was not necessarily their goal since

they were trying to determine who and what groups exercised control and influence over the education political systems in each state. Campbell and Mazzoni concluded that educational interest groups needed certain tools or basic resources that can "represent 'raw materials' that can be utilized by educational interest groups to 'manufacture' power and influence at the state level" (p. 178). The basic resources for educational interest groups are the number of members of the educational interest group and the number of lobbyists on the lobby staff.

Lobbyist

Thomas and Hrebenar state that, "A lobbyist is a person who represents an interest group in order to influence governmental decisions in that group's favor" (p. 124). According to Thomas and Hrebenar, there are five types of lobbyists. Three of the five types of lobbyists are discussed because the other two fall beyond the bounds of this literature review. The three types of lobbyists that are pertinent to this review are contract, in-house and private individuals. Contract lobbyists, also called professional lobbyists, are individuals who are political insiders. Interest groups do not hire contract lobbyists for any particular skill, but rather the people that the contract lobbyists know and that know them. In-house lobbyists are employees of a group or organization that requires the in-house lobbyist to lobby as part of their employment. In-house lobbyists usually possess knowledge of a particular skill and have the ability to mobilize their constituency. Furthermore, interest groups rarely call their in-house lobbyists by the title lobbyist, but rather a governmental relations officer or a legislative liaison. Private individuals as lobbyists are individuals that lobby for pet projects or policies that they find objectionable. Therefore, most educational interest groups employ a lobbyist or lobbyists to influence the state legislature to pursue and execute policies in the best interest of the particular educational interest group.

Potential Resource: Educational Coalition and Education Lobby

Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) believe that another potential resource for educational interest groups is an Education Lobby. An Education Lobby exists in a state when the educational interest groups are viewed as a whole and work together to pursue and implement policies in the best interest of the education lobby. Fowler (2004) states, "Iannaccone developed a typology of state educational governance patterns, which attempted to describe and organize the ways in which these interest groups can interact" (p. 154). Campbell and Mazzoni employed Iannaccone's typology established in 1967 in the hopes that it would describe and reveal whether educational interest groups in any state had the capacity to build and maintain an educational coalition or educational lobby. Iannaccone's typology has four evolutionary stages with each stage building upon the previous stage. Iannaccone called the first stage the Disparate Structure. A state in the first stage considers interest groups unimportant and the school districts represent their own interests concerning implementing and championing policies in the state legislature. In the second stage, called the Monolithic Structure, interest groups are more important. Interest groups also work together and form coalitions to pursue and produce policies in the best interest of the associations in the coalition. A coalition exists in a state as long as the majority of the educational interest groups are work together to pursue and implement policies in the best interest of the education coalition. Iannaccone called the third stage the Competitive Structure. Interest groups in the third stage no longer work together to form coalitions, but compete against each other in the state capital. In the final stage, called the Statewide Bureaucratized, once again the interest groups work together to pursue and produce policies.

The difference between stage two and four is that in stage four the coalition becomes an educational lobby that coordinates all the smaller interest groups into one unified body.

Campbell and Mazzoni's Findings

Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) found that there were major differences in their findings and Iannaccone's typology. Campbell and Mazzoni found that the political system in the each state is considerably more open than earlier researchers had formerly believed. The intellectual conceptualization of Iannaccone's typology is in the theory that state policymaking is controlled by the iron triangle. As mentioned above in the section that discusses Campbell and Mazzoni's study as well as the pluralist section, interest groups not connected to education interests, governors, state boards and legislators all possess viable access to and can influence the political system. Therefore, Iannaccone's typology is dated and would mislead a researcher since the typology is based on the belief of impenetrable iron triangles. However, this is not to say that educational coalitions are not powerful, they are just not as powerful as formerly believed. Finally, researchers do not know how powerful an educational lobby is since they rarely exist.

The Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) study does help formulate how to determine power and influence by determining the basic resources for educational interest groups in North Carolina. However, this information is limited and only reveals a small piece of a very large puzzle. Fortunately, political culture and competing-values studies do move the field of politics of education further in understanding how key state-level education associations in North Carolina create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives. One negative consideration concerning political

culture and values studies is that there have been few of these type studies as discussed earlier.

<center>*Political Culture and Competing-Values Studies*</center>

Bridgeland, Townsend and Duane Study Concerning Educational Interest Groups

In 1986, William Bridgeland, Richard Townsend, and Edward Duane researched political culture in Michigan and Ontario. The researchers conducted a comparative study of teacher organizations and political culture in Michigan and Ontario to clarify whether the organizations and political culture do or do not have influence over educational policy. The researchers asked 40 key actors in each region what their general impression was of the overall pattern of power among the teacher associations active in the region. Researchers also asked respondents whether the associations worked together, what are the specific interests of each group and how successful is each group in negotiating its agenda. Bridgeland, Townsend, and Duane then spend considerable time describing each teacher association in each region using the criteria from Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) basic resources. They found that Campbell and Mazzoni's basic resources are measurable but do not link to actual group power. Bridgeland et al. also concluded that their findings "suggest the importance of the political culture in an understanding of these two arenas" (p. 377). Therefore, the researchers broaden our understanding of both models by explaining how they employed each model and the results from using each model.

The Bridgeland et al. (1986) study served as a bridge between the Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) study and the Marshall et al. (1989) study. Bridgeland et al.'s findings suggest that Campbell and Mazzoni's basic resources actually measure potential power as opposed to actual power. In both Michigan and Ontario, the researchers discovered that the power and

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influence of large education interest groups eroded as these large groups tried to champion policies across diverse arenas. The large groups have a great potential for power through their many members and lobbyists. However, the large memberships and interests of members dilute the powerbase of the large interest groups, especially when the interest group fails to specialize. In contrast, political culture helped Bridgeland et al. to understand better what they were seeing in Michigan and Ontario. Thus, Bridgeland et al. (1986) can state that Michigan, because of "its classic liberal commitment to a fair start in life," has interest group coalitions working on behalf of the handicapped and poor (p. 377). On the other hand, Ontario because of "its pragmatic conservative dispositions of deferring toward established groups" has interest groups divided along the lines of sexual, cultural and religious lines (p. 377). Therefore, basic resources explain potential power while political culture explains group norms and how interest groups can play the political game. Thus, this study utilizes Bridgeland et al.'s understanding of interest group basic resources and political culture to explore the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations in the state of North Carolina.

Educational Interest Groups in Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt

There has only been one political culture and values study and it has already been mentioned above. The contribution of the study of Marshall et al. (1989) to the field of politics of education concerning political culture and competing-values has already been discussed above. However, the contribution of the Marshall et al. study to the understanding of educational interest groups concerning power, influence, political culture and values has not yet been explained. Marshall et al. employed their hierarchies of power and circles of influence models to explain the power and influence of educational interest groups in the

states they studied. In Marshall et al.'s (1989) study, they found that teacher organizations usually wield high political influence. Marshall et al. assigned teachers organizations to the Near Circle. Further, they assigned state school boards' associations and administrators' associations to the Sometime Players Circle. The political culture and values piece of their study was more qualitative and simply described how interest groups used their power and influence within the political culture of the political system. Marshall et al.'s use of values helped to explain the contexts and rules of the political cultures. Therefore, Marshall et al. utilized political culture and values to explain the power and influence that educational interests groups held. Thus, this study also applies Marshall et al.'s understanding of political culture and values to explore the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key North Carolina state-level education associations under normal legislative conditions as well as during the calendar change legislation.

   This failure of the competing-values perspective to explain why one group fails while another succeeds comes as no surprise since Cibulka predicted such a contradictory outcome. Cibulka (1994) argues that the competing-values perspective fails to tell researchers much more than introductory information. According to Cibulka, the competing-values perspective fails to predict how political arrangements and processes hinder or assist policies favoring any value or multiple values. In addition, Cibulka maintains that researchers can learn very little about the political-economic-organizational processes and outcomes in a political and policy conflict, since the competing-values perspective only views the environmental inputs. Finally, Cibulka states that the competing-values perspective offers researchers little aid in determining why under-represented groups have trouble gaining equal benefits and footing under the law. Therefore, the shortcomings of the competing-values perspective forces the

researcher to use other models and theories in order to help explain the politics that the four key state-level education associations employ to influence policy in their favor. However, Cibulka believes that the competing-values perspective does have merits concerning highlighting the inputs of various educational interest groups.

Ideology

Definition and Function of Ideology

As mentioned above, there is a third category that is discussed, but that has rarely been researched, called ideology. Ideology, just as political culture, is shaped by a consistent arrangement of ideas and values. Alan Isaak (1987) defines ideology as "a fairly coherent set of values and beliefs about the way the social, economic, and political systems should be organized and operated and recommendations about how these values and beliefs should be put into effect" (p. 133). Ideologies in the United States are usually divided into two opposing camps. One camp is called the Conservative Camp and the other camp is called the Liberal Camp. Business Conservatism and Religious Conservatism divides the Conservative Camp. Business Conservatives advocate for the values of efficiency and liberty. Religious Conservatives advocate for the values of liberty and fraternity, but here liberty and fraternity are defined narrowly to mean traditional family values. Religious Conservatives wish to have the liberty to pursue their own agendas, but at the same time they wish to impose this liberty upon others in a fraternal way in order to help guide those who are not as fortunate to know what they know. New Politics Liberalism and Neoliberalism divides the Liberal Camp. New Politics Liberalism advocates for the values of equality and fraternity. Neoliberalism advocates for the values of economic growth and fraternity. Fowler (2004) states that "In modern societies ideologies are widely disseminated through the school system, the mass

media, and advertising; therefore, most people's thinking is at least partially ideological" (p. 124). Thus, values drive ideologies and ideologies are powerful paradigms that orient and influence individuals, groups and political systems.

Lack of Ideology Studies

Ideologies have rarely been studied because most political scientists do not believe that school issues are ideological. This old belief about ideological free schools seems to be unfounded or at least worthy to investigate further once one considers school prayer, placement of sacred texts inside schools, Creationism as well as student's and teacher's rights to wear religious garments in schools. Another reason researchers have avoided ideological studies is that many researchers do not believe that ideological actions and behaviors are knowable or calculable. However, Marshall et al.'s (1989) study suggested that researchers could understand and measure political culture and competing-values. Therefore, it is only a matter of time before other researchers create a method to better capture and understand ideologies. Thus, this study considers ideology when investigating the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations in the state of North Carolina.

Southern and North Carolina Politics

Southern Politics

Southern politics have an extensive literature. Southern political studies always follow the pattern of coverage that V. O. Key first used in 1949 in his seminal work *Southern politics in state and nation*. Thus, southern political studies research and report on five key segments of southern political life. The five key segments of southern political life are listed below in no particular order because what makes each study unique is the researcher's choice

of which segments he or she wishes to study broadly and which segments he or she wishes to study in more detail. The first key segment of southern political life is the loss of power of the Democratic Party and the second segment is the rise of the Republicans. Key (1949) situates the third segment of the politics of the South when he said, "In its grand outline the politics of the South revolves around the politics of the Negro . . . Whatever phase of the southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro" (p. 5). The fourth phase is the consequences of changing demographics and economic changes. The final phase is the influence the South now has in national politics (Hrebenar & Thomas, 1992). However, the literature becomes splintered and segmented when a researcher searches for literature on a specific southern state. Some southern states have received a great deal of coverage while other southern states are scarcely studied. A review of the literature reveals that few researchers (see for example Fleer, 1994; Luebke, 1990; The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research) have ever conducted a study specifically on the politics of the state of North Carolina.

Studies Exploring the North Carolina Political System

The Works of Luebke and Fleer

Paul Luebke (1990) in *Tar Heel Politics: Myths and realities* and Jack D. Fleer (1994) in *North Carolina government and politics* chronicle the five key segments of southern political life as do all southern political studies. However, amongst the historical accounts and outlines of the duties for state officers, both authors attempt to piece together the five key segments of southern political life by explaining the reasons behind the five key segments. Luebke believes that the five key segments of southern political life expose the myth of North Carolina as a progressive state. Luebke explains that a scholar examining the

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five key segments of southern political life would probably conclude that North Carolina is a progressive southern state. Fleer, following Elazar's typology that North Carolina is a traditionalistic state with some moralistic leanings, asserts that elites determine almost all state policy and that the rest of the state's population defers to this group of elites.

Both Luebke and Fleer probe through North Carolina's past and both authors reach similar conclusions. In 1921, North Carolina pays for road construction. Once again in 1931, North Carolina fights unequal funding in its schools by accepting responsibility for the financing of public schools in the state. V. O. Key investigated these two events and determined that the State of North Carolina abandoned the standard practice of much of the South by enacting progressive laws. Luebke disagrees with Key concerning these historical events by refocusing the question and asking who really benefits from these policies that have been traditionally labeled progressive. Luebke reveals that the elite of North Carolina took over these services to insure that businesses benefited. The state built roads to help businesses transport goods around the state. The state improved education to insure businesses of a well-trained work force (Luebke, 1990). Luebke (1990) concludes his argument by stating, "In short, what was good for business, was good for North Carolina" (p. 38). Fleer reaches the same conclusion with just as damaging evidence as Luebke. Fleer, employing Elazar's political culture, divulges that there are two separate North Carolinas. Fleer first discusses institutions that serve the elite and then reflects on other statewide statistics that reveal huge discrepancies between the two separate North Carolinas. Fleer (1994) states that North Carolina has both "A superb state art museum and zoological park" (p. 28). There are several note-worthy universities as well as "A state-funded School of the Arts and School of Mathematics and Science" (Fleer, 1994, pp. 28-29). Fleer counters these

excellent resources with many unsettling state statistics such as a low life expectancy, a high infant mortality rate as well as a high adult illiteracy rate. North Carolina also has the lowest percentage of unionized workers and many of these workers earn very low wages compared to the rest of the country. Fleer then reinforces Luebke's conclusion by stating that the state's per pupil expenditure ranks low nationally. In general, the state's pupils do as well as the state spends money on the same students. The state spends little on its pupils while these students are in state elementary, middle and high schools; but the student expenditure ratio increases significantly, once a student reaches specific universities in the state (Fleer, 1994). Thus, both authors assert that certain institutions of the state serve to buttress the advancement of the elite and their children on a national scale. Thus, this study uses the criticisms of Luebke and Fleer to examine why political outsiders fail to gain power or influence as well as to delve into the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations at the North Carolina state capital.

The Work of the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research

Another study that researches the politics of the state of North Carolina is the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research's publication called *Effectiveness, attendance, and roll call voting participation rankings of the 2003 North Carolina General Assembly*. In this biannual publication, the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research (NCCPPR) ranks the effectiveness of every legislator within the current session. The NCCPPR compiles their rankings by surveying the legislators themselves, registered lobbyists and capital news reporters (North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 2004). The survey asks the three groups of respondents "to rate each legislator's effectiveness on the basis of participation in committee work, skill at guiding bills through committees and in floor

debates, and general knowledge or expertise in special fields" (Watts, 2004, pp. 61-62).

Further, the survey asks respondents to gauge the political power of each legislator as well as

each legislator's "ability to sway the opinions of fellow legislators" (Watts, 2004, p. 62).

Therefore, NCCPPR has created a very powerful snapshot of the power and influence of the

top 100 influential North Carolina state senators and representatives.

Studies Exploring North Carolina Interest Groups

The seminal work of V. O. Key and his five key segments of southern political life

ignored southern interest groups. Key's five key segments of southern political life simply do

not acknowledge or address southern interest groups. Thus, Clive Thomas (1992) states,

"Despite the extensive literature on southern politics, very little material exists on southern

interest groups" (p. 5). The best literature concerning southern interest groups and

specifically North Carolina interest groups comes from group theory studies. These micro-

approach group theory studies measure interest group strength in multiple states. According

to Thomas (1992), these studies look "at either some specific aspect of the internal

organization and operation of groups or at how they affect some specific part of the political

process, such as legislatures" (p. 6). There are only four applicable studies that included

North Carolina and they are Belle Zeller in 1954, John Wahlke, Heinz Eulau, and William

Buchanon in 1962, L. Harmon Zeigler and Michael Baer in 1969, and Sarah McCally

Morehouse in 1981. Zeller in 1954 and Morehouse in 1981 found that North Carolina was a

strong interest group state. Wahlke et al. in 1962 as well as L. Harmon Zeigler and Michael

Baer in 1969 found the exact opposite; that North Carolina was not a strong interest group

state. The contradictory conclusions of these four studies are easily explained. Thomas

(1992) states "The theories and propositions developed from these studies were thus arrived

at by extrapolation, or by reliance on secondary sources, and sometimes, in the absence of data, through speculation" (p. 7). Thus, any researcher in the twenty-first century should approach these four dated studies with the knowledge that faulty data are not the only problem with these studies. A greater caveat to a twenty-first century researcher is to understand that group theory as the underlying and guiding premise for these four studies proves to be even more problematic. Group theory simply fails to answer or much less address why as well as how some groups achieve and never overcome their marginal status. Therefore, a review of the literature reveals that only Fleer and The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research have ever conducted a study specifically on the interest groups in the state of North Carolina.

The Work of Fleer

Jack D. Fleer (1994) in *North Carolina government and politics* discusses the regulation, growth, types, and techniques of interest groups in North Carolina politics. Fleer concludes his short section on North Carolina interest groups by assessing the influence of these interest groups on the North Carolina political system. Article 9A, Chapter 120[iii] of the General Statutes of North Carolina proclaims the rules and regulations for lobbying in the state of North Carolina (Fleer, 1994). Article 9A, Chapter 120 (2007) explains that:

> The term 'legislative action' means the preparation, research, drafting, introduction, consideration, modification, amendment, approval, passage, enactment, tabling, postponement, defeat, or rejection of a bill, resolution, amendment, motion, report, nomination, appointment, or other matter, whether or not the matter is identified by an official title, general title, or other specific reference, by the legislature or by a member or employee of the legislature acting or purporting to act in an official capacity. It also includes the consideration of any bill by the Governor for the Governor's approval or veto under Article II, Section 22(1) of the Constitution or for the Governor to allow the bill to become law under Article II, Section 22(7) of the Constitution" (General Statutes of North Carolina).

Article 9A, Chapter 120 (2007) states that an individual becomes a lobbyist when he or she performs any of the three specific functions listed below that the General Statutes of North Carolina considers lobbying. These three functions occur when any individual "a. Is employed and receives compensation, or who contracts for economic consideration, for the purpose of lobbying. b. Represents another person and receives compensation for the purpose of lobbying. c. Is [a] (sic) legislative liaison personnel" (General Statutes of North Carolina). Any individual, who meets any of the three functions, must report under oath all related lobbying expenditures to the Secretary of State. Thus, Article 9A, Chapter 120 requires lobbyists to report expenditures including: transportation, lodging, entertainment, food, beverages, meetings, events, gifts and other expenditures (General Statutes of North Carolina). Interestingly, Article 9A, Chapter 120 only regulates attempts to influence the legislative branch of North Carolina. Individuals attempting to influence the executive and judicial branches of North Carolina are not constrained by lobbying rules and regulations (Fleer, 1994).

Growth and Types of Interest Groups in North Carolina

The scarcity of material concerning North Carolina interest groups and lobbyists has in no way impeded the acceleration of the number of interests groups in this state.

Table 1. Registration of Lobbyists in North Carolina, 1969-1991

	Year of Registration			
	1969	1977	1985	1991
Number of Interest Groups	140	222	369	461

Source: Fleer, 1994, p. 178

Table 2. Interests Represented by North Carolina Interests, by Year of Registration

	Number of Lobbyists			
Type of Interest	**1969**	**1977**	**1985**	**1991**
Business	58	115	182	163
Corporations	20	28	65	70
Utilities	6	10	25	24
Banking, Finance	9	15	24	20
Insurance	14	27	28	24
Other	9	35	40	25
Trade associations	34	32	48	90
Professional associations	5	8	16	33
Agriculture	5	8	16	16
Environment	1	1	6	18
Citizen's groups	3	9	17	21
Labor	7	3	4	3
Education	3	8	13	20
Employees of government units	4	10	15	19
Medicine, Health care	13	18	29	38
Miscellaneous, Unclassified	11	10	41	40
Total	**202**	**337**	**569**	**624**

Source: Fleer, 1994, p. 179

Thus, there has occurred an over 300% increase in both the number of registered lobbyists and interest groups working within the state from 1969 to 1991. However, Fleer (1994) reports, "Despite increases in the number and diversity of legislative agents registered, the interests that were represented most frequently in 1977 continued to be most frequently represented in 1991-92" (p. 179). By far, business lobbyists are a force and field the largest faction of lobbyists with 163 lobbyists in 1991. Trade and professional organizations each have large numbers of lobbyists as well with 90 and 33 lobbyists each respectively. Health care and medicine also have a large lobbyists' contingency with 38 lobbyists. Citizen's groups, education, employees of government units, environmental groups and agricultural groups all field a modest pack of lobbyists as well. All these groups sent

around 20 lobbyists to the state capital in 1991 (Fleer, 1994). Therefore, the growth of interest groups and lobbyists in North Carolina does not reflect a greater diversity of interest groups and lobbyists at the state capital.

Techniques of Interest Groups in North Carolina

The most successful techniques for a lobbyist to employ are probably the oldest techniques. According to Fleer's study, lobbyists and legislators of North Carolina agreed that the most important technique is a skillful, personal appeal. His study found that lobbyists and legislators agreed too many of the same techniques, but the two groups listed them in a different order. Fleer (1994) reports that both groups believe "presenting testimony before legislative committees, assisting in drafting bills for introduction, forming coalitions with another group or groups, and mobilizing public opinion through letter writing and/or the media" (p. 180) are effective techniques for influencing policy makers at the state capital. Lobbyists also stated that supporting legislators during elections was a valuable lobbying technique. However, legislators did not believe that supporting a legislator during elections was a valuable lobbying technique even though 95% of legislators admitted to receiving money from interest groups (Fleer, 1994). Further, Fleer's study found that neither lobbyists nor legislators believed that gifts created any access or influence upon legislators. Nevertheless, legislators do "snack on cookies from RJR Nabisco, refresh themselves with Pepsi-Cola, and attend numerous breakfasts and receptions" (Fleer, 1994, p. 182) sponsored by many different organizations. Therefore, it would appear that the oldest techniques are at least the acknowledged best techniques in North Carolina.

Influence of Interest Groups in North Carolina, Particularly in Education

Fleer's study reveals that education, business, banking, state employees, doctors, lawyers, local governments and insurance interests are ranked as having the most influence on the legislative branch of the state. Fleer's study asked respondents to rank the five most influential interest groups during the past election and during the last legislative session. Fleer (1994) admits that his "questions were open-ended, and thus various phrasings of the names of the influential groups were received" (p. 182). Fleer then compared his findings to Zeigler and Baer's study from 1966. Fleer remarks, "In both surveys, education interests are prominent" (p. 185). Concerning the list of interests above, education, business and banking are the big three interests in North Carolina in 1985-1986. Fleer states that almost 75% of respondents listed education interests, nearly 50% of respondents listed business interests and 40% of respondents listed banking interests as among the most influential interest groups. Fleer continued that the North Carolina Association of Educators (NCAE) was specifically mentioned by name. In 1994, Thomas and Hrebenar completed a fifty state study that asserted that schoolteachers' interest groups were ranked first in influence and found to be most effective[iv] in 43 states and that general business interest groups were ranked second in influence and found to be most effective in 37 states (p. 149). Thus, Fleer's study, Zeigler and Baer's study, and Thomas and Hrebenar's study all point to the influence of education interests and business interests in North Carolina as well as many other states as well. Therefore, this study considers Fleer's study, Zeigler and Baer's study, and Thomas and Hrebenar's study while exploring the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key state-level education associations under normal legislative conditions as well as during the calendar change legislation in the state of North Carolina.

The Work of the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research

NCCPPR produces a similar study to the *Effectiveness, attendance, and roll call voting participation rankings of the 2003 North Carolina General Assembly*. In the *Rankings of the most influential lobbyists in the 2003 North Carolina General Assembly*, NCCPPR ranks the effectiveness of every North Carolina lobbyist biannually. NCCPPR compiles their rankings by surveying the legislators, registered lobbyists themselves and capital news reporters. The survey asks the three groups of respondents "to list the most influential lobbyists and legislative liaisons" (Watts, 2005, p. 105). NCCPPR's publication provides a second tool to help understand which lobbyists are asserting the most influence by categorizing lobbyists as opposed to interest groups. Therefore, NCCPPR has created another very powerful snapshot of the power and influence in the state capital of the top 50 influential lobbyists.

One criticism of the NCCPPR's publication as well as similar studies is that the researchers have proved nothing more significant than what was known before the study occurred. Thus, the research proves that rich countries pave more streets than poor countries (Peterson, 1974). Nevertheless, NCCPPR's lists and rankings uncovered interesting information concerning lobbyists at the state capital of North Carolina. Watts (2005) found that "Twenty-six of the 50 most influential lobbyists, or 52 percent, are lawyers" (p. 104). Further, Watts (2005) found that "Eight of the 50 most influential lobbyists, or 16 percent, are former legislators, and three more are former legislative staffers" (p. 104). However, larger questions are unanswered such as what are the unwritten rules, values or political culture that direct these lists and rankings. Thus, this study considers the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research's *Rankings of the most influential lobbyists in the 2003*

North Carolina General Assembly to investigate the power and influence of the leaders and lobbyists of the key North Carolina state-level education associations.

School Calendar Politics

The particular focus of the present study is the politics of the school calendar. The literature concerning school calendar politics covers only three researched areas. The widest researched school calendar issue is the year round school. The focus of this research is how to implement year round schools and how year round schooling effects achievement. After the topic of year round schooling is the block schedule. Identical to year round schooling research, the focus of block scheduling research is how to implement block scheduling and how block scheduling effects student achievement. The third and final school calendar issue in the literature is energy use and conservation with an emphasis on how each season affects energy consumption. Thus, a review of the literature reveals that no researcher has ever conducted a study on state-level politics of any state except concerning year round schools, the block schedule and energy consumption. However, the year round school and the block schedule research always begins at a useful starting place for this study as well.

The school calendar literature usually begins by explaining how the traditional calendar was never instituted or designed with learning and education as its focus. Instead, the traditional calendar was instituted and designed to accommodate child labor. Ballinger and Kneese (2006) state that the traditional calendar is "an amalgam of responses to the economic and social needs of a nation both rural and urban" (p. 3). Interestingly, times have truly not changed for this state that passed calendar legislation to help tourist-driven beach businesses and urban malls and fast food stores to keep their teen-age workers on the job two

more weeks in the summer. Therefore, the economic and social needs of the state of North Carolina both rural and urban constructed a new school calendar.

Conclusion

A review of the politics of education literature reveals that the models and theories in the fields of political science and in politics of education have developed slowly over the past forty years. As discussed above, the literature is scattered and patchy at best, often with conflicting findings with some topics receiving a great deal of coverage while other topics are scarcely mentioned, much less studied. Therefore, research on these models and theories regarding the creation and management of power and influence would enhance our understanding of significant issues in the field of politics of education. The next section presents a framework for this new study of state politics, focusing on North Carolina calendar politics.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

The conceptual framework devised for the study is adapted from both Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological System of Human Development* and Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin's (2005) *Politics from Margin to Center*. Each circle in the conceptual framework has a lens that any researcher can use to observe and then understand any political system (see Figure 1). The circles represent legitimized power and the influence to produce legislation. Outside the hegemonic policy square, the formal legislatures, boards, central offices and bureaucracies have placed the outsiders, marginals, silenced ones and untouchables (Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005). The conceptual framework begins in the center circle with the political system, which is Raleigh in this study. The circles in the conceptual framework are arranged in order of concreteness. As one moves outward through each circle, the behaviors

become more internalized and less measurable or observable. In the inner circles, a

researcher can count the number of constituents that potentially can produce power and

influence. Further, participants in the political system understand and recognize the power

and influence of others. In the outer circles, behaviors are replaced with the beliefs and ideals

that motivate the behaviors of a particular major player.

"Outsiders"

Ideology

Competing

Political Culture

Assumptive

Hierarchies of Power

Political System

Circles of Influence

Worlds

Cultural Theory

Values

"Untouchables"

"Marginals"

"Silenced Ones"
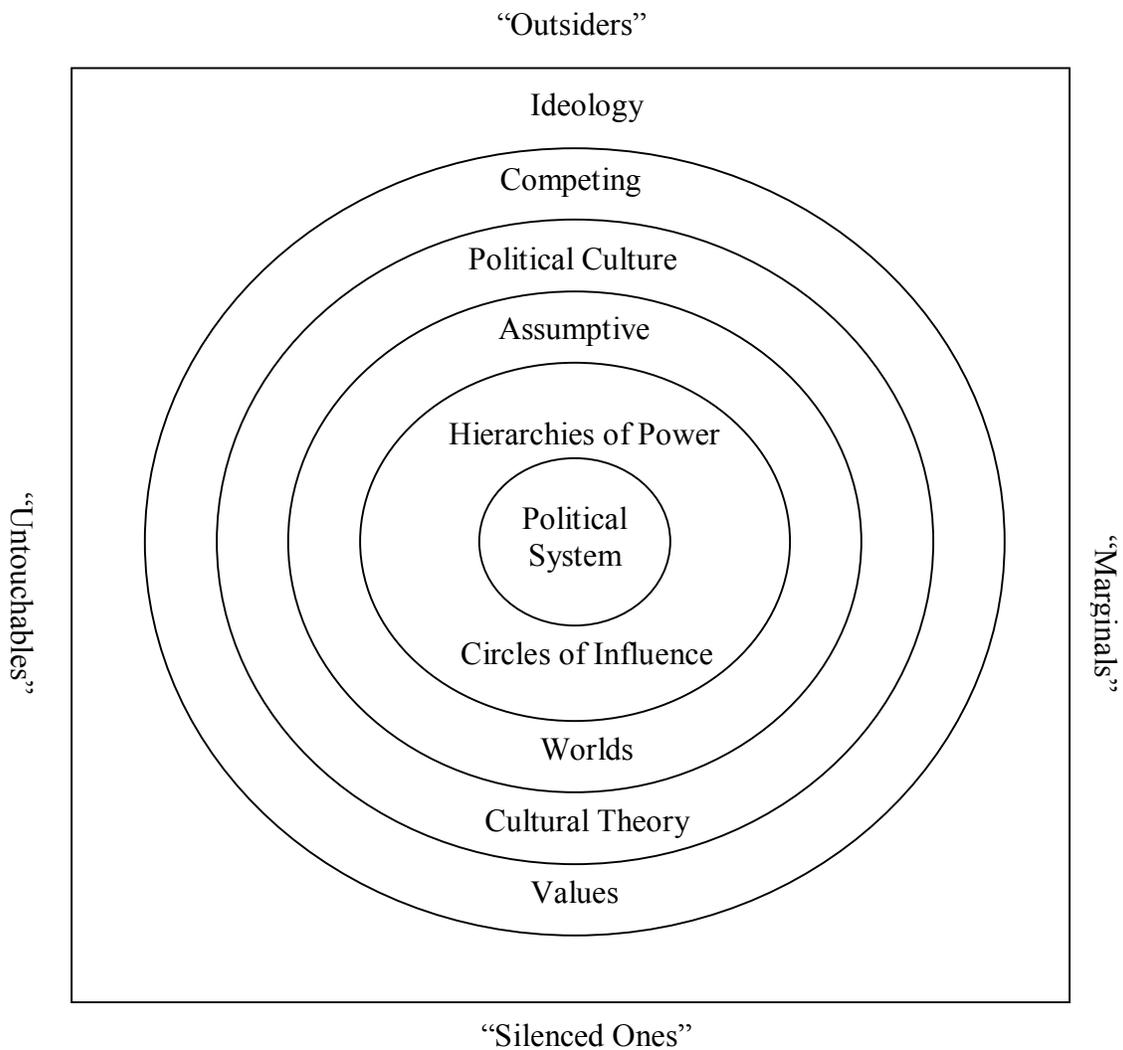
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: Ways of Viewing Power and Influence in a Political System

In the outer circles, a researcher must discover how participants in the political system view physical and human nature as well as political culture, competing values and ideology. Outside the hegemonic policy square exist unfamiliar and alternative ways of viewing policy needs and of behaving politically. Thus, the circles closer to the center are more concrete and tangible, while the circles on the outside are more uncertain and subtle. Researchers who cross over the hegemonic policy square enter into a strange rarely studied territory.

The political system is located in the center circle of the framework because the political system is the logical and obvious location to begin a study of political power and influence. The first circle contains Mazzoni's (1991) arena model. The arena model examines the venues where politicians, interest groups and elites initiate, determine and enact regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues. The second circle contains Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. These models help to place rules and procedures on power and influence. However when items or issues are codified, certain behaviors that reveal power and influence are lost because there will always be behaviors that fall outside the understood rules and procedures. The third circle contains Marshall et al.'s assumptive worlds model. The assumptive worlds model focuses on the beliefs and insider knowledge of major players in any political system. This circle begins the transformation from observable behaviors to the uncertain and subtle beliefs and ideals of major players. The fourth circle holds Elazar's (1966) political culture and Thompson et al.'s (1990) cultural theory. Political culture and the five ways of life are the patterns or orientations to political action that all individuals and groups have embedded within their practices and beliefs. Ergo, political culture and the five ways of life are more uncertain and subtle than the assumptive worlds model since political culture and the five

ways of life mold and reinforce the assumptive worlds of major players in a political system. The fifth circle contains the competing-values perspective. Values are permanent principles that a particular manner of conduct or condition of existence is personally or socially desirable. Further, values shape every individual's view of physical and human nature. Thus, values form the foundations for the three political cultures and the five ways of life. Values direct the practices and beliefs of all major players in a political system. At the very core of all individuals are their values.

Beyond the five circles are ideologies. As stated earlier, (see page 36 of this study) ideology is "a fairly coherent set of values and beliefs about the way the social, economic, and political systems should be organized and operated and recommendations about how these values and beliefs should be put into effect" (Isaak, 1987, p. 133). Ideologies surround the five circles because in politics major players often follow their ideology as a compass as opposed to their values. Major players who support a bill in one session might feverishly oppose the same bill in the following session. Ideologies make the behaviors of major players more uncertain and unpredictable than any other characteristic in a political system. Therefore, ideologies float outside the five circles to illustrate that ideologies are beyond the rules and norms of any political system.

Beyond the hegemonic policy square is situated politics from beyond the margins. Inside the square, Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2005) state, "insiders communicate information among themselves; they glean ideas about how to manage issues through networking among consultants, lobbyists, and their counterparts in different states" (p. 75). Unfamiliar methods of discussing and visualizing legislation are minimized, generating token responses during political election years (Schattschneider, 1960). Thus, outside the hegemonic policy square,

"seemingly rational and objective policy discussions fail to connect to realities—to the range of educators', families', and students' needs" (Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005, p. 70). Therefore, marginals float outside the hegemonic policy square to illustrate that there are those who are not allowed to play by the rules and norms of any political system.

Applications of the Framework

The researcher employed the inner circles of this conceptual framework to discover the power, influence, knowledge and strategies of the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system. The researcher conducted interviews framed by the concepts in the hierarchies of power and circles of influence model to find and rank the power and influence of the major players in the legislative arena of North Carolina as well as of the major players representing the education associations. Next, the researcher analyzed the interviews to determine if an arena shift occurred during the passage of the school calendar bill. The researcher then sifted through the interviews employing the assumptive worlds model to identify patterns regarding whether insider knowledge is the root antecedent of the behavior of the major players in the legislative arena of North Carolina as well as representing the education associations. After the researcher identified the insider knowledge of the major players in the interviews, the researcher next utilized the outer circles to investigate and analyze the patterns or orientations to political action as well as any permanent principles embedded within the practices and beliefs of the major players in the legislative arena of North Carolina as well as representing the education associations. Subsequently, the researcher wrote the Conclusion and Implications section by moving from one circle to the next. Finally, as part of the

Conclusion and Implications section, the researcher analyzed the narratives of the interviewees to learn their beliefs of why marginals lack political influence.

The research first yielded the placement of the major players in the legislative arena of North Carolina as well as representing the education associations. The research also verified that an arena shift occurred. The research revealed insider knowledge as well as how that knowledge influences the beliefs and behaviors of the major players representing the education associations. The researcher next examined indications in the data of how political culture, cultural theory, the competing-values perspective and ideology influence the beliefs and behaviors of the seven major players representing the education associations. In this way, the conceptual framework illustrated how key state-level education associations in North Carolina create and employ power and influence. Thus, Marshall et al.'s (1989) assumptive worlds model and their hierarchies of power and circles of influence models assisted the researcher in overcoming the limitations discussed earlier by Cibulka (as cited in Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005). These two models, in conjunction with the arena model, the competing-values model, political culture model, cultural theory, ideologies and awareness of politics from beyond the margins helped the researcher to determine how the educational interest groups of North Carolina create and employ power in order to motivate, communicate and interact with policy-makers.

Previous literature (see the Literature Review) indicates that groups that are successful follow the assumptive worlds or the unwritten rules and norms of policy-making at the state capital. Further, it indicates that groups higher on the hierarchies of power and deeper in the circles of influence routinely defeat groups lower on the hierarchies of power and in the outer circles of influence. The literature guided analyses of how political culture or

the five ways of life according to cultural theory help or hinder different groups as they

negotiate and strive for power and influence. The analyses also provided information

concerning ideology. Finally, the logical finding for the specific calendar politics, is that the

education associations lost power when the school calendar bill passed because they did not

stay united; the arena shift moved them into an outer circle of influence as well as created a

situation where the education associations faced groups or individuals who were higher on

the hierarchies of power model.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

Purpose

School leaders who decide to learn and understand politics in education, quickly discover that the politics of education literature is scattered and patch work at best. One aspect of the politics of education field that is underdeveloped in the literature is how key state-level education associations in North Carolina create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives. While politics of education researchers address many of these issues in studies and research articles, no study or research article has concentrated upon all the above issues in the state of North Carolina. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to describe and explain how the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system create and employ power and influence in order to lobby and negotiate their needs and values for state policy initiatives. The study used the politics of the school calendar as the nexus around which data collection focuses.

Rationale for Qualitative Approach

A researcher employs qualitative methods in order to identify, explore and understand an unknown or complex problem (Creswell, 2005). As discussed in the literature review, a review of the politics of education literature reveals that the models and theories in the fields of political science and in politics of education have developed slowly over the past forty

years. Certain topics have received a great deal of coverage while other topics are scarcely mentioned, much less studied. Research on these models and theories regarding the creation and management of power and influence is rarely studied, limited and only reveals a small piece of a very large puzzle. Dexter (1970) states "when we really cannot be sure what interpretation of what code, norm, affect, rule, etc., guiding the actors, and when this matters-when we do not know their definition of situations-then interviews are often desirable" (pp. 18-19). Thus, conducting interviews in order to tap into the experiences of those closest to the political system would enhance our understanding of significant issues in the field of politics of education. This provides a second reason that a researcher should employ qualitative methods for this study. Creswell (2005) states, "in qualitative research, you select people or sites that can best help you understand the central phenomenon. This understanding emerges through a detailed understanding of the people or the site" (p. 204). A third reason that a researcher should employ qualitative methods for this study is the scope of the research. Dexter (1970) asserts "detailed analysis of one case may be more instructive for some purposes than an effort to study a number of cases" (p. 105). Therefore, this study is strengthened by the qualitative approach because the researcher sought a greater understanding of specific education elites and a site, the North Carolina legislative building.

Major Research Question

The scarce investigation of the present topic results from several factors. One factor is that researchers in the field of politics of education often situate their study in international studies, national studies, state studies, district studies and finally building studies with inadequate attention to state politics. Another factor is that research conducted at the state level often concentrates on legislators and their power and influence. A review of the

literature reveals that no researcher has ever conducted a study specifically on the legislators of North Carolina and the power and influence of these legislators. This study diverged even further from established research by concentrating on the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system as well as the power and influence of these same leaders and lobbyists. The major research question that the researcher explored in this study is: What are the experiences of the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system as they negotiate and influence state policy in general as well as during the passage of the school calendar bill?

Research Questions

The following questions guided the process of inquiry:

1. How do the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models (1989) help explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

2. How does the assumptive worlds model (1989) help explain the action of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

3. How does political culture affect key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

4. How do key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina manage competing-values?

5. How does the arena model (1991) help to describe and explain the power and influence of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina?

6. How do key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina explain the failures of political outsiders or others with no influence?

Site Selection and Participants

Major Players Representing the Education Associations in North Carolina

This study's focus on the politics of the school calendar required the researcher to collect data from the major players representing the education associations in the North Carolina education political system. There are four key state-level education interest groups or associations in North Carolina. They are the North Carolina Association of Educators (NCAE), the North Carolina Association of School Administrators (NCASA), the North Carolina School Boards Association (NCSBA), and the Professional Educators of North Carolina (PENC). In addition, the Public School Forum of North Carolina (PSFNC) is a sister organization to the four key state-level education associations in North Carolina. Finally, another major player in the North Carolina education political system is the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member.

The NCAE is an all-inclusive Association with all categories of professional school personnel eligible for membership (North Carolina Association of Educators, 2005). The NCASA is the only organization in North Carolina for all central office administrators, principals, assistant principals and higher education professionals (North Carolina Association of School Administrators, 2005). The NCSBA exists to serve members of local boards as they set the policies that govern the education of children who attend public schools in the state (North Carolina School Boards Association, 2005). The PENC is a member of a coalition of independent associations nationwide and the association focuses on education issues having an impact on North Carolina (Professional Educators of North

Carolina, 2005). The PSFNC is a non-profit policy think tank that focuses on education issues in North Carolina (Public School Forum of North Carolina, 2006). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member helps all the major players in the North Carolina education political system with her professional expertise concerning "substantive aspects of legislative work" (Fowler, 2004, p. 145).

The number of registered lobbyists for the four key state-level education associations ranges from one to nine. Nevertheless, the executive director and his or her staff constitute the largest number of registered lobbyists at each key state-level education association. Thus, each key state-level education association only has a small number of full-time lobbyists. The NCAE employs three lobbyists, while the NCASA employs only one lobbyist. The NCSBA employs one lobbyist and has another part-time lobbyist as well, while the PENC currently employs no lobbyists. However, the PENC did have a contract lobbyist for the legislative session in which the General Assembly passed the school calendar bill. The researcher has chosen the participants for this study by employing homogeneous sampling (Creswell, 2005). The participants were major players in the North Carolina education political system. Thus, there were eight participants; three executive directors of the key state-level education association as well as the three lead lobbyists for the NCAE, the NCASA and the NCSBA. As previously mentioned, the PENC did have a contract lobbyist for the legislative session in which the General Assembly passed the school calendar bill as well. The lobbyist for the PSFNC and the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member have also been selected for their involvement in the state education political system. As the next sections explain, access and role issues were a challenge.

Access

As a two-time former Fellow for the NCSBA, the researcher personally knows the executive director of the NCSBA as well as the lead lobbyist for both the NCASA and the NCSBA. The Researcher also had already interviewed by phone the executive director of the PENC and the lead lobbyist for the NCAE for earlier projects. The researcher used his personal contacts as well as past research experiences to access the seven individuals who best understand the purpose, operation and values of the four key state-level education associations.

Role of Researcher

The researcher's role as researcher did not vary throughout this study. The researcher was an interviewer, as the researcher asked executive directors and lobbyists of key state-level education interest groups questions concerning who usually has power and influence in the state education political system and who had power and influence when the school calendar bill passed. However, there are different interviewing techniques. Dexter discusses interviewing as a tool and then compares different kinds of interviewing techniques to chisels. Different chisels perform different functions and the choice of a chisel will determine whether an artist enhances or negatively alters a particular sculpture. Dexter asserts that this same thinking applies to a researcher's choice of interviewing techniques when he says "so for a particular research purpose or design one particular sort of interviewing is better, more useful than another" (1970, p. 81). The researcher used the intensive interviewing technique. Dexter states that a researcher should employ the intensive interviewing technique with elites, when the purpose of the interview is to emphasize the interviewee's definition of the situation as well as allow the interviewee to structure the narrative of the situation. Thus,

Dexter (1970) concludes that an intensive interviewer "must have the intellectual flexibility or breadth of vision to perceive the undefined or the unexpected" (p. 82).

The greatest challenge the researcher faced as a researcher interviewing elites was being postponed and rescheduled "because their time is too valuable to spend in long discussions" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 113). In addition, Marshall and Rossman (2006) state, "Working with elites often places great demands on the ability of the interviewer to establish competence and credibility by displaying knowledge of the topic" (p. 106). Thus, as Marshall (1983) states "The challenge is to devise ways to make the research effort seem valuable to the interviewee and then provide assurance that the researcher can be trusted and is knowledgeable enough to avoid harming the elite's political or personal efforts" (p. 7). However, the researcher employed many assets that offset these challenges. One asset the researcher extended to some of the study's interviewees was the opportunity to talk to an understanding stranger. The understanding stranger pieces together data from secondary sources such as biographical data from directories, newspapers and internal documents as well as publications from the studied organization. Dexter (1970) explains this phenomenon as follows:

> So, the interviewer who has bothered to 'understand,' who knows what the interviewee is talking about, whose comments are relevant, but who will not make any future claims, who will not regard himself as having received a commitment, no matter what is said, can indeed provide a pleasurable experience to the interviewee. (p. 38)

Some interviewees already knew the researcher and the researcher had already established his ability and fidelity regarding this topic because the researcher researched the political system of North Carolina for the North Carolina School Boards Association during the researcher's fellowship. To both groups of interviewees, the researcher extended the

opportunity for all of them to teach the researcher about a topic that the researcher found highly interesting. Dexter comments that he always tries to impress upon an interviewee that they are both reflective persons attempting to understand "how things happen, but the less informed and experienced one (the interviewer) deferring to the wiser one and learning from him" or her (p. 56). A final asset is that the researcher put forth the claim that this study potentially could inform educators as well as the public concerning the function of key state-level education interest groups. Unfortunately, one respondent stalled his interview for five months. In the end, this individual refused to be interviewed and left his position soon after.

In addition, the researcher was an interviewer, as the researcher asked executive directors and lobbyists of key state-level education interest groups questions concerning marginals and their lack of influence in the state political system. Marshall (1983) states "there will always be 'outs' struggling to get inside the decision-making process, pressuring, rallying, propagandizing, and using all sorts of ingenious devices to try to get their way and to open up the policy arena" (p. 5). One asset for this line of research was that the researcher understood the literature of marginals as well as what Dexter (1970) called the ability "to perceive the undefined or the unexpected" (p. 82). Another asset that benefited the researcher was that interviewees who wished to teach the researcher felt compelled to explain why some groups struggle for representation while other groups succeed. According to Ostrander (1993), a final asset is that elites are "used to being asked what they think and having what they think matter in other people's lives" (p. 397). Since few researchers have asked state-level elites anything concerning marginals and their lack of influence in the state political system, the conversations were easy and the research garnered much data concerning the plight of political outsiders.

Ethics

The researcher consulted various professional codes of conduct (psychologists and sociologists) concerning research ethics. The researcher borrowed terms straight from the American Sociological Association's Code of Ethics of how the researcher would conduct this study. The researcher was "honest, fair, and respectful of others in their professional activities," and did "not knowingly make statements that are false, misleading, or deceptive" (American Sociological Association, 2006). The researcher always respected "the rights, dignity, and worth of all people" (American Sociological Association, 2006). "When undertaking research . . . the researcher strove to advance . . . and to serve the public good" (American Sociological Association, 2006)[v]. However Dexter (1970), Arksey and Knight (1999), Dean and White (1958), and Marshall (1983) assert that truth, deception, confidentiality and reciprocation are still problematic for even the most ethical researcher. Dexter (1970) states that "any scholar who says 'I'll see where the data leads me' is sooner or later bound to deceive some interviewees, from their standpoint" (p. 70). Dexter concludes that all interviews are covert because the researcher has no control or firm idea where the data will take him or her. In addition, Arksey and Knight discuss the debate concerning confidentiality and elites. Arksey and Knight (1999) state, "Opinion is divided, but generally it is thought that some degree of exposure is to be expected—it goes with the job" (p. 133). Well-known elites or as the case is in this study, elites who know each other well will probably know what others have said with little reading between the lines. Zuckerman (1972), concerning one of her interviews, maintains that "Protecting the anonymity of the respondents was made difficult because they knew the other individuals involved in the investigation and were understandably curious about what others had said" (p. 384).

Nevertheless, Dean and White assert that researchers should never tell other interviewees what another interviewee has said in previous interviews. Dean and White (1958) state "Even if the informant says, 'I don't care who knows it; tell anybody you want to,' we find it wise to treat the interview as confidential" (p. 37). Thus, the researcher has employed only each person's job title, changed some genders and changed the educational backgrounds for each interviewee.

Marshall touches on another ethical dilemma when she asserts that a researcher must find ways to reciprocate interviewees for their access, for their time and for their information. Marshall (1983) answers this challenge by stating "Researchers who respond with enough encouraging facial expressions interspersed with ample 'really?' and 'no kidding' responses, will be giving their informants enough in return for the information they receive" (p. 15). Thus, the understanding stranger himself or herself reciprocates the elite interviewee by carefully listening and asking intelligent questions.

Data Collection

Interviews

The researcher used historical documents and semi-structured interviews for this study (Creswell, 2005). Before the researcher conducted a single interview, the researcher pieced together data from secondary sources such as biographical data concerning interviewees from the web-directories of the organizations that employ each interviewee. The researcher also reviewed any newspaper articles and internal documents as well as publications from the studied organizations that mention or discuss the school calendar bill. The researcher then conducted one-on-one intensive interviews with the three executive directors of three key state-level education associations and the lead lobbyists for the

NCASA and the NCSBA and the lobbyists for the PSFNC as well. The executive director of

PENC was also a lobbyist for PENC. The executive director for NCASA had changed, when

the interviewing this study occurred. Further, the researcher knew that the past executive

director for NCASA could offer little knowledge of the school calendar events because the

lead lobbyist operated alone from an organizational stance. Finally, the researcher conducted

a one-on-one intensive interview with the Education Committee's chief legislative staff

member.

Table 3. Interviewees

Title	Position	Organization	Gender	Race	Highest Educational Attainment
The President of NCAE	Executive	NCAE	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Executive Director for NCSBA	Executive	NCSBA	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Executive Director of PENC	Executive and Lobbyist	PENC	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA	Lobbyist	NCASA	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA	Lobbyist	NCSBA	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF	Lobbyist	PSFNC	Female	White	Juris Doctorate
The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member	Legislative Staff Member		Female	White	Juris Doctorate

The researcher conducted two separate and distinct intensive interviews with each of the

seven participants. The first intensive interview explored who had power and influence in

North Carolina educational politics, when the state passed the calendar bill in the summer of 2004. The researcher also attempted to learn more about the lack of political influence of marginal groups and their advocates during the first interview. The second intensive interview explored who typically has power and influence in North Carolina educational politics. Each intensive interview was taped as well as transcribed and lasted anywhere from one interview lasting 5 minutes to most of the interviews lasting more than two hours.

Pilot Study

The researcher discussed the methodology for this study with Trip Stallings, who has also interviewed elite politicians. The pilot study was useful because Stallings was also conducting research and understood North Carolina education politics. Stallings helped the researcher focus and tailor the interview questions for many of the participants in order to have highly productive interviews. After conferring with Stallings concerning the appropriateness of the interview questions, the researcher tested the interview questions on Aaron Cooley. Cooley was useful because he knows and participated in North Carolina politics in his role as a staff member in the General Assembly. The researcher used the two interviews, as discussed above, for the pilot study. From this field test, the researcher gathered some initial data to determine how useful the preliminary codes are as well as improve the interview questions so that they would produce data rich interviews.

Analysis

Coding

The researcher conducted analysis of the transcribed interviews by hand analysis of the interview data. This process of analysis revealed a rich and robust data that the researcher described and explored in detail. The preliminary codes for this study were: power, influence,

politics, rules of the game, insider knowledge, political culture, values, ideology and suggestions or ideas for political outsiders. Concerning codes, Miles and Huberman (1984) state "clear operational definitions are indispensable" (p. 60). Miles and Huberman assert that research is more effective and efficient when a researcher understands and can apply his or her codes. These authors reason that the entire analyzing process accelerates because the researcher applies the same code consistently. In this study, power means that an individual or group obtains results or can halt or eliminate a piece of legislation even in the face of resistance. Influence is a little more subtle. Influence means that an individual or group can produce a change in an outcome, but not remove or stop the piece of legislation. Politics means any maneuver or procedure that outwits or gives an added advantage to an individual or group in the political system. Rules of the game mean that an individual or group understands the legislative process of how to move forward or impede legislation. Insider knowledge means that an individual or group knows critical information or power holders who can move forward or impede legislation. Political culture means that political systems have rooted within their political action practices and beliefs that are specific to that system. Thus, political culture creates a paradigm that subconsciously frames participants' attitudes and actions. Values are the underlying concepts in the mind of individuals and groups that create and strengthen political cultures. Ideology exists when the researcher cannot explain actions or beliefs of an individual or group by any other means than political party loyalty. Finally, suggestions or ideas for political outsiders are the suggestions or ideas that the interviewees generate to help marginals become part of the political system. Further, the researcher added some secondary codes after further research, the completion of the pilot study and the completion of the interviews. The secondary codes for this study were:

Hierarchy of Power and Circles of Influence—General, How an education association

operates, Hierarchy of Power and Circles of Influence Associations and the Forum,

Legislative Procedures, the Conference Committee, The Senate Education Committee,

Influences of pre-HB1464, NCAE changes and arena shift. The researcher then created

tertiary codes to organize the data. Once the researcher had the data as well as the

preliminary, secondary codes and tertiary codes, the researcher used the multiple

perspectives of the participants of this study to transform the codes into themes. Finally, the

researcher reported the findings by employing both layered themes and the conceptual

framework for this study (Creswell, 2005).

Trustworthiness

The researcher utilized the models discussed within the Literature Review to insure

trustworthiness in this study. The Literature Review reveals a field that has made slow, but

steady progress concerning understanding power, influence, political culture and interest

groups. The Literature Review also espouses many caveats that alert the researcher of models

and theories that have failed to explain political phenomena. Thus, the Literature Review

itself assures trustworthiness for this study.

Another problem concerning trustworthiness is the question whether any researcher

every can truly know if the interviewee is telling the truth. Dean and White assert that this

question is not a legitimate question. Dean and White (1958) state that the question "assumes

that there is invariably some basic underlying attitude or opinion that a person is firmly

committed to, i.e., his *real* belief" (p. 353). The authors continue that research has proven

that the one thing a researcher can be sure of is that an interviewee will hold conflicting

attitudes and these attitudes differ depending upon the context. Therefore, the authors

conclude that researchers should not worry about the truth, but rather what the interviewee's statements "reveal about his feelings and perceptions and what inferences can be made from them about the actual environment or events he has experienced" (Dean & White, 1958, p. 359).

The researcher also used two peer debriefers to insure trustworthiness in this study (Creswell, 2005). A peer debriefer provides a fresh perspective to a qualitative study by providing analysis and a critique of the study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). The two peer debriefers were Aaron Cooley and Trip Stallings. However, the peer debriefer technique presents some ethical dilemmas. The researcher obviously has no plans to hand the collected data back to the interviewees. Further, the researcher plans to hand the collected data and final paper to fellow students and an editor. Therefore, the researcher had a discussion with each interviewee that anyone who handles any portion of this research must treat the data with the utmost respect and confidentiality. This is important to the interviewees and any future students from UNC Chapel Hill because if the data are compromised, then future students might find these interviewees and other potential interviewees at the capital of this state unwilling to be interviewed. Finally, the researcher explained to fellow students and the editor that to divulge anything from this research would be unethical and could jeopardize their own future research as well as possibly jeopardize their careers both present and future.

Limitations

The researcher investigated the role of politics and influence as well as competing-values in the state political system. However, this study and the researcher acknowledge Cibulka's caveat that the competing-values perspective fails to tell researchers much more

than introductory information. According to Cibulka, the competing-values perspective fails to predict how political arrangements and processes hinder or assist policies favoring any value or multiple values. In addition, Cibulka states that the competing-values perspective offers researchers little aid in determining why under-represented groups have trouble gaining equal benefits and footing under the law. Further, many researchers have criticized models that uncover the rankings of an organization or system in a similar vein as Cibulka's caveat concerning competing-values. Thus, the researcher used other models in conjunction with the competing-values perspective to address these limitations.

Another limitation is that any researcher studying elites risks learning only what the elites wish to reveal. Elites are very skillful at avoiding questions that they do not wish to answer. The researcher believes that the conceptual framework, the interviewer's skills and the use of multiple interviewees helps negate this limitation. Miles and Huberman (1984) state the researcher's final limitation best by saying, "Unless you are willing to devote most of your professional life to a single study, you have to settle for less" (p. 36). Thus in an effort to overcome this danger of sampling to narrowly, the researcher has added a few more interviewees into this study to foster better trustworthiness as well as to help better hide the identities of interviewees.

A final limitation is that the lead lobbyist for NCAE refused to be interviewed as documented above. The executive director of NCAE also cut short our second interview. However, the first interview with the executive director of NCAE provided much data as well as a check on many of the statements of the other respondents. Further, the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF current position as well as former association with NCAE provided the researcher the chance to verify the accounts of the other respondents concerning

the philosophy and objectives of NCAE. Finally, the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member's unbiased position and knowledge also presented the researcher the opportunity to certify many of the statements of the other respondents concerning the ranking and activities of NCAE.

Significance of the Study

Marshall et al.'s (1989) assumptive worlds model and their hierarchies of power and circles of influence models assisted the researcher in overcoming the limitations discussed earlier by Cibulka (as cited in Marshall & Gerstl-Pepin, 2005). These two models in conjunction with the arena model, the competing-values model, political culture model, cultural theory, ideologies and awareness of politics from beyond the margins helped the researcher to determine how the educational interest groups of North Carolina create and employ power in order to motivate, communicate and interact with policy-makers. These models and theories are sufficiently robust to investigate power and influence under favorable terms as well as adverse terms, such as when the school calendar bill passed, for the education associations. The utilization of these perspectives makes a stronger study of state education politics as well as to further the knowledge base concerning the arena model, the competing-values perspective, political culture, cultural theory, ideologies, the assumptive worlds model and the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. As a further component of this study, the researcher questioned the above Executive Directors and lobbyists about the failures of political outsiders and those who do not follow the rules of the assumptive worlds. This portion of the study includes what the outsiders do that make them unsuccessful and why their behaviors or actions are unsuccessful in the state capital. The literature reveals that no one has done this before. Therefore, the researcher's purpose with

this portion of the study is to further the assumptive worlds model by demonstrating that those who do not follow the assumptive rules lose power and rarely meaningfully influence policy at the state capital.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: HOW AN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OPERATES

Organization of How an Education Association Operates

This chapter presents findings for research questions which focus on the assumptive

worlds model that explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and

lobbyists in North Carolina. In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, the assumptive worlds model

identified four domains that order a policy maker's assumptive world (see pp. 22 and 23 of

the Literature Review).

The four domains are:
1. Who has the right and responsibility to initiate policy?
2. What policy ideas are deemed unacceptable?
3. What policy mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate?
4. What are the special conditions of the state?

Marshall et al. found that each domain not only guides the actions of successful participants

in the legislative arena, but produces operational principles of appropriate behavior for these

same participants as well. Further, Marshall et al. built the assumptive worlds model on the

foundation of linguistic theories (Edelman, 1977; Pfeffer, 1981a, 1981b; Donmoyer, 1984;

and Burlingame, 1983). Marshall et al. (1989) state, "Power is enacted through language.

Language shapes the meaning and interpretations attached to events and behaviors" (p. 36).

Thus, the researcher employed the linguistic theories embedded in the assumptive worlds

model to gain further insights into the operations of state-level education associations.

Organization of Chapter 4

Chapter 4 consists of four sections. First, the researcher presents a brief history of the four key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF, a not for profit policy think tank. Second, the researcher explores how the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF govern and produce the legislative agenda for each specific organization. Third, the researcher reviews the procedures that govern the legislative process so that the reader can understand the normal rules and expectations in the legislative process. Finally, the researcher reveals how the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF advance each organization's legislative agenda.

A Brief History of Each Organization

Each organization has its own unique history so this study briefly details each education association's history. The purpose for this section is to continue the work of V.O. Key, Luebke and Fleer as well as to address the complaint of Clive Thomas that very little material exists detailing to any degree southern interest groups (see V.O. Key (1949) pp. 39 and 40; Lueke (1990) and Fleer (1994) pp. 40-42 as well as Fleer (1994) pp. 44-45 and 47-48; Clive Thomas (1992) p. 43 all in the Literature Review).

NCAE

The NCAE is an all-inclusive Association with all categories of professional school personnel eligible for membership. "The North Carolina Education Association was organized in 1857. The North Carolina Teachers Association was organized in 1880" (North Carolina Association of Educators, 2005). The North Carolina Education Association and the North Carolina Teachers Association merged together on July 1, 1970 to form the NCAE. Currently, the "NCAE is one of the larger state affiliates of the National Education

Association ranking 14th of the 53 NEA affiliates" (North Carolina Association of Educators, 2005).

NCASA

NCASA is the only organization in North Carolina for all central office administrators, principals, assistant principals and higher education professionals (North Carolina Association of School Administrators, 2005). In the 1960s, all of the educators in the state were in one organization that was affiliated with the national education association, the NEA of Washington. In the 1970's, there was a movement for the NEA to become union affiliated and the administrators within the education organization of this state really did not want to be affiliated with a union group. In 1976, the administrators broke off and created NCASA (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

NCSBA

The organization was formed in 1937 by Guy Phillips, who was the Dean of the School of Education at Chapel Hill. Peabody Hall on the campus of Chapel Hill housed the organization from 1937 to 1970. In 1969, the Board of Directors asked the national organization to come and do a program audit on the organization as well as make some recommendations on what NCSBA could do to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the operation. The first recommendation was that the NCSBA needed to move to Raleigh and the second recommendation was that NCSBA needed to increase the organization's collection of revenue. Thus, the organization took those recommendations and increased the dues that member school districts paid into the organization and moved to Raleigh in order to get

NCSBA involved in the political process (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007).

PENC

The PENC is an independent, non-profit, non-partisan statewide association of education professionals. PENC believes educators should be free from all forms of compulsory membership and endorsements. PENC is adamantly opposed to the unionization of public school educators. PENC believes its members should enjoy the best services and benefits available for reasonable rates. PENC has approximately 7,000 members (Professional Educators of North Carolina, 2005).

NCPSF

The NCPSF is a not for profit policy think tank which partners business leaders, education leaders, and government leaders in North Carolina to find solutions to education issues. NCPSF was founded in 1986 and commissioned to do research and work in the public policy arena (North Carolina Public School Forum, 2008). The primary function of NCPSF is to provide information to help policy makers, bureaucrats and concerned citizens make the best informed decision possible concerning a number of issues (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Therefore, The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated that NCPSF "serves as a resource for legislators and providing information is the only commodity NCPSF possesses." However, the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF believes this is an influential commodity because that is one way to build good will and develop personal relationships with legislators (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007).

Governance and Development of Legislative Agenda

Each organization has its own unique governance and manner of producing a legislative agenda. Therefore, this section divides the associations into groups dependent upon the data that the assumptive worlds model revealed. The researcher employed the assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain to uncover the practices embedded in these organizations that promote the cohesion necessary for the organizations to mobilize members to participate in the creation of the organization's legislative agenda (see Bridgeland et al. p. 36 and the importance of organizational specialization in the Literature Review). This step is necessary because the membership may not champion or act on the legislative agenda if the membership does not believe in the legislative positions advanced in the agenda. Further, the researcher utilized the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to analyze the language that respondents used to situate their practices (see p. 76).

NCAE

The Government Relations Commission (GRC) develops the legislative agenda for NCAE (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The GRC receives much input from different NCAE members from around the state (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). There are 16 districts and they are not the Board of Directors. Each of the 16 districts nominates one representative from its district to sit on the GRC. Thus, each district has equal votes and representation (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Each of NCAE's five divisions is represented as well on the GRC. One division is Principals and Administrators. Another division is the Education Support Personnel (ESP). The ESP division encompasses custodians, teacher assistants,

cafeteria workers and bus drivers. There is also a division for what we call Special Services. The Special Services division includes librarians, counselors and speech pathologists. Another division represents retired personnel as well as a division for college students training to be teachers. Each of the five divisions has a seat on the GRC with the 16 geographic seats. Thus, NCAE has a division for every vocation in K-12 education. The President and Vice-President of NCAE also have a seat on the GRC. This group comprises the GRC that develops the legislative agenda based on the member meetings from the home districts (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). At least one-fourth of the GRC has to be associated with the minority party. At least one-fourth of the GRC has to be ethnic minorities as well. NCAE balances the GRC between males and females as well.

The members of the GRC are charged with going to round-table meetings. The round-table meetings are monthly meetings hosted by the leader of each district. The round-table meetings involve discussions about the issues that impact educators. There is some business discussed at these meetings, but the meetings are primarily about the issues. Meetings occur once a month and some members participate by telephone via conference calls (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). After a round-table meeting, the GRC member for each of the 16 districts shares and reports to the GRC what went on at his or her district round-table meeting (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Clearly, NCAE is appropriately mobilizing its members according to the third domain of the assumptive worlds model. NCAE promotes broad participation of its members regardless of vocation in K-12 education. Further, NCAE's round-table meetings engage and involve local NCAE members in education issues at the local level. This information and

feedback collected at the local level is then carried back to the state level GRC and incorporated into NCAE's legislative agenda.

There is a cycle in which different things are developed or happen. Once a session ends, there is a meeting to determine how much was accomplished concerning the legislative agenda. The issues from NCAE's legislative agenda, which NCAE did not complete, the GRC must decide if the GRC should place those same issues on the legislative agenda again. If there were legislative agenda items that were achieved, the GRC would pull these issues off of the agenda. The GRC looks at any salary gains and then generates the salary and working conditions goals for the next session. The GRC examines any student achievement issues that NCAE championed to passage in the General Assembly. NCAE then determines what sort of student achievement issues NCAE will advocate for students in the next session. By the fall, NCAE knows the issues that will appear on the legislative agenda. The GRC produces a preliminary legislative agenda and then NCAE takes a month where the GRC places the preliminary legislative agenda out to NCAE's members by website, through the round-table meetings, through mailings to local area presidents and through news bulletins to let people know the issues that NCAE thinks NCAE should be advocating for the next session. This process allows all members the opportunity to have input concerning the GRC's recommendations of what NCAE should be advocating for the next session. Finally, before the beginning of a new year or at the latest the January in the Long Session year, the GRC would have finalized the agenda and shared the agenda with the new members of the General Assembly (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007).

Once again, NCAE is appropriately mobilizing its members according to the third domain of the assumptive worlds model. NCAE asks every single member for input

concerning the GRC's recommendations, but NCAE knows that not every single member gives NCAE feedback. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "The GRC probably hears from 60 percent of NCAE's members either by members sharing with the GRC or at the district round-table meetings." The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) queried if one asked a legislator, "Do you hear from 60 percent of your constituents, I believe the answer would be that he or she does not; so I believe that NCAE is well ahead of the game." According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the President of NCAE utilized language implying that every member of NCAE has the opportunity to share his or her ideas concerning NCAE's legislative agenda. NCAE then turns to legislators and communicates that NCAE has mobilized its membership for or against an issue. Therefore, the governance practices of NCAE serve as a catalyst to organize the membership of NCAE as well as to advance the legislative agenda to legislators.

NCASA

NCASA is governed by a 29 member Board of Directors, which includes a President, President-Elect, Immediate Past President and two members from each of the affiliated school administrator groups. NCASA currently has 12 affiliate school administrator groups unified under the NCASA umbrella and proposals for two additional ones. Those groups include the following: the North Carolina Principals' and Assistant Principals' Association, the North Carolina School Superintendents' Association, the Personnel Administrators of North Carolina, the North Carolina Association for Career/Technical Education, the North Carolina Association of School Business Official, the North Carolina Council of Administrators of Special Education, the North Carolina Professors of Educational Leadership, the North Carolina Association of Community Educators, the North Carolina

School Public Relations Association, the North Carolina School Nutrition Service

Association, the North Carolina Pupil Transportation Association and the North Carolina

Association for Educational Communications and Technology. There are approximately

7,000 members [vi] including 109 public school systems, 8 Regional Education Service

Alliances (North Carolina Association of School Administrators, Dec. 17 2007).

The board of directors develops the legislative agenda. However, the development of

NCASA's legislative agenda is a multi-stepped process. First, the leadership of NCASA does

not consider party politics in any way as the leadership of NCASA decides what should be

pursued on behalf of public schools. The leadership of NCASA holds that education issues

are non-partisan and that there are legislators of both parties that have campaigned to

improve education or sought office in order to improve education. There are both Democrats

and Republicans who have been educators in past lives; teachers, administrators; as well as

former school board members. These legislators have traveled through the education ranks

and were then elected as either Republicans or Democrats; they all focus on schools and

students. Thus, the leadership of NCASA does not see education as being a partisan affair

(The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "The leadership

of NCASA thinks education is something everyone values. NCASA works well with both

sides of the aisle. NCASA gives the same message to both parties; this is good or bad for

schools and here are the reasons."

The researcher employed the assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain

to uncover the special practices of NCASA concerning party politics. According to linguistic

theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA's language explains how she understands the political rules of the game in North Carolina. Her discussion of Republicans and Democrats is also mirrored in V.O. Key treatment of the rise of the Republican party in the South (see V.O. Key pp. 39 and 40 of the Literature Review). Therefore, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA's explanation of Republicans and Democrats reveals her understanding that education legislation will not pass unless embraced by members of both parties. Thus, from the very beginnings of a piece of legislation, NCASA builds into the organization's process the need for bi-partisan support.

Next, NCASA tries to take a snapshot of the concerns of its membership by surveying the entire membership by making an on-line survey available through a list serve that goes by email to all school administrators that are on NCASA's rolls as members. The board of directors has decided to use the survey as a tool to determine member feedback before setting the legislative agenda. Administrators have a set time of when they can respond to this on-line survey. The survey contains specific questions that the leadership of NCASA writes based on what the leadership of NCASA has seen happen in a previous session, issues the leadership of NCASA sees in the news that are generating discussion that seem to have an impact for public schools as well as to outline ideas that the leadership of NCASA may not have thought to ask in order to generate new topics that the membership believes needs to rise to the surface. The leadership of NCASA conducts this survey before long session, typically in the fall before the long session (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

Then, the leadership of NCASA obtains that feedback from members and determines what rises to the surface as the key items of concern. These items of concern are then

analyzed to determine if the organization wants to take up these issues on behalf of NCASA's members. The leadership of NCASA takes that feedback from the survey to the board of directors, which by the by-laws of NCASA is charged with setting the legislative agenda for the organization. The board fully approves what is put into the legislative platform for this organization and that platform is a document that is printed. The board then takes that document and places their stamp of approval on the document. The board will tinker with the wording and format the document into how the board wants the document to read and then that document is approved. Once the document is approved, it is distributed to every member as well as every legislator as NCASA begins to work on legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

Just as NCAE, NCASA is appropriately mobilizing its members according to the third domain of the assumptive worlds model. NCASA promotes wide participation of its members by the use of a survey that is emailed to each member of NCASA. The leadership of NCASA collects this information and feedback from each member and then creates the legislative agenda. Once again just as NCAE, NCASA takes the association's legislative agenda to legislators and communicates to the legislators that NCASA has mobilized its membership for or against an issue. Therefore, the governance practices of NCASA serve as a catalyst to organize the membership of NCASA as well as to advance the legislative agenda to legislators.

NCSBA

The NCSBA has a very detailed process to determine the organization's legislative agenda. The NCSBA does a legislative survey in the summer prior to the long session of the General Assembly. The NCSBA surveys every school board member in the state on the

issues that the leadership of NCSBA believes are likely to come before the general assembly in the coming session including issues that NCSBA has traditionally supported (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). The leadership members who compile the survey are the Executive Director and the Governmental Relations Director. They both use their experience as well as conversations with other education associations and concerned parties about what they believe is likely to happen as well as what are some of the issues that will dominate the upcoming session. The Executive Director for NCSBA (March 12, 2007) stated, "There are rumors about what may or may not be in the governor's budget." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) made it clear "This process of forming the questions for the survey is anything but a hard science. We do our own process and our legislative agenda is set long before the legislators are elected." The linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame imbedded in the assumptive worlds model helped to reveal to the researcher the subjective process by which associations create their legislative agendas. Such as words as "there are rumors" and "anything but a hard science" demonstrate the qualitative methods used to produce the legislative agenda of the NCSBA. The language of the Executive Director for NCSBA also shows the power of the governor in the legislative process that will be discussed in Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF."

The results of that survey are taken to the legislative committee that is composed of approximately 30 people. There are eight district presidents on the legislative committee. In addition, the president of the association appoints eight other school board members, one from each of the eight educational regions in the state. Finally, a subsection of the board of

directors and the district presidents completes the membership of the legislative committee. After the findings of the survey are presented to the legislative committee, the legislative committee makes a determination about whether or not to include an issue on NCSBA's legislative agenda. Typically, if a majority of school board members support an issue, the legislative committee considers whether that issue needs to be a part of the legislative agenda. The higher a survey item scores in terms of support or opposition the more likely the legislative committee is going to be to include that item in the proposed legislative agenda. After the committee does its work, then the NCSBA takes the proposed legislative agenda to the eight district meetings in September and presents the legislative committee's recommendation to each district meeting for discussion. After that, the NCSBA provides the legislative agenda to the board of directors and then presents this, board of directors approved, legislative agenda to the delegate assembly at the NCSBA annual conference for final approval and discussion. At the delegate assembly there are representatives from each of the 115 local boards of education in the state and each member has an opportunity to comment, to add, to subtract, to delete or to modify any item in the proposed legislative agenda. Then, the delegates vote on the legislative agenda and then it becomes the policy of the association to advocate for that agenda (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007).

Similar to NCAE and NCASA (see pp. 81-83 and 86), NCSBA is appropriately mobilizing its members according to the third domain of the assumptive worlds model. NCSBA promotes broad participation of its members regardless of vocation in K-12 education. Further, NCSBA's eight district meetings engage and involve local NCSBA members in education issues at a local forum. This information and feedback collected at the

local level is then carried back to the board of directors and finally to the delegate assembly at the NCSBA annual conference for final approval.

PENC

PENC created its organization's legislative agenda first by garnering input from the members of the association. PENC did this by asking the members of the association what their legislative priorities were by means of a survey. The Executive Director of PENC brought in software support that allowed PENC to survey all of the members of the association (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The creation of the survey was a result of the Executive Director's interactions with other lobbyists and legislators. The Executive Director of PENC shared that many of the survey questions were educated approaches to what issues might come up during the session and this was loosely based off what had been discussed in a prior year (see p. 87 concerning rumors, etc.). The Executive Director of PENC admits that she influenced the questions that were asked by the survey because she wrote the survey knowing what the issues were likely to be for the upcoming session (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "It is very important that the membership is asked about how they would rank issues relative to all the issues, but the questions were always open ended." Thus, members could articulate other things; if a member thought an issue should be a priority that is not listed here, then members could list that issue. The survey allowed members to write responses as long as they desired. The Executive Director of PENC commented that usually members wanted to get rid of testing. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) knew that "was not going to happen, but if it made you feel better, go ahead." The legislative committee would then create PENC's

legislative agenda directly from what the members said and what they identified as important

to them (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The

Executive Director's job was to package that agenda together and then let PENC's cohort and

legislators know the legislative priorities of PENC (The Executive Director of PENC,

Personal Interview, March 30, 2007).

PENC did not have some of the checks and balances that other association have

concerning mobilizing its members according to the third domain of the assumptive worlds

model. PENC promotes broad and a similar participation vehicle of its members through the

use of a survey. However, PENC differs from the other associations in that members ceased

to have any voice or control over the legislative agenda of PENC after the member

completed the survey. The Executive Director of PENC created the legislative agenda from

survey results, but there was no formal process where members could inspect the legislative

agenda once the executive director had written the legislative agenda.

NCPSF

The NCPSF has a Board of Directors of 67 people and a staff of about 12 or 13

people as well. The NCPSF Board of Directors meets quarterly and meetings take usually

about four to six hours. The NCPSF Board of Directors composition by design is about one-

third education leaders, one-third elected officials, and one-third business leaders in North

Carolina. The portion of members from education leaders are there by virtue of the by-laws

of the NCPSF. All of the major education groups have representation on the Board of

Directors including the school boards association, the administrators association, NCAE,

higher education, community colleges, and also the NC Chamber. The NC Chamber was

NCCBI or North Carolina Citizens for Business and Industry. All those groups have

members on the NCPSF Board of Directors by virtue of a position. The second group that is on the Board of Directors is policy makers such as legislators. The governor appoints four, the Speaker of the House appoints four and the President Pro-temp of the Senate appoints four and the lieutenant governor can serve on the Board of Directors or name a designee. The governor usually does not appoint legislators to the Board of Directors. The governor's appointments are usually from the business world. It would be rare for a governor to appoint someone of the other party because he or she normally appoints supporters. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF could not remember any governor, who had ever appointed someone from another party (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). Generally in the past NCPSF has had major key leadership on the Board of Directors, such as education appropriation chairs or education content committee chairs. The appointments for the legislators are concurrent with their term of office so if at the end of two years they are not re-elected they would automatically be off the Board of Directors (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). In 2003-2004, co-Speaker Black and co-Speaker Richard Morgan gave the NCPSF both Republicans and Democrats (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). However, in case that does not happen, the NCPSF monitors how many legislators the board has and what each legislator's party affiliation is because NCPSF is non-partisan. If necessary, NCPSF may seek additional members of the minority party through the at-large process. The Execute Committee of NCPSF is the entity that will nominate at-large nominees to the Board of Directors. The NCPSF Execute Committee votes on the membership of all the members of the board of directors except for positions that are in position by the by-laws, such as the appointees from the Speaker, President Pro-temp and

the Governor. There is no approval of those appointments at all. The NCPSF takes who is

presented to the NCPSF Execute Committee by all three of those appointing entities (The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). The third and

final group is also brought in through at-large positions. The Executive Committee nominates

the third group and then the Board of Directors votes this third group onto the board of

directors using the same process that the NCPSF uses to insure that the board of directors is

non-partisan. The at-large process is where NCPSF obtains the business representation for

the board through such companies as Wachovia, Progress Energy, Duke Power and R. J.

Reynolds, which are groups that are major businesses in North Carolina. All terms to the

NCPSF Board of Directors are two-year terms (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF,

Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). Therefore, NCPSF is appropriately mobilizing members

of the North Carolina's education legislation arena according to the third domain of the

assumptive worlds model. NCPSF achieves broad participation and support of NCPSF's

issues through the appointment process of members to the Board of Directors.

Every other year, NCPSF turns the board of directors into something that is similar to

a legislative study commission. The NCPSF looks at major issues impacting education and

NCPSF will offer several options to its board of directors. The board of directors will not

vote exactly, but generally look at whatever the issues are on the list. The board of directors

gives the NCPSF staff back a priority order and then the NCPSF examines each issue on the

list and determines the resources in terms of knowledge research that the NCPSF staff can

bring to each issue on the list. After the NCPSF staff has analyzed each issue on the list, the

staff determines if NCPSF should study that issue. Once the NCPSF decides to study an

issue, the NCPSF takes the issue and separates the issue into three smaller more focused

topics. Then the NCPSF divides the board into three committees and each committee has a

NCPSF staff member to staff it. The committees meet independently of each other (The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). At the end of

the study, the entire board of directors must agree to each committees work. Finally, the

NCPSF publishes the findings and recommendations of each of the committees (The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). If there is a

substantive minority opinion among the board of directors, NCPSF generally gives that

group an opportunity to write a minority statement. The Associate Executive Director of

NCPSF continued that one of the past NCPSF reports had a recommendation to make the

state superintendent of public instruction an appointed position. NCAE did not support that

recommendation. The NCPSF gave NCAE the right to write a minority opinion for that

report (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). In a

very different way from the associations, the NCPSF mobilizes participants in the education

legislative arena to support the positions of NCPSF. The published reports serve as a catalyst

for the NCPSF Board of Directors to generate the legislative agenda. Therefore, the

legislative agenda mainly stems from a recent study and the recommendations of that study

(The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007).

Procedures

Each organization has to abide by the rules or guidelines that the General Assembly

has put in place for each two-year session. Table 4 and the explanation of Table 4 that

follows clarify why legislators do indeed belong as members of an iron triangle in any

legislative arena (see pp. 27 and 28 of the Literature Review). Table 4 situates the legislative

maze, in which the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF advance each

organization's legislative agenda. In Table 4, the "ORDER" column represents the order in which a legislator, Rules Chair or governor executes a right or responsibility in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law. The "ORDER" column in no way represents a ranking or rating of any kind. In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, the assumptive worlds model identified four domains that order a policy maker's assumptive world (see pp. 22, 23 and 76). Thus, Table 4 allows the researcher to utilize the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal and explain certain behaviors of chamber leaders concerning the conference committee (see Table 5).

Table 4. The Maze of Rights and Responsibilities concerning the Passage of Legislation

Order	Rights and Responsibilities
1	Only a legislator may file a bill
2	Sponsorship of a bill is dependent upon chamber rules
3	Committee placement is dependent upon the power of the Rules Chair
4	In a committee, a bill's hearing is dependent upon the committee chairs
5	After a hearing, the committee chairs decide whether the bill will be voted upon
6	After a bill is voted out of a committee, the Rules Chair determines the fate of the bill
7	Once on the floor, the chamber leader determines whether the bill will be voted upon
8	A bill that passes one floor is sent to the other chamber
9	A bill cannot cross to the other chamber after the Cross-over date
10	No significant differences between chamber bills, the bill goes to the governor
11	Significant differences between chamber bills, the bill goes to a conference committee
12	Bill voted out of conference committee, bill referred back to chamber floors
13	Both chambers accept conference committee bill, the bill goes to the governor
14	The governor has ten days to sign or veto the bill, otherwise the bill becomes law
15	A vetoed bill can be overturned by the General Assembly

Legislative procedures in the General Assembly begin when a legislator files a bill. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF explained that legislators act as sponsors and only legislators may file a bill. In the House, a bill may have four main sponsors, but no more. The sponsor may have as many co-sponsors as the sponsor can attain to sign the bill. On the Senate side, a bill may only have one sponsor and then as many co-sponsors as the

sponsor can obtain to sign the bill (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Once the legislator or legislators file the bill, the bill obtains a bill jacket and is given a number in the numerical order that the bill was filed. Within a day, the bill has its first reading, which is not a vote but a constitutional required reading (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). A normal substantive bill gets introduced in one or both chambers. After the first reading in the House, the Speaker of the House in consultation with the Rules Chair of the House assigns the bill to a committee. After the first reading in the Senate, the Rules Chair of the Senate assigns the bill to a committee. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF revealed that generally the leaders of the chamber assign a bill to a committee of topic so education bills would be assigned to the education committee. Commerce bills would go to commerce committee. Legal bills would go to one of two of the judiciary committees. If a bill involves money, then the bill will go to the committee of topic and be referred, for instance, to the education appropriations subcommittee and then there it would become a part of the budget if it makes it that far (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007).

According to Table 4, the fourth step in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law occurs when the Chairs of the Committee decide whether they ever put the bill on the calendar for a hearing or not. Assuming that the Chairs do, the bill at that point is discussed. Sometimes a bill is never voted upon in the committee, the Chairs might decide that the bill only deserves or warrants a discussion. Once a bill has received a hearing, the Chairs could either make a motion for a favorable or unfavorable report. That motion for a favorable report could pass or fail. The Executive Director of PENC shared that once a bill

has passed through the initially assigned committee, the bill can be assigned to another committee. According to Table 4, the sixth step in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law occurs when the Rules Chair determines the fate of the bill. If a bill is assigned to the Rules Committee, then that is usually an indication that the bill is going to be killed or that it is going to be used as a bargaining chip. A bill in Rules Committee has to be worked to be released from the Rules Committee. The ideal situation is that a bill is read once and then assigned to a committee for a hearing. The ideal situation continues when the same bill comes out of the committee with the committee's recommendation (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). If the bill fails, that gives the opportunity to the sponsor or sponsors to go back and rework the bill to find ways to make the bill more palatable to everybody. Further, in a committee there can be motions, multiple amendments or no amendments. In fact, when the sponsor presents the bill to the committee there could be a proposed committee substitute, which could look similar or very different from the bill that was introduced (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

Any bill that has the recommendation of a committee has already been read once, and then the bill that has passed the committee may or may not be up for a second reading depending on the decisions of the Rules Chair. The rules require that a bill that comes to the floor with a committee's approval must pass twice and if the bill has money involved the bill cannot be voted upon twice in the same day. The second and third reading have to be on separate days, which is why sometimes the Speaker or the Senate Pro Temp and the respective Rules Chair wait until one minute after midnight to read the bills (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC

(March 9, 2007) stated, "These legislative leaders will just extend the session, there is real time and then there is legislature time." Assuming it is a simple bill that does not require funding, the second reading is the role-call vote and if the bill passes then the bill can be read for a third time and passed on voice vote. If a bill's vote is close on the second reading, a sponsor is clearly going to have an objection to the third reading. This objection gives both sides another couple of days to flip some votes to see if opponents can kill the bill or to see if the proponents can pass the bill (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated, "I have seen bills go down on the third reading. They pass their committee; they pass the second reading and fail on the third reading." According to Table 4, the eighth step in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law occurs when a bill that passes the first seven steps, then moves to the other chamber. In the long session, this must happen all before the deadline called Cross-over in which a bill must have cleared one chamber before a specific date to even be taken up and debated in the other chamber. If a bill does not make Cross-over then the bill is not going anywhere for the two year session (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). There is no short session Cross-over (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). A bill that has done all of the above is read in the other chamber and assigned to a committee and the bill goes through a similar process. Assuming that there are no changes once the bill has passed the third reading in the other chamber, then the bill is sent to the governor (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). However, if the bill is different, then that bill has to go to the chamber in which it originated. The originating chamber may either accept those changes or they may not accept them. Now if it is some

technical stuff the other chamber will accept the changes, but if the changes are substantive it depends on whether the originating chamber will just accept the new changes or not. The chambers are supposed to work out their differences. According to Table 4, the eleventh step in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law occurs when the bill goes to a conference committee because the chambers cannot work out their differences. Sometimes those differences are never worked out and the bill "dies" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007).

The Executive Director of PENC stated that the conference committee's report is usually one of the last things done in the session (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF shared that a conference committee has so many members from the House and equal members from the Senate (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA revealed that a conference committee is not like a regular committee in that the conference committee is not like a hearing where people come and testify. The conference committee members sit in a room with the door closed (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The legislators from both chambers hammer out their differences and the compromise or agreement between the two chambers becomes the conference committee's report. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated, "The conference committees almost produce a huge chess game at the end of the session." She continued that the legislature has multiple bills moving in multiple directions all at the same time. While substantively the bills and issues might not be attached, they are attached because all of the same 170 people are dealing with them. However, a Senator can serve on every single

Conference (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

As discussed above (see p. 94), the researcher employed the assumptive worlds model concerning the first domain "Who has the right and responsibility to initiate policy?" to reveal the negotiating strategies that chamber leaders employ to navigate several bills through the conference committee process and to thirteenth step of Table 4. The difference between Table 4 and Table 5 is that the rules and procedures in Table 4 are stated in House Resolution 280. The rules and procedures in Table 5 are unstated, but these rules and procedures are still part of how the game is played concerning the passage of legislation in the General Assembly. Table 5 displays those data.

Table 5. Negotiation Strategies concerning the Conference Committee

Strategy
Introduction of a bogus bill to use as a bargaining chip
Creation of a difference within a bill to trigger a compromise
Placement of an adversarial legislator or legislators on the conference committee

Therefore, the chamber leaders posture their bills and use negotiating strategies to create a window of opportunity for their own legislation. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained:

> There are times when the Speaker or the Senate Pro Temp and the respective Rules Chairs of each chamber will make sure that a bill is introduced in their chamber that they do not intend to push, but they will have it on the table to make sure they get something from the other chamber.

She shared that this is a negotiating strategy that the leadership of each chamber does so that they can get something that they want out of the other chamber. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) revealed, "A bill appears innocuous, but it becomes a chip." She shared another strategy that the leadership of either chamber employs so that they can force

the other chamber to compromise. The leadership of either chamber sometimes creates a difference in a bill so that they would have something to bargain with when it comes to the final report of a conference committee. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained, "These strategies are not simple and it is all inter-related." A final strategy that the leadership of either chamber may utilize is to place a legislator or legislators on a conference committee, who wish to make major changes to a bill. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA shared that this is a negotiating strategy that forces the other chamber's leadership to squander their time and effort to keep their bill from being completely changed or stopped (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

According to Table 4, the twelfth step in the process of a normal substantive bill becoming law occurs when the conference committee's report goes back to the two chambers for a vote. The vote for the conference committee's report is either yes or no. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated, "Legislators cannot amend the conference committee's report. They can only either vote the conference report up or down." Then, the governor receives the bill, once both chambers accept the conference committee bill. Once the bill arrives at the governor's desk, the governor has ten days to sign the bill into law or veto the bill. If the bill sits on the governor's desk for more than ten days, then that bill becomes law. There are some bills that the governor does not have veto power over, such as local bills and constitutional amendments (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). If the governor vetoes a bill, then a process begins in which the General Assembly can overturn the governor's veto. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF explained that the chamber where the bill originated in is

where the vetoed bill goes first for the governor's veto to be overturned. Once the originating chamber overturns the governor's veto, the bill goes over to the other chamber. However, if the originating chamber does not overturn the governor's veto, then the bill does not go to the other chamber (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007).

Advancement of the Legislative Agenda

Once again, each association has its own distinctive manner in which the association advances its legislative agenda. The researcher employed the assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain "What policy mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate?" to reveal the strategies and methods utilized by the associations to advance their legislative agendas. In addition, the researcher utilized the assumptive worlds model concerning the second domain "What policy ideas are deemed unacceptable?" to help explain why the associations may not take action on an issue that divides an association's membership (see pp. 22 and 23 of the Literature Review as well as p. 76). Further, the researcher employed the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to analyze the language that respondents used to situate their practices (see p. 76). This section discusses organizational guiding principles, what occurs when legislation divides an association, finding allies, allied associations—The Coalition, organization, lobbying styles, and finally strategies concerning stopping legislation.

Guiding Principles

The effectiveness of an association in the third domain of the assumptive worlds model is dependent upon the leadership of the association, the members of the association and the lobbyist(s) of the association (see pp. 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature

Review). The leadership of an association, with member input, is responsible for the governance and development of a legislative agenda. The advancement of the legislative agenda is the primary responsibility of the association's lobbyist(s). However, the guiding principles of an association are the transition point between the leadership and the lobbyist(s) of an association. Each association has a structure so that each association's lobbyist(s) can be nimble and have broad enough positions that if issues arise the lobbyist(s) has the backing of the leadership of his or her association to take a position and to work those issues. Thus, if an issue comes up in the General Assembly, each lobbyist(s) is able to craft a position either for or against a piece of legislation because the leadership of each association has created some sort of guiding principles in the association's governance laws (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). The leadership of each association is not able to know much less have every item that will occur in the legislature pre-approved. Consequently, the leadership of each association has in the association's governance laws as well as the legislative agenda guiding principles that give the association's lobbyist(s) direction on how to take positions on items that the full membership has not specifically been asked for feedback because the issue was an unknown item at the time of the survey or round-table meetings. Groups, associations or any political entity need the ability to take positions on issues as the issues happen in the political arena. A common hindrance for many groups is the way their own internal process is set up that handicaps them from the beginning because their communication and processing capabilities do not match the speed of the legislative process (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

The respondents told stories detailing how the third domain of the assumptive worlds model reveals that any political entity will be unsuccessful that does not have carefully crafted guiding principles or procedures to allow the entity's lobbyist(s) to take positions on previously unknown items. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA shared that NCASA has guiding principles for funding issues and there are guiding principles for education policy issues (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). She continued that these guiding principles give the association lobbyist(s) a framework under which she can work. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated, "There are many issues that arise quickly at the General Assembly in which there is no time to ask the membership for feedback in order to craft a position to take to either stop or support legislation." According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA utilized language implying that the guiding principles of NCASA help her to react more quickly as well as give her enough guidance to know how to respond. The guiding principles of NCASA aid the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA to understand and then support how the association's members feel about funding and policy issues (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

The Executive Director for NCSBA and the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA explained that NCSBA has three guiding principles that NCSBA uses to make a determination about whether or not NCSBA is going to support or oppose a piece of legislation (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). The first principle is that all funding formulas be fully funded. The second is that decisions be

made in the interest of the local district, meaning that local control is preserved. The third item is to oppose all unfunded mandates. Thus, if the General Assembly wants to pass legislation and the legislation takes money; the NCSBA's position is the General Assembly needs to fund it (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). There has not been yet an issue that NCSBA could not determine what to do. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that NCSBA's guiding principles allows her to take a position on about 98% of the issues. However, it would be false to believe that there is still not some gray in determining a position concerning the three guiding principles. Many times, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA will go to the board of directors and say this issue has arisen and what does the board of directors want NCSBA's position to be concerning this issue. The NSCBA Board of Directors and Executive Committee have the authority through NCSBA's governance laws to take positions on issues between the sessions and the delegate assembly (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). The lobbyist for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated, "I can also always get a conference call with the Executive Committee within 24 hours, if I need clarification concerning an issue." The Executive Director of NCSBA (March 12, 2007) told the story:

> There was a board of directors meeting just last week and there were several issues that the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA needed some direction on from the board. One of the issues had to do with bus drivers and cell phones. There has been a rash of investigative reporting done concerning bus drivers witnessed talking on a cell phone while driving a school bus.

The Executive Director of NCSBA continued that NCSBA did not have a position on bus drivers using cell phones and there was no guiding principle on cell phone use as well. The Executive Director and the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA took this issue to

the board of directors to determine what to do concerning this issue. The Executive Director of NCSBA (March 12, 2007) thought she "knew what the board would want, but there again, if one is politically smart to get the stamp of approval and the blessing; go get it so that you can wear it." Thus, the board of directors, as the Executive Director of NCSBA predicted, determined that NCSBA did not support bus drivers talking on cell phones (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the Executive Director for NCSBA and the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA employed language suggesting that the guiding principles provide accessible and predictable guidelines for most legislative situations. Further, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA language also emphasized that even if she could not interpret the guidelines to make a decision, the leadership of NCSBA could interpret the guiding principles quickly and efficiently for her.

The NCPSF is different from the other associations, but the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) recounted similar stories in that "the NCPSF does not have guiding principles per se, but rules of engagement concerning supporting or fighting legislation." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF continued that the NCPSF does have a legislative agenda, but usually she does not lobby for specific bills unless it is a bill that has come out of a NCPSF study. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated:

> If it is a bill coming out of our study, then I will monitor that, track it and give assistance to legislators and that kind of thing. But, it is an entirely different process. I cannot say to legislators vote for this.

Further, the NCPSF does not produce any publications that say vote for a particular bill. The publications of NCSBA only provide information about a bill (The Associate Executive

Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Therefore, there is only two ways that the NCPSF Board of Directors would authorize the Associate Executive Director for NCPSF to support or fight legislation. The first rule of engagement is if the NCPSF has bills filed from a study, then the Associate Executive Director for NCPSF can support the legislation. The second rule of engagement covers bills that concern public policy for education, such as low-wealth funding. Consequently, anytime low-wealth funding is in jeopardy, the NCPSF Board of Directors has authorized the Associate Executive Director to work toward keeping the low-wealth funding intact. Other examples of the second rule are DSSF funding or anything that emanates out of the Leandro lawsuit. The NCPSF has served as a friend of the court for the Leandro lawsuit and the Executive Director in fact has been a witness for that case. However, the Associate Executive Director for NCPSF cautioned that she does not necessarily "walk the halls" for every bill impacting education. She continued that there are many education bills that are very specific in nature that the NCPSF would not address (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). Therefore, the third domain of the assumptive worlds model discloses the importance of any political entity to develop some sort of governing guiding principles to aid the entity's lobbyist(s). Further, a political entity that does not have the communication and processing capabilities to match the speed of the legislative process will have problems supporting the legislation that the association's membership favors as well as stopping any legislation that the association's membership rejects or opposes.

Legislation that Divides an Association

The associations usually will not take a position on an issue that has clearly divided the membership, meaning that members are on both sides of an issue (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA told the story that there is an issue that just surfaced in 2007

that the advocacy organization, The Covenant, is pursuing banning corporal punishment in

schools. She continued that NCSBA is planning on fighting this legislation saying that the

new legislation would limit local control. The NCSBA argues that if a school system wants

to use corporal punishment, the state needs to let the school system have that right. The

NCSBA is clearly referencing its second guiding principle in opposing this legislation.

According to the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, her organization is not

taking a position on this legislation because her membership does not feel strongly enough

about that issue to get involved in the process. The Governmental Relations Director for

NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated, "Some of the administrators personally feel that

administrators should not be beating kids no matter what the policy states." Therefore,

contrary to the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA earlier statement that her

membership does not feel strongly enough about that issue to get involved in the process, her

second statement discloses that some administrators strongly believe that administrators

should not use corporal punishment no matter what.

     In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, their assumptive worlds model concerning the second

domain revealed that some ideas or policy proposals are unacceptable. Marshall et al.

discovered that policy proposals that "lead to open defiance" are deemed unacceptable. The

researcher found that proposals that divide an association's members are deemed

unacceptable by the association's leadership because these proposals may also lead to open

defiance. For example, the above example of corporal punishment divides administrators

between those who favor local control and those who oppose corporal punishment no matter

how it is presented. Further, corporal punishment divides school boards from some of their

school administrators. Clearly, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA sees the

division that she will create by supporting or stopping any legislation concerning corporal

punishment. Therefore in an effort to promote cohesion within her own association and

between NCSBA and NCASA, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA discussed

and framed the issue as not significant by stating that "her membership does not feel strongly

enough about that issue to get involved in the process." Thus, associations will avoid factious

issues that will create divisions within the association' membership.

Know Who Your Allies Are

The legislative agenda or platform is a piece of paper, so the items on the platform are

not going to become law just because an organization's board has said these are good ideas

and the association wants to make this happen. Further, the Executive Director of NCSBA

(March 12, 2007) asserted, "whether you support something or are against it you must try to

make sure people understand why you believe that it should pass or fail." All of the

associations do this in many different ways; however, they all share certain tenets. The first is

to look around the state and see what other organizations might have the same goals as their

association. All the associations attempt to do much work in alliances with other groups. All

the associations believe that if there are more groups that support the same concept that this

will give more credence to the issue and assist the association in gaining legislative support

for this same issue (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview,

February 16, 2007). This argument of the respondents is nothing more than the pluralist

theory in action (see pp. 25 and 26 of the Literature Review). The respondents continued that

if there are more people asking for the same piece of legislation that this helps to create an

atmosphere of greater influence for the lobbyist of the association as well (see pp. 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature Review). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated, "Know who your allies are and that you may have allies outside of your normal family." She told the story of how she brought an outside interest into the House Education Committee to kill a bill:

> Bernard Allen, who was a former house member who passed away last year, had a bill a few years ago that made it so that school districts could not accept property with a requirement that a certain percentage of children going to that school had to be from a certain geographical area. I do not remember who was supporting him. I cannot remember if there was anyone supporting him. But we were against it and I went and got the Home Builders Association. They came in and testified against it and the bill went down with that. So sometimes it is just figuring out the outside interest that can help you. The Home Builders Association was not the ones instrumental in trying to kill this bill. It was NCSBA, but we knew who were those people sitting on the fence who might help break that final straw. (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007)

Therefore, the associations seek the inclusion of other interests within the state of North Carolina that support their positions.

In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, their assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain uncovered the existence of policy issue networks. Marshall et al. discussed policy issue networks in the context of national and regional politics. The researcher found that each association strategizes how to include other powerful interests within the state of North Carolina to support the association's position. As in the above story of the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, the Home Builders Association opposed Bernard Allen's legislation because the association thought Bernard Allen's legislation would discourage development. Thus, policy issue networking occurs between various interests within a state when an issue resonates with assorted groups in the state. Further, this sort of policy issue networking does not seem to reap the same side effect as national or regional policy issue

networking because the power base within the state is not threatened since the non-education interest is from the state of North Carolina as well.

NCASA's and NCSBA's Alliance

As stated above, all the associations attempt to do much work in coalitions with other groups; however, the NCASA and the NCSBA often find that the two associations' legislative agendas are similar. The Executive Director of NCSBA shared that the School Administrators differ from the School Boards Association rarely (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that the normal scenario is that NCASA aligns with the NCSBA on most policy and funding issues for public schools. She continued that the two organizations agree probably 90-95% of the time on major issues (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "I kind of see them as one and the same anyway. I could be wrong. That is just my opinion and my observation." Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF" will discuss the reason NCASA and NCSBA ally together on most education issues. Therefore, because of NCASA's and NCSBA's alliance, both lobbyist of NCASA and NCSBA will coordinate and work together to insure the passage of the issues they mutually champion. First, they decide who would be the best bill sponsor as well as if there are any other possible allies. Once they have made shared decisions, they both go and work the issue. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated, "We both use a whole host of people as sponsors and both hold the same philosophy that one does not put all one's eggs in one basket. We both have

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been lobbying for a long time." They know how to produce document after document and can circulate huge amounts of research in order to influence legislators concerning their issues. They also know how to get other groups that have an interest in an issue to come out and either oppose or support a bill, such as the example of the Home Builders Association (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

The Coalition

It comes as no surprise to find organizations in favor of a bill to work together to pass the bill, while organizations against a bill work together to stop the bill (see pp. 25, 26, 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature Review as well as Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989). The Associate Executive Director for NCPSF confirmed that she often joins and works with the lobbyists for the NCASA and the NCSBA. The Governmental Relations Director for NCPSF shares that there are a group of associations and NCPSF that call themselves "The Coalition" (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCPSF (April 2, 2007) stated, "the lobbyist from the school board association, the lobbyist from the administrators' association and I and others sit down and we will divide up the list of legislators in the House." She continued that the NCPSF has a few bills specifically for the teaching fellows, but the Governmental Relations Director for NCPSF revealed that she works hand-in-hand with the NCASA and the NCSBA lobbyists on most legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). Further, the Executive Director of PENC stated that PENC was a part of the group called "The Coalition" (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007) during her time with PENC. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30,

2007) shared "Payton Maynard, who represents Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools, and Susan Harrison, who represents Wake County Public Schools" were also identified as members of The Coalition. The Executive Director of PENC viewed her role as being informed and knowing information or being able to get information that could help and then working collaboratively with others. However, legislation that was unique to the association, one would advocate for that legislation alone. Concerning issues that were specific to the NCPSF, the Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) said, "Yeah, I would like for you to get that, but that is not my fight. Such as getting more Teaching Fellows or more flexibility with their administrative budget so that they could do more than what their board allowed."

The Coalition worked closely together and the lobbyists for each of the organizations had lunch together and knew each other quite well. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "We would as a group hash out what we perceived to be the strengths and weaknesses of an issue and the better legislators to bring together to run the bill and then we would decide who would do what with the bill." Further, the Coalition members would let each other know their organizational position as far as the issues. The Coalition members would find out if any other organizations had a different take on an issue. The organizations with a different view would talk about the issue and agree to disagree so that The Coalition members would not be working at cross-purposes. The Executive Director of PENC conveyed that there were times that NCSBA did not want something that PENC members did so the two organizations just agree to disagree (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007).

In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, their assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain revealed that policy actors often limited their social relationships. Marshall et al. buttressed this conclusion with a story of policy actors who shared ownership in a racehorse. The story unfolds that one of the policy actors was surprised when one of his colleagues withheld information from him and opposed him on a major issue. Marshall et al. (1989) conclude, "policy actors' guiding principles will usually put maintenance of a political career above maintenance of friendship" (p. 45). Contrary to Marshall et al., the researcher found that The Coalition members maintained a balance between the maintenance of their political careers and friendship. Coalition members held that they shared information and discussed issues even with members who had a different take on an issue. However, these study's findings do not diminish the findings of Marshall et al. (such as: lobbyists vs. legislators; women vs. men; etc.), but only reinforce the bond between the members of The Coalition.

As stated above, The Coalition usually had several people working together on legislation. However, coalition members believed that they garnered real influence because they were respected. The reason The Coalition was respected is that the individuals in The Coalition brought information. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained, "The Coalition members, who did not have big money to throw around or money to take people on golf trips, believed that the primary obligation of a lobbyist is to present information to legislators." The Executive Director of PENC revealed that another part of the respect equation was; do the legislators grasp the big picture and can The Coalition help them understand the implications? The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated "We would tell legislators that this is the down-side to this and that opponents will bring these arguments against this issue so these maybe winners or they might not be and here is an

argument to neutralize that argument." The Executive Director of PENC concluded that The Coalition members had ideas not ideologies and The Coalition members understood the implications concerning education issues (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF" further discusses the influence of The Coalition.

According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the members of The Coalition employed language that is uncommon in the political arena. Coalition members did not limit, but strengthened their social relationships with one another. Further, coalition members claimed that they present all the facts as opposed to only the facts that are favorable to their case to legislators. Also of note, The Coalition members also commonly referred to the influence of money and other gifts in the political arena. Specifically, the Executive Director of PENC's quote, "The Coalition members, who did not have big money to throw around or money to take people on golf trips" jumps forcefully out of her narrative. In this chapter, a section called, "Lobbying Styles" further discusses the influence of money and other gifts in the political arena.

Organization

At the same time that association lobbyists are searching for allies, each association actually has to organize their memberships. An association organizes by having a daily presence, having a mechanism for activating the association's membership to get involved (see p. 47 of the Literature Review), and to reinforce the presence of the person who is involved in the daily participation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). These three points of organization are nothing more

than policy mobilizing activities from the third domain of the assumptive worlds model utilized by the associations to advance their legislative agendas (see pp. 22 and 23 of the Literature Review as well as p. 76). Therefore, each education association has its lobbyist(s) at the General Assembly and if something specific occurs, each organization's governance laws and legislative agenda (see pp. 80-93) as well as guiding principles (see pp. 102-107) will be broad enough that the lobbyist(s) can find the policy that will allow the lobbyist(s) to mobilize his or her constituents and work that issue.

The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA continued that she stays in constant touch with NCASA's membership as issues arise. The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "I am totally dependent on the expertise of my membership to know what would be good or bad for schools. I am not in education; I am the person they have selected to be their voice in the legislature." Email is one communication tool that NCASA employs to mobilize its members. If she has an opportunity, if she knows something is coming up for debate in the education committee, she will send out an email and ask for feedback on what the membership thinks about the issue. The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA shared that she takes that feedback and then uses that feedback to help shape her comments if the education committee asks her to speak about the issue.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that NCSBA primarily mobilizes through email as well. Emails can be generic or specific like Board Member X, please go talk to Legislator Y (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). She then continued her thoughts, "Of course it depends on the issue and also what a legislator's constituents back home are thinking. You can get a couple

of people from a district to call their representative and that is usually helpful" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The respondents agreed that an organization will have no mobility unless there is some sort of email or other rapid communication system that the leadership and chief lobbyist can use to communicate with the organization's membership. Therefore, one of the major hindrances to any group is its own internal process concerning communication with and between the membership of the same group specifically related to the speed of the legislative process (see pp. 103 and 104).

Not every association had an organized email system in place. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "It would be nice to have the ability to call members and have them call or email legislators; PENC did not really have that." The Executive Director of PENC spoke about the problems with instituting such a system. She conceded that there is only so much attention teachers will pay to the legislative arena, but it takes so much time and energy to organize and it is quite time consuming from a staff standpoint (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). However, the Executive Director of PENC maintained that the ability to mobilize some sort of communications campaign would benefit any organization trying to impact the passage of legislation (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated:

> The whole time I was with PENC, we were working to get decent emails for people. It was a continuing challenge because someone would send a school email address and then the school system would change its filtering and this would block our emails. Just keeping up and working with 115 IT coordinators so that they would continually keep PENC emails passing through and not getting filtered. That took a lot of time of one of my staff members. It is not easy to do and we had software much like NCASA where we had the ability to do a blast to everyone that we had a good email for to ask

them to do stuff. That act would have taken a lot of time and resources, just to make sure that the email got to the members was one heck of a challenge. So, the organization has 1,000's of members, but one can only reach 2,500, one is already not dealing with a majority of members, it is skewed at best.

Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF" further discusses the impact of PENC's inability to organize effectively.

Another communication tool that NCASA employs to mobilize its members is the NCASA website. The NCASA website includes the current legislative agenda, past accomplishments from prior legislative agendas, a program that tracks legislative bills, and several Excel and Word documents that give many details concerning legislators; such as how to determine what legislators serve what districts, what committees each legislator is on in the House and Senate as well as information on how to contact a legislator. The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA updates the NCASA website to reflect the on-going changes while the General Assembly meets (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). A final communication tool is to ask members of NCASA to write a letter or an email to their legislator(s) on the committee where a bill is introduced in order to let these legislators know what the members of NCASA believe concerning an issue as well as why this legislation is good or bad for schools and students. These tactics show that there is a group standing behind the Assistant Executive Director of NCASA and all her comments and information as well (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated:

> I think our membership is actively involved in the legislative process when issues are debated by the legislators and that is how NCASA is involved. A role that this organization plays is to notify school administrators

in our membership about what is happening in the legislative process. Therefore, if a member or members are concerned about an issue or if they want to advance an issue, then NCASA encourages them to contact their legislators from their home districts to let these legislators know how they think on a particular issue. It is NCASA's one-two punch, NCASA uses a daily presence in the legislature to monitor legislation in order to keep members informed and then NCASA mobilizes members to reinforce NCASA's message.

The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) shared that if The Coalition (see pp. 111-115) "is working the same issue," then coalition members would ask the lobbyists for NCASA and NCSBA to mobilize their school board members and school administrators to contact their legislators. The administrators are the professionals who run the schools and the school board member are the elected officials of each school district, so this gives both groups influence. There is a huge grass-roots network between the two organizations across the state (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). If legislators are hearing from constituents and they are hearing the same message without the message being the same because if a legislator is hearing the exact thing verbatim, then that does not help. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) revealed, "That is one of the stupidest ideas to have a thousand people send the exact same email to one person because that only makes the person mad because the person has to delete all of the emails." The Executive Director of PENC continued that one should always try to mobilize constituents. In the world of education, superintendents are very important in the constituency of education and if they are all saying the same thing that is helpful (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007).

NCAE organizes in much the same way as the other associations except NCAE has some additional weapons in its arsenal. NCAE has a team of lobbyists that work issues for the association. The team of lobbyists does not necessarily guarantee more influence or

organization for NCAE, but a team of lobbyists definitely guarantees more coverage of legislators for NCAE (see pp. 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature Review). Perhaps NCAE's most powerful weapon is NCAE's political action committee (PAC), which will be discussed later in this chapter in a section called, "Lobbying Styles."

Once again, the NCPSF is not an association and does not have members to organize and mobilize. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member observed that the NCPSF is different from the other education groups because the NCPSF does not ask legislators for anything on behalf of the organization or the organization's members. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "I think this is a difference and I think NCPSF is very influential in convincing legislators about the ideas from the NCPSF studies." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member believes the NCPSF has more of a say on where the legislation comes from and how the issues are built. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) maintained, "That makes a difference because the public policy agenda of NCPSF becomes those legislators' issues and those issues are no longer viewed as just NCPSF's issue." Concerning the governor, powerful legislators and the North Carolina State Board of Education, the NCPSF tends to plant the seeds early on with the governor or with the North Carolina State Board of Education or with the legislature. The NCPSF tends to provide the research and the ideas so that if NCPSF has convinced the governor or one of those powerful legislators that something is a good idea then NCPSF is probably going to be successful in advancing the think tank's legislative agenda (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007).

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The researcher utilized the third domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal legislative mobilizing activities that are deemed appropriate in the state of North Carolina. Earlier studies (Iannaccone's typology, 1967; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989; Fleer, 1994) found letter writing as a logical and powerful tool to mobilize members as well as inform legislators of constituents' opinions and beliefs concerning current legislation. However, the internet and the personal computer have completely reshaped how associations organize in the 21st century. Email systems, websites, WebPages and on-line documents can keep constituents informed of legislative news unlike any other time in history. The members of an association may now know as much as their lobbyist(s) know because of the speed in which information can be shared. Only now does the phrase "reinforce the presence of the person who is involved in the daily participation" at the beginning of the section make sense. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA meant that she might have much information she wishes to share with her members, but she may not have the time in the day left to update the email system, website and on-line documents after a long day at the General Assembly. Thus, this final point of organization is just as important as the first two points of organization. Without the clerical support to update the email system, website and on-line documents, the membership will not be able to participate and help push the legislative agenda of an association because the membership will not know what is going on and how they can help. Therefore, an organization must have all three points of organization in place to succeed. Those three points are having a daily presence at the General Assembly, having a mechanism for activating the association's membership to get involved in the organization's legislative agenda, and to reinforce the presence of the person who is involved in the daily participation at the General Assembly.

Lobbying Styles - The Good, The Bad and The Ugly

In this section, the associations and the NCPSF, with the exception of NCAE, practice nearly synonymous lobbying styles to advance their legislative agendas. The researcher employed the assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain to relate the lobbying styles utilized by the associations and the NCPSF to advance their legislative agendas. Further, the researcher employed the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to analyze the language that respondents used to situate their practices (see p. 76). There are different styles of lobbyists and the researcher refers to them as the Good, the Bad and the Ugly. According to the respondents, the Good lobbying style shares facts and information with legislators. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA provided a great example of how a lobbyist employing the Good lobbying style operates. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) explained, "NCASA tries to operate simply as a fact sharing vehicle to be the delivery mechanism from taking messages from our membership, who are the ones on the front lines and leading the public schools, to the legislature." The Bad lobbying style utilizes the Good lobbying style methods as well. The difference is that the Bad lobbying style also funds a Political Action Committee (PAC). The sole purpose of a PAC is to elect candidates to office.

The Ugly lobbying style takes advantage of the methods of both the Good and Bad lobbying styles. The difference is that the Ugly lobbying style also engages in "good-will lobbying" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Good-will lobbying includes wining and dining and taking legislators out to dinners and events. The purpose of good-will lobbying is not to talk about legislation at that particular event or evening, but to build relationships with legislators so that later on when

the good-will lobbyist does need support on an issue, that lobbyist gets a friendly reception when going back to that legislator. The good-will lobbyist goes out to dinner with a legislator five or six times and then when the lobbyist has an issue come up where some influence is needed, the good-will lobbyist can go say to the same legislator, "I really need some help on this issue and I hope you will be with us this time" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).[vii]

NCASA

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "NCASA does not do any of the wining and dining or the good-will lobbying of taking legislators out to dinner, taking them to hockey games and giving them tickets to different events." She continued that NCASA has never engaged in "wining and dining or good-will lobbying" because NCASA does not have a PAC. NCASA never created a PAC because "that is just not how we do business" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Everything NCASA does is based on trying to provide facts on what is good and what is bad for public schools based on the experience and input from the association's membership (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "I think NCASA's one-two punch is very effective. Their voices are heard because they get involved in the legislative arena, not in the campaign finance arena." Therefore, NCASA only engages in the Good lobbying style.

NCSBA

The Executive Director of NCSBA (March 12, 2007) stated, "NCSBA does not have a PAC. The NCASA does not have a PAC. NCAE has a PAC and makes political

contributions to candidates for office." The Executive Director of NCSBA continued that one should never underestimate the value of making political contributions. There is no way NCSBA can compete on that playing field because NCSBA does not print money and NCSBA does not collect much money as well. In addition, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated, "NCSBA does not have a PAC and does not do wining-and-dining." Further, the Executive Director of NCSBA shared that any state school boards association across the country that has attempted to form a PAC has not generally been real successful because the membership of state school boards association is not as large as a teachers' association and one would have to get a great deal of money from a small number of school board members as opposed to token money from many teachers. In addition, the Executive Director of NCSBA revealed that the national organization of NCAE, the NEA, can distribute large quantities of money for issues and in campaigns. The Executive Director of NCSBA shared that the National School Boards Association does not have a PAC as well (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, February 26, 2007). Therefore, NCSBA only engages in the Good lobbying style.

NCAE

As mentioned above, NCAE's PAC also makes NCAE powerful. NCAE is the only K-12 education association that has a PAC. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) revealed, "The state employees association has a PAC, but they do not give near the money that NCAE gives to legislators." The PAC process of endorsing a candidate begins with every new election cycle. NCAE asks political candidates to come in and be interviewed by NCAE members back in their home areas for NCAE's endorsement. The endorsement process begins by NCAE sending letters to every candidate inviting him or her

to sit down and talk. In some cases, NCAE's policies do allow for friendly encumbrance; people who have been established leaders and who have been very friendly to the goals and objectives of NCAE. The President for NCAE explained that legislators, who qualify for friendly encumbrance, have been supporters of legislation and sponsors; they could also be a strong proponent for public education. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) shared, "If these friendly incumbents are at the General Assembly, unless there is some compelling reason for NCAE to take a look at these candidates, then NCAE will endorse those friendly incumbents." A candidate that does not want NCAE's endorsement probably would never come to the interview in the first place. NCAE sees the association as progressive, but others might see NCAE as liberal and if a legislator is appealing to conservative groups, an endorsement from NCAE might hinder as opposed to help a candidate. There are candidates that say no thanks to NCAE's endorsement process and therefore cannot be endorsed. No candidate is offered endorsement that will not accept NCAE's endorsement (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007).

The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "NCAE takes a great deal of time and uses many resources to find out who is running for the different offices and seats in the General Assembly." She continued that NCAE already knows some of the legislators who have been in the General Assembly, but NCAE also interviews the candidates who are emerging whether they are elected or not. For NCAE, in terms of the endorsement process, NCAE believes it is important to hear from every single potential candidate. This process takes time because some candidates may not be as equipped as they think that they might be, "so NCAE has to sift through all the candidates and find out where they are and what their backgrounds might be and whether or not they have the electability to make it to the office

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they seek" (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Finally, NCAE

asks the members of the association in their home areas to make recommendations to the

GRC and that is where the endorsement flows. In that process, there are formal and informal

interviews as well as a thorough questionnaire that the candidate must complete. The

questionnaire enables NCAE to have some assessment of the candidate and his or her

positions on education and issues that would be on the NCAE legislative agenda. If there is a

tense or very competitive race even if there is a friendly incumbent, traditionally NCAE talks

to the candidate who is running against the friendly incumbent. NCAE asks that the local

members of the association sit down with those candidates and find out what the candidate

believes and values based on a questionnaire that NCAE sends to its NCAE members. The

local members go over those questions and asses the answers that the candidate gives and

based on that assessment the members of the association report back to the GRC what the

interviewing committee thinks about the candidate. Those local members have been trained

in terms of the interview process on how to ask the right questions and based on that they

then make a recommendation to the GRC. Each district has a group of interviewing members

that goes over the questionnaire with each candidate. Many districts are within one county, so

the local area president and other officers would sit on that interviewing committee. Smaller

counties would have multiple counties represented on the interviewing committee. For

instance, Joe Hackney's district has a portion of Orange and Lee Counties as well as all of

Chatham County. Thus, on that interviewing committee, there would be all the local area

presidents and other officers for each county. In addition, the member who sits on the GRC

would also be a member of the interviewing committee. The local interviewing committee

members are very abreast with what NCAE's issues are and savvy about knowing those

issues and working with NCAE. NCAE depends on its leaders to know NCAE's positions. The GRC makes the endorsement of candidates based on the member meetings from the home districts (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Once the recommendations come to the GRC, those recommendations form the basis of NCAE's endorsements for candidates to the General Assembly (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "I cannot think of a time that the GRC did not go with what the locals put forth."

Now, for statewide races there is a slightly different process. Statewide candidates are interviewed at the top by the GRC. Then after the GRC makes a decision concerning statewide candidates; NCAE has a ratification process that allows local members to ratify the endorsements of the GRC. The ratification process occurs when a ballot is sent to every member, who then agrees or disagrees with the GRC's recommendations. There has never been a rejection of the GRC's recommendation, but there have been some that were close. NCAE needs 60 percent approval for a candidate to be endorsed by NCAE. If NCAE cannot garner 60 percent approval, the endorsement is not ratified (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). In addition, the GRC decides which candidates actually obtain NCAE's PAC money. In some cases a candidate might run against no one. The late Jennie Lucas did not get the same level of contributions, even though she was a leader in the Senate. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) explained, "She did not receive a large amount of money from NCAE's PAC because when she ran for office, she ran virtually unopposed." One factor the GRC considers is how competitive the race is for a particular office. So plenty of candidates are endorsed, but do not get a single penny and that is part of the public records at the North Carolina State Board of Elections. NCAE does have to

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publicly disclose to whom the association has contributed money and how much in each election cycle (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Finally, many times people assume NCAE uses dues, but NCAE does not (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "Most of the contributions come directly to us from voluntary contributions that members make to NCAE." NCAE has set up a way that teachers can each month, in addition to their membership dues that teachers pay; they can indeed indicate that they would like to voluntarily have the school district deduct money from their paycheck and the money comes out of the pay check like any other deduction (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007) [viii]. Therefore, NCAE engages in both the Good and Bad lobbying styles.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated that NCAE "has been known for doing some of the goodwill lobbying that I have talked about with events, dinners and things of that nature. It is just a different way that NCAE has been able to do business." The President of NCAE counters that NCAE could do as NCSBA does and that is to invite legislators to come to official meetings and have them there. NCAE did invite legislators to breakfasts and other things; now that the ethics laws have come out, it is hard to pay for the breakfast of a legislator. At these past breakfasts, NCAE would share information, share NCAE's legislative agenda, try to find out if the legislator would support NCAE's agenda and discover what the legislator's thoughts are concerning NCAE's agenda. The President of NCAE asserted that these breakfasts were a different and separate activity and had no connection with the endorsement process. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated:

The difference between NCSBA and NCAE is that they are an official elected body and legislators tend to listen to those groups a little more effectively because they have the impact of representing the general public and they should. NCAE needs to do a better job of making NCAE's discussions and meetings appealing enough that legislators come to NCAE's functions.

NCAE disputes that NCAE has engaged in good-will lobbying, but rather NCAE has engaged in the same activities as NCSBA. NCSBA has the luxury of calling their members' meetings official, since school board members are elected agents of the state. Teachers do not hold teacher board meetings and even if teachers did hold teacher board meetings, these meetings would not be officially recognized or organized under the auspices of the state. Therefore, NCAE denies practicing good-will lobbying and the Ugly lobbying style.

PENC

The Executive Director of PENC states that PENC participated in no wining-and-dining or good-will lobbying. One time the contract lobbyist who was PENC's lobbyist, Patrick Mullin, arranged a dinner between the Executive Director of PENC and Doug Young. The purpose of the meal was more to introduce the new Executive Director of PENC to people. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) emphasized, "Patrick Mullin paid for the meal, I did not and in the scheme of things that was pretty tame." She continued that PENC worked to explain what PENC wanted done that way the legislators and other interested parties would know where PENC stood on educational issues. The goal was to reach a point where PENC's lobbyist and executive director could go to the General Assembly and legislators "would say, 'What is it that you are working on and how can I help you?'" (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC viewed her role as first and foremost someone who could provide information that would inform legislators both in terms of issues that needed to be

addressed and also to make the legislators aware of the implications of actions that they might not have thought through either supporting what they are doing such as giving them arguments or to point out the way this wording could be interpreted and then asking the legislator is this the intention or design of this bill (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) revealed:

> There are many legislators who have a lot of integrity as legislators and they are the ones where one can disagree on an issue, but then explain why it is that one is disagreeing and then work closely with them on something else, which is the adult mature way for things to work.

The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) maintained, "if I were speaking, I was an expert in that field and that was part of my stature in the education committees." Therefore, PENC engages in the Good lobbying style and some questionable Ugly lobbying style activities.

NCPSF

The NCPSF is a staff and a Board of Directors. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) stated:

> I will use NCAE as an example, NCAE has according to them seventy thousand members, they have a stable of lobbyist with about six to ten in the stable depending on the time of year, and they have a PAC. They give contributions to legislators. They interview legislators for endorsement and legislators do not like being in a campaign without the education endorsement.

The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF continued that NCPSF's issues tend to be grounded in research. The Associate Executive Director (March 16, 2007) asserted, "The NCPSF is not a PAC, does not have a PAC and does not give money. There is one lobbyist, me. What I have is my personal integrity and a good name and the backing of a credible organization." The NCPSF tends to work with legislators through one-on-one relationships

and through legislators representation on the NCPSF's Board of Directors. The NCPSF is not

known as a high entertaining group as some of the business corporations are known to be

(The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) discussed how she personally

secures support for legislation on behalf of the NCPSF, "it is relationships; it is making sure

people know not only who I am but what the Forum does and what the Forum stands for

concerning public policy." The Associate Executive Director (April 2, 2007) revealed that

the NCPSF operates through the "commodity of knowledge and the NCPSF has spent twenty

plus years building up the organization's credibility with legislators and the NCPSF is not

seen as a partisan group." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007)

stated, "I am a Democrat, but if a Republican in either chamber calls and asked us to do

something we will do the same level of work for that person that we would do for a

Democrat." Therefore, the NCPSF engages only in the Good lobbying style.

According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA and the Associate Executive Director of

NCPSF utilized language to denote the Bad and the Ugly lobbying styles as morally corrupt

and fiscally irresponsible. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA statement "that

is just not how we do business" is fascinating because there is no sign of compromise in her

statement. Thus, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA opposes the Bad and the

Ugly lobbying styles from a values driven judgment (see Literature Review pp. 11-14). The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF adds to this value driven judgment the idea that the

NCPSF is nonpartisan. Her statement that "I am a Democrat, but if a Republican in either

chamber calls and asked us to do something we will do the same level of work for that person

that we would do for a Democrat" is a cornerstone belief embedded in the NCPSF. However, this statement is particularly powerful because it exposes the partisan nature of a PAC and NCAE. The Executive Director of NCSBA and the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA do not take as hard a stance as the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA and the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF. Their language reveals that they understand that political action committees are apart of the political game. However, NCSBA does not have a PAC because school board members would have to give a great deal of money as opposed to the small amount of money given by teachers. The Executive Director of NCSBA and the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA do not see this as a moral imperative, but simply as the reality of their circumstances.

The Executive Director of PENC employed language to contrast her organization with NCAE. Her statement that "Patrick Mullin paid for the meal, I did not and in the scheme of things that was pretty tame" is interesting because no respondent even accused PENC of the Bad or the Ugly lobbying styles. One possible purpose was to contrast the PAC and spending of NCAE. When the Executive Director of PENC defined her role as someone who could provide information that would instruct legislators about the implications and the intentions of a bill, she was revealing that a lobbyist should be an expert advising policy makers concerning their legislative choices. Another possible purpose was to foreshadow what might occur if PENC continued to garner more members and more influence in the General Assembly. If this was her purpose, then she envisioned PENC possibly practicing the Bad and the Ugly lobbying styles, but in a tamer manner than NCAE. The President of NCAE used language to espouse that NCAE does not practice the Ugly lobbying style. Further, if anyone claimed that NCAE does practice the Ugly lobbying style, then the

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President of NCAE countered that NCSBA is just as guilty. The President of NCAE also made use of language that exposed the transparency of NCAE's PAC process, while commenting very little on the impact of the PAC money on legislators and the political system. A final observation concerning language is that all respondents championed what lobbying style they used and railed against the lobbying styles they did not practice.

The third domain of the assumptive worlds model revealed that lobbying styles are at the center of a battle to determine what mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate in the education lobby and education arena. Most of the education organizations had drawn a line in the sand and had determined that they would not cross that line for value driven reasons or because that is what necessity dictated. NCAE appeared to be drawing back from past practices concerning possible incursions into Ugly lobbying styles. Whether this decision was based on member insistence or public outcry from shifting views within the state and country could be debated. The third domain of the assumptive worlds model possibly exposed that PENC would make decisions concerning lobbying styles based upon the associations fortunes. Therefore, the researcher is confident that lobbying styles will continue to rage as a central front within the education community.

Stopping Legislation

Do not be Perceived as being Negative

Once again, the associations and the NCPSF implement nearly identical procedures to stop the passage of legislation that is counter to their legislative agendas. The researcher used the assumptive worlds model concerning the third domain to relate the lobbying styles utilized by the associations and the NCPSF to stop the passage of legislation. The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA states that one has to work within the process of the

legislature to stop legislation. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) explained, "I try to gauge what the arguments are and come up with ways to effectively neutralize the arguments against the issue and have people lined up for oral support." If there is a piece of legislation that an education association believes is bad for public schools, the association's lobbyist has certain opportunities to stop legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). However, it is important to point out that the position an organization takes on an issue dictates the comments that a lobbyist can make on that issue. If an organization does not approve of a piece of legislation that is going forward, the lobbyist and the organization that he or she represents does not want to be perceived as being negative. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated, "No one wants to be perceived as standing in the way of what others see as progress. A lobbyist cannot stand up and say this legislation is awful." The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "Defeating something – one does not have to worry about the drafting, communication is more about the detrimental impact of a bill." A lobbyist must convey his or her comments in a rational way that expresses opposition, but at the same time does not put the lobbyist or organization in a negative light. The Assistant Executive Director of NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated:

> It is easier to approve of legislation. We really appreciate the bill sponsor bringing this forward. It is a good positive thing for the schools and we certainly give our whole hearted support. That is about all you have to say. But if you oppose legislation you have to say why and then counter the reasons that others are saying it is good legislation. One has to build a good argument about why one is opposing the legislation. One does not want to be perceived as just being a voice of negativity. I am very sensitive to that when I present issues to my school administrator membership.

Therefore, the third domain of the assumptive worlds model reveals the operational principle that lobbyists should talk and act a little differently when they disapprove of legislation.

When opposed to any legislation, a lobbyist has to make comments carefully against that legislation both in committees and with members that is not seen as a negative for the organization.

Mobilize and Talk to the Leadership of the Chamber

There is no way for a lobbyist to truly stop or control the introduction of legislation. The General Assembly begins, organizes and launches and legislation comes left and right from every imaginable person. There are few opportunities to head off legislation at the pass before the legislation is introduced (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Once an issue has arrived at the General Assembly, the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member states the education association lobbyists are going to talk to people who are in positions of authority. The legislative context is a complex process because while the lobbyist is speaking to legislators the lobbyist should also be organizing his or her membership as well. The Executive Director of NCSBA (March 12, 2007) states this best when she stated, "You do want to talk to influential people obviously, but if it appears that the bill is going to have some legs and going to go some place then we would want to talk to everybody about that." The Executive Director of NCSBA means by everybody, every legislator and every person involved in the political process as well as the membership of the organization. An association usually employs email to contact its membership to contact all of their legislators to voice opposition to whatever legislation that the association believes must be stopped (). While this mobilizing piece is occurring, the lobbyist for the organization must also communicate with the leadership of the legislature. The lobbyists go first to the leadership because the leadership controls whether the legislature even hears the bill as well as the committee that will hear the

bill. For example, if legislation is in a House Committee that is unfavorable, a lobbyist could

ask the Rules Chair to move the legislation to a committee where the outcome is more

favorable to an organization's position (see pp. 94-96; Table 4). Thus, the third domain of the

assumptive worlds model shows the operational principle that a lobbyist must mobilize his or

her members while conversing with the leadership of the chamber.

Take it to the Chair

If the leadership does not provide a sympathetic ear to a lobbyist, then the lobbyist

will go talk to the chairs of the committee and build his or her case against the bill. The

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared that there might be

times that one might ask a chair or the chairs to not even schedule this legislation for a

hearing or at least "hold the bill in their hand or hold the legislation up because the legislation

is just bad and that it will be a big ugly public debate if the Chair opens this up." She

continued that there are times that chairs will agree and then the legislation is never heard.

Another way is to ask the chair if the lobbyist could speak against the legislation while the

committee is debating the legislation, so that the lobbyist's organization could voice

opposition to the legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 16, 2007 also see Fleer, 1994 p. 47). A slight variation on this same

principle is for the lobbyist to provide speaking points to legislators on the committee so that

the lobbyist's points are made in a public setting and this carries a little more weight because

the words come out of a legislator's mouth (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff

member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). A problem for a lobbyist in opposition to a

bill is that usually the lobbyist does not have a good idea when the bill is coming up for

debate. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) explained:

> The chair may say that he or she is going to bring a particular bill up in two weeks and that the lobbyist needs to go and get his or her votes up. That is if the chair is on the lobbyist side, but usually the proponents of a bill are not going to go to a chairman and ask for the bill to be run if they do not have the votes.

Therefore, the third domain of the assumptive worlds model reveals the operational principle that lobbyists should next talk to the chair or chairs of a committee in order to stop legislation.

Fall Back to the Committee Members

If lobbying the chair or chairs of a committee does not work, then a lobbyist will go to individual legislators on the committee and try to sway any of them. A lobbyist would start first with committee members where leadership has assigned the bill (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). Once again, the lobbyist could provide speaking points to legislators on the committee (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). Another variation from above is for the individuals on the committee to request that they hear from the lobbyist concerning this issue. The lobbyist then has the opportunity to become part of the record of the debate as well as the opportunity to influence legislators on the committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). A lobbyist, who cannot convince enough legislators to vote against a piece of legislation, might ask legislators to introduce an amendment to change the legislation (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). A lobbyist might give up something, but might at the same time gain something as well. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared, "Lobbyists might cut their losses and try to change legislation that might not be ideal into legislation that the

organization can live with and not be detrimental to public schools." The Executive Director of PENC affirmed the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA compromising tactic when she stated, "a lobbyist should work on language for a compromise; it is always helpful not to just identify a problem but also help solve the problem. One who can do this is viewed as a reasonable person" (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The issue of compromise will be taken up in greater detail in Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF". The language of the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA and the Executive Director of PENC is mirrored in the language of Marshall et al.'s (1989) respondents as well. However, Marshall et al. (1989) called their respondents' explanations of cutting their losses "something for everyone" (p. 44). Nevertheless, whether the researcher calls the operational principle compromising or "something for everyone," the operational principle clearly falls within the assumptive worlds model's third domain.

Continued Resistance: Last Chances to Stop Legislation

If all these efforts failed then a lobbyist would move to general members of the chamber (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated, "I have seen plenty of bills pass a committee especially if they passed a committee by a small margin and then they go down on the floor." Sometimes, if a lobbyist cannot get a piece of legislation stopped in one chamber, then the lobbyist will go over to the other chamber (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007 see also pp. 94 and 96 -97). The final two chances an organization has to stop or amend

legislation occur during the conference committee and then when the governor signs the legislation. Lobbyist can work with their allies on the conference committee to get as much of what one wants in the bill as possible (see pp. 94 and 97-100; Table 4). The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "Try to have at least a couple of people who could be a stopper, who are the lobbyist's eyes and ears and mouth piece because very little of the discussion in the conference committee is going to be public." One must have members who are allowed in the room or negotiate behind closed doors to be able to say what the lobbyist needs them to say (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). According to the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, asking the governor to veto a bill is no small task. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA told a story of how she met with four or five of the governor's advisors and explained how a particular bill would be detrimental to education and to some of the governor's pet projects. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) exclaimed, "The governor in turn decided not to sign the bill once, but to sign it twice." Therefore, the third domain of the assumptive worlds model reveals the operational principle that lobbyists should continue to try to stop legislation at every possible point. If this operational principle of continued resistance fails, then the lobbyist may choose to cut his or her losses and propose an amendment or compromise. Chapter 5 called, "Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models concerning the Key State-Level Education Associations as well as NCPSF" will further discuss legislative compromise.

Summary

Chapter 4 used the first, second and third domain of the assumptive worlds model as well as the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to elicit and

analyze, from the data, the actions and the language that the key state-level education

association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina used to situate their practices. Chapter

4 presented the history and governance rules of the four key state-level education

associations as well as NCPSF. The Chapter revealed the organizations' understanding of

how to maintain their ability to impact their legislative agendas as well as how to operate

within the process and procedures of the legislature. Finally, the respondents made very clear

that any successful entity must have a plan addressing organizational guiding principles as

well as organization and mobilization of members; what an organization will do when

legislation divides the group; finding allies; and finally identifying strategies to stop

legislation; as well as choosing an organizational stance on a lobbying style. Table 6 displays

those data.

Table 6. Rules or Principles by Domain

Domain	Rule or Principles
First Domain	**Negotiation Strategies concerning the Conference Committee** - Introduction of a bogus bill to use as a bargaining chip - Creation of a difference within a bill to trigger a compromise - Placement of an adversarial legislator or legislators
Second Domain	**Issues that divide an association's membership** - Destroys cohesion within the association's membership - Possibly destroys cohesion with another association
Third Domain	**Development of legislative agenda** - Mobilization of membership to participate in creation of agenda - Need for bi-partisan support **Strategies and methods utilized to advance legislative agendas** - Guiding principles - Know who your allies are - Social relationships - Have a daily presence in the General Assembly - Mobilization of membership to act - Support the presence of the one involved in the daily participation - Different lobbying styles **How to stop legislation** - Do not be perceived as being negative

	- Mobilize the membership of the association - Talk to the leadership of the chamber - If that fails, talk to the committee chair - If that fails, talk to the committee members - If that fails, talk to the general members of the chamber - If that fails, talk to the other chamber - If that fails, talk to the Governor

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: HIERARCHIES OF POWER AND CIRCLES OF INFLUENCE MODELS CONCERNING THE LEGISLATIVE ARENA IN NORTH CAROLINA AND THE KEY STATE-LEVEL EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS AS WELL AS NCPSF

Organization of Chapter 5

This chapter is framed by the models emphasizing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models as well as the assumptive worlds model that explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. Chapter 5 consists of ten sections. First, the researcher situates the findings from the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models by presenting a brief 25-year history between the major K-12 education associations and NCPSF. Second, the researcher explains why K-12 education associations and NCPSF fall into conflict with each other. Once the researcher has explained the history and conflict between the major K-12 education associations, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of Senator Marc Basnight, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and Representative Jim Black, the Speaker of the House using the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Fourth, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of the Rules Chairs of both chambers: Senator Tony Rand and Representative Bill Culpepper employing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Fifth, the researcher explores and then presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of the effect of the Co-Speakership of 2003-2004 implementing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence

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models. Sixth, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of the former Governor, Mike Easley, utilizing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Seventh, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of each major K-12 education player in order of influence using the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Eighth, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of the power of The Coalition employing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models. Ninth, the researcher discusses the implementation of compromise between the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF in the legislative process. Finally, the researcher presents insiders' perspectives on the relative power and influence of the impact of a united K-12 Education Lobby in the Full Education Committee and the floors of both Senate and House utilizing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models.

Hierarchies of Power and Circles of Influence Models

A Brief 25-Year History of Coalitions and Conflicts among the Major K-12 Education Associations and NCPSF

In order to situate the findings from the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models concerning the major K-12 education associations and NCPSF, a brief 25-year history will introduce the adversarial and collegial elements between the various organizations. In the early 1980's, there had been a long series of difficulties between NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA chiefly over the issue of collective bargaining. John Wilson, the President of NCAE at the time, was pushing actively the idea of having collective bargaining for teachers in North Carolina. As a result of that, NCSBA, NCASA and the PTA formed an organization called The North Carolina Alliance For Public Education (The Alliance). The

Alliance began with these three organizations and over time The Alliance grew to around 12 organizations. After seven or eight years, The Alliance disbanded because the threat of collective bargaining no longer existed. In the late to mid 1990's, when Governor Hunt was campaigning for increased teacher salaries, NCASA and NCSBA decided that they needed to join forces with NCAE and end the "Education Wars," which was an ongoing conflict between NCAE and the two other major education organizations NCSBA and NCASA. NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA decided to come together jointly to advocate for the passage of the "Excellent Schools Act," which was one of Governor Hunts' signature education pieces. This act increased significantly teacher salaries. NCAE, NCSBA, NCASA and the PTA formed another organization called "Shoulder-to-Shoulder." This union maintained that the involved organizations would stand shoulder-to-shoulder collectively to advocate for improved teacher salaries and working conditions. At that time when the education organizations started "Shoulder-to-Shoulder," the Education Community also decided that they wanted to show the legislators that NCAE, NCSBA, NCASA and the PTA could work collectively together on an issue. In addition, the education community wanted to unite because legislators had used over the years the excuse that school people cannot decide what they want so legislators are not going to do anything. The "Shoulder-to-Shoulder" group was fairly effective and this group helped to move the "Excellent Schools Act" through the General Assembly because the public school family stood together and all the organizations had a positive working relationship with each other as long as everyone actively participated in that union. In 2001 after the "Excellent Schools Act" passed, the impetus to do "Shoulder-to-Shoulder" began to dissipate. "Shoulder-to-Shoulder" ceased to exist and the education organizations passed back into an uneasy truce with NCAE pursuing its separate agenda as

well as NCSBA and NCASA pursuing their own agenda (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, February 26, 2007).

The Conflict

This uneasy truce remained in place in 2007 and 2008 with NCSBA and NCASA on one side and NCAE on the other side. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared, "Even though the school board supervises administrators, administrators are the ones who are typically quoted in the newspaper on a daily basis. They are where the rubber meets the road." However, control in each district is in the hands of the school board and the school board can remove any personnel in the administrative rank if the school board does not think he or she is doing a good job. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that this split occurs with teachers because school administrators and the school board tend to work together on most issues and teachers and the public view both groups as management. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that school administrators and the school board sometimes do have issues with each other, but the most frequent split occurs with teachers on one side and administrators and the school board on the other side (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Therefore, the split occurs along the lines of management versus those that the managers supervise. The most common split occurs around issues concerning personnel benefit perks for teachers. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member conveyed that when teachers want things that are going to cost money or make it administratively more complicated. These wants create tension between the two groups because the administrators and the school boards are going to have to do or pay for these wants from a finite pool of money and time (The Education

Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). Teachers

may be asking for something that the administrators and school boards may like on the

surface, but they cannot support for various reasons from an operational standpoint or a

funding standpoint. These reasons are many and one of the simpler examples is there is not

enough time in the school day to add or subtract another duty. Another reason is there is just

not enough funding to do everything that administrators and school boards would like to do

for teachers (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview,

February 2, 2007). Typically, if there is an education issue that splits the factions of the

major K-12 education associations, the issue will split the education committee as far as

support and opposition. There will be some legislators who are more persuaded by the

teacher voices they are hearing, while superintendents, school board members and principals

will persuade other legislators on the issue. Legislators have to weigh the options and

determine which side they think is where they need to be and which represents most of their

constituency. Anytime, the education community is split, the outcome is uncertain (The

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

Further, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that there is no way to

predict scientifically the outcome because the legislative outcome will depend on funding

availability and on the merit of each issue. There are some issues that teachers will win and

there are other issues that administrators and school boards will win. It is easiest for the

education committee if all three factions agree on an issue (The Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

The researcher employed Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of

influence models to situate and explain the power and influence of the major players in the

legislative arena in the state of North Carolina (see p 22 as well as pp 36-37 of the Literature Review). In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, their hierarchies of power and circles of influence models revealed that as they aggregated their data from the six states that clusters of elites emerged from their data. The circles of influence model aided Marshall et al. to conclude that members of a cluster held comparable levels of influence. The researcher employing a similar circles of influence model uncovered similar trends in his data as well. Specifically, that members of the same cluster possessed comparable abilities or influence over the navigation and passage of education legislation. Figure 2 displays those data.
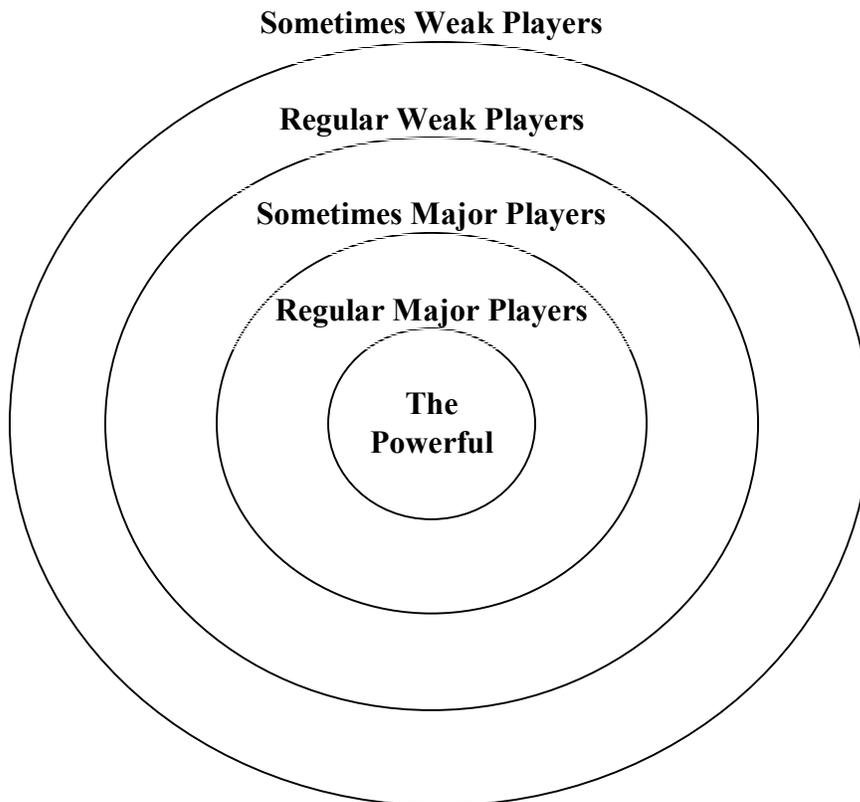

Figure 2. Circles of Influence in the North Carolina Education Legislative Arena

Figure 2 depicts the influence of each cluster in that the closer to the center the more influence members of a cluster possess to hinder or aid the navigation and passage of

education legislation. Further, the hierarchies of power model bolstered Marshall et al.

conclusion that within the clusters that individual members maintained varying degrees of

power over the navigation and passage of education legislation. Once again, the researcher

using a similar hierarchies of power model found parallel tendencies in his data. Table 7

presents those data. A detailed discussion of Table 7 follows on pages 149 through 182.

Table 7. Hierarchies of Power in the North Carolina Education Legislative Arena

Respondents Rating	Individual or Group	Cluster	Cluster Rating
1	Mike Easley, Governor		$5 - 1^{st}$ place ratings, $1 - 2^{nd}$ place rating
2	Marc Basnight, President Pro Tempore	**The**	$1 - 1^{st}$ place rating, $3 - 2^{nd}$ place ratings, $2 - 3^{rd}$ place ratings
3	Jim Black, Speaker of the House		$4 - 2^{nd}$ place ratings, $2 - 3^{rd}$ place ratings
4	Tony Rand, Rules Chair Senate	**Powerful**	$6 - 4^{th}$ place ratings
5	Bill Culpepper, Rules Chair House		$3 - 4^{th}$ place ratings, $3 - 5^{th}$ place ratings
6*	NCAE	**Regular**	$5 - 1^{st}$ place ratings, $1 - 2^{nd}$ place rating
7	NCSBA	**Major**	$4 - 1^{st}$ place ratings, $2 - 2^{nd}$ place ratings
8	NCASA	**Players**	$2 - 1^{st}$ place ratings, $1 - 2^{nd}$ place rating, $3 - 3^{rd}$ place ratings
9$	NCPSF	**Sometimes Major Players**	RMP $3 - 4^{th}$ place ratings, $1 - 6^{th}$ place rating ~, SMP $2 - 1^{st}$ place ratings
10	PENC	**Regular Weak Players**	SMP $1 - 1^{st}$ place rating, $1 - 5^{th}$ place rating +, RWP $3 - 1^{st}$ place ratings, $1 - 3^{rd}$ place rating **

RMP = Regular Major Players, SMP = Sometimes Regular Players and RWP = Regular Weak Players
* The respondents, who were asked (3 of 6), rated The Coalition as number 6 or the most powerful
  of the Regular Major players
$ Richard Morgan, the Co-Speaker, would fall after NCPSF except no respondent mentioned him
  because he is more of a Never Major Player than a Sometimes Major Player
~ NCPSF was placed behind two school systems, Wake County and Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public
  School Systems
+ PENC was placed behind the Lieutenant Governor, the Black Caucus, the NC School Board and
  Wake County Public School Systems
** PENC was placed behind two school systems, Wake County and Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public
  School Systems

The Powerful

The Many Powers of Senator Basnight and Representative Black

The Executive Director for NCSBA said that she would place the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House high on any Hierarchy of Power continuum (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). The President of NCAE agreed saying both the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House are very powerful. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) continued that "They do have lots of influence, but can one person or one person in each Chamber be opposed to a bill and have the rest support that opposition; that is conceivable." In the Senate, Senator Basnight has been President Pro Tempore for eight terms, which is unheard of and is unparalleled in state history. "Senator Basnight is the most powerful man in North Carolina" (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). Senator Basnight surpasses even the Lieutenant Governor. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "The Lieutenant Governor presides over the Senate, but that is all worked out. In other words, the Lieutenant Governor does not do anything that Senator Basnight has not already approved." In the House, Representative Black had been the Speaker of the House for a record-tying four terms. However, Speaker Black's 2003-2004 term required him to share a Co-Speakership with a Republican Representative named Richard Morgan. Speaker Black was even weaker in his final term because fellow Democrat Representative, Dan Blue a former one-term House Speaker, built a coalition to try to win back the speakership. In 2005-2006 his final term, Representative Black was also hounded by legal investigations that ultimately sent him to Federal Prison for 63 months. Nevertheless, The

News and Observer still stated that Representative Black might be "the most powerful House Speaker in North Carolina history" (December 4, 2006).

There are three reasons why respondents identified Senator Basnight and Representative Black as at the top of the hierarchies of power model. One reason is that the President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House hold the privilege to select the chairs as well as the co-chairs of every committee in their perspective chambers. If the President Pro Tempore or the Speaker of the House names a legislator a co-chair, that new co-chair obtains a gavel. One of the ways that the President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House create loyalty to themselves is to appoint a legislator as a co-chair. In the House, Speaker Black created more major chairmanships than has ever existed before (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Years ago under House Speaker Ramsey there were usually four major chairmanships. The major chairs of the Senate and House were called the gang of eight. The four major chairs from the House and four major chairs from the Senate comprised the gang of eight and this group ran the budget process. The gang of eight made all the decisions. However, Speaker Black doubled the number of major chairs in the House to eight. Speaker Black has changed the gang of eight to the gang of eleven, which includes the three major chairs of the Senate and the eight major chairs of the House (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). In addition to increasing the major chairmanships, Speaker Black increased the number of co-chairs as well from every committee having one co-chair to at least three co-chairs for every committee (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated, "I cannot remember now we were all counting the number of gavels given out but it

was an astronomical amount." Therefore, this power of selecting the chairs as well as the co-chairs of every committee produces loyalty from the chairs as well as the co-chairs of every committee.

The Executive Director for NCSBA discussed the other reason that Senator Basnight and Representative Black are at the top of the hierarchies of power model. She shared that both Senator Basnight and Representative Black are masters of communicating their wishes concerning legislation. The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) stated, "He could be against it or just say I am not telling you how to vote on this issue. I hope it passes, but whatever. It really comes down to what Senator Basnight is communicating and that means something to other senators." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA also spoke of the importance of what Senator Basnight communicated concerning a piece of legislation. The senator can tell a Chairman to hear or not hear bills (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). In the same way in the House, there may be a bill that the Speaker will inform the chairs that he does not want this heard or there will be a message to hear this bill. There are varying degrees of pressure and a chair in either chamber pays attention (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007).

The final reason is that the President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House enjoy exclusively the right to pick the members of the Conference Committees (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). With this right, Senator Basnight and Representative Black have the ability to influence legislation from its entrance into the General Assembly until a piece of legislation goes to the governor's desk. Therefore, the power of communication sustains the other two powers because Senator

Basnight and Representative Black communicate their wishes to those that they have selected to chairmanships, co-chairmanships and the members of every conference committee. Therefore, no respondent could think of many situations in which the senator or representative could not stop legislation if they chose to stop it. In addition, both Senator Basnight and Representative Black possess great negotiating skills. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) recounted:

> There is one I am thinking of that I have seen that I have heard stories about people going into a room and you are not going to agree and you are going to tell this person why you are not going to vote for this issue. You end up walking out of the room giving him everything he wanted. These individuals are so persuasive in a leadership role.

Thus, the three powers of the President Pro Tempore or the Speaker of the House coupled with their great negotiating skills place both individuals at the top of the hierarchies of power model.

The Rules Chairs of both Chambers

The Rules Chairs of both chambers of the General Assembly are probably the second most powerful position in that chamber. The Rules Chair is the legislative traffic cop, who decides how legislation will flow, in that specific chamber. In the Senate, the Rules Chair is Senator Anthony "Tony" Rand. In the Senate, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA said that the senator, who really helped Senator Basnight run the agenda of the Senate, was Senator Rand who is the Senate majority leader and the Senate Rules Chairman (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). In the House, the Rules Chair was Representative William "Bill" Culpepper. In the House, Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper had a similar relationship to Senator Basnight and Senator Rand. Senator Basnight and Senator Rand as well as Speaker Black and

Representative Culpepper were the chiefs and the senators or representatives at the next level, the appropriation chairs and the policy chairs of their particular chambers, are the lieutenants. The appropriation chairs are similar to First Lieutenants and the policy chairs are Second Lieutenants (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

The Rules Chair of the Senate decides the committee placement of every piece of legislation (see pp. 94-96 and Table 4 as well as pp. 135 and 136). The Rules Chair of the Senate also has a voice if a piece of legislation is re-referred. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared, "Senator Basnight and Senator Rand work like a tag team in the Senate. They work hand in hand in deciding what will and what want happen." The Executive Director for NCSBA (March 12, 2007) stated, "I know Senator Rand. Senator Rand is the second most powerful person in the Senate, second only to Senator Basnight." Senator Rand was the Senate Majority Leader in 1987-1988 and then again from 2001 to the present. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF disclosed that Senator Rand has been the Rules Chairman of the Senate ever since she can remember in the Senate. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) maintained "Some think that Senator Rand is the most powerful man in the Senate, not Senator Basnight; but together they can block anything and get anything passed they want in the Senate. That is the kind of power they have." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member believed that Senator Basnight and Senator Rand are equally powerful. She shared that they do not always agree with each other and they both have enormous influence (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). However, the other

respondents agreed that Senator Basnight and Speaker Black deserved a higher rating than Senator Rand in reference to the hierarchies of power model.

The House Rules Chair does not have quite the authority that the Senate Rules Chair holds. The Speaker of the House decides the committee placement of every piece of legislation in consultation with the Rules Chairman (see pp. 94-96 and Table 4 as well as 134 and 135). In the Senate the Rules Chair assigns legislation to committees and in the House, the Rules Chair has the backing of the Speaker to assign legislation to a committee. Once the bill is reported out of the committee, the House Rules Chairman is in charge of assigning a bill's calendar date. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "Representative Culpepper was powerful because he and Speaker Black were inseparable. If Speaker Black needed something done, strong-armed; Culpepper was the guy." Representative Culpepper had been the Rules Chair of the House for three and a half terms, leaving office after the 2005 session. The Executive Director of PENC shared "It was kind of like the chicken and egg question; I do not know whether Culpepper in and of himself would have been powerful, but he certainly was powerful in tandem with Black" (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Further, Representative Culpepper was independent. On legislation that Representative Culpepper championed, Speaker Black would defer to Representative Culpepper. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF explained concerning such an occasion(March 16, 2007) if you went to Speaker Black, he would state that 'you need to go talk to Rules Chairman Culpepper and you need to convince him on why this bill needs to be somewhere else.'" Speaker Black would not over step Representative Culpepper (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Finally, Representative Culpepper was one of the individuals listed as an ex officio

member or a "Floater" for the Democrats (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Thus, Representative Culpepper did not have the powers, years of experience or the title of Majority Leader to challenge Senator Rand for his rating on the hierarchies of power model.

Beyond Senators Basnight and Rand as well as Representatives Black and Culpepper powers and abilities, respondents declared that they all deserved membership in the circles of influence cluster called the powerful because of their mastery of the procedures to pass or stop legislation. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) shared "A bill can be stopped in a number of ways; it just depends if Senators Basnight and Rand as well as Representatives Black and Culpepper want to spend their own chits to stop a bill." Both sets of leaders employed the calendar and other committees to stop bills. They can ignore legislation they do not like by letting the legislation sit on the calendar for days and days. The President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House can just keep skipping over the legislation, just because legislation is on the calendar does not mean that the President Pro Tempore or the Speaker of the House has to bring it to the floor for a vote (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). Another example of a procedure that only Senators Basnight and Rand as well as Representatives Black and Culpepper could maneuver was to send legislation to an appropriations committee as an example. Someone would say that this issue has budget implications and that would usually do it (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Further, these leaders of both chambers could send any bill either to another unfavorable committee, where legislation is sent to die a slow death and never be heard from again or to the Rules Committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February

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2, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained, "There will be days where bills will come out of the Rules Committee, it is like the damn has burst, and one knows that someone has caved on another issue." The Rules Committee functions as a foil or a holding tank and the President Pro Tempore and the Rules Chairman, Tony Rand, as well as Speaker Black and the Rules Chairman, Bill Culpepper, can decide what legislation passes out of the committee and that is controlled in the Senate by Senators Basnight and Rand and in the House by Representatives Black and Culpepper (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Therefore, the ability to control the flow of legislation within their chambers places all these individuals in the circles of influence cluster called the powerful because no other members of the General Assembly could execute such maneuvers.

Senators Basnight and Rand as well as Representatives Black and Culpepper also possess other tools to get bills passed. They posture, they get good sound-bites and they know how to manipulate how an issue is characterized and that is part of being a politician (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). However, there is even more to their power than being excellent politicians. In the Senate, beyond controlling the flow of legislation, both senators appear to control the flow of legislation within committees as well. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) told a story concerning the difference between her communications with the Senate appropriation and the policy chairs and their House counterparts:

> Many times on the Senate side you will get a "We will see" or "We will see how that fits into everything." For some reason the House chairmen are willing to give you more definitive dates about when they are going to hear your bills when you go talk to them about it instead of "Oh well we will get to that."

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA believed that these delaying remarks occur

because the appropriation chairs and the policy chairs of the Senate, think that Senator

Basnight or Senator Rand might care and they need to go check with one of them first (The

Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). Beyond

regulating legislation in a committee, Senators Basnight and Rand have the power to be

kingmakers concerning which legislator obtains the credit for passage of legislation. The

Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) related such a kingmaker move:

> In 2006, there was a new requirement about pledging allegiance to the
> flag in public schools. Neal Hunt, a Republican Senator from Wake County,
> had raised a bill and Julia Boseman, a Democratic Senator from New
> Hanover, also introduced a bill. Senators Basnight and Rand saw to it that her
> bill is credited partially because Senators Basnight and Rand want to keep her
> seat a Democratic seat so they give her stuff to run.

Therefore, another reason that Senator Basnight and Senator Rand deserve inclusion in the

circles of influence cluster called the powerful is their ability to control the flow of

legislation within Senate committees as well as their kingmaker power concerning which

legislator obtains the credit for passage of legislation.

In the House, the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member revealed that

there are others who their roles are more keeping everyone together. The Education

Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "It had to be very

challenging to keep a split house like that with polar opposite philosophies on a lot of

different things together, but they were able to pass much legislation." Beyond controlling

the flow of legislation within the House, Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper also

controlled the flow of legislation within committees by using "Floaters" and other tricks of

the trade. Floaters were an ex-officio member of almost every committee. Under the 2003-

2004 House Rules, there were a handful of legislators who were given the authority to go and

vote on any committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 2, 2007). Thus, if Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper realized

that a bill they care about is in trouble, they could stack the committee to make the votes go

their way by sending in their floaters to help get the vote count right (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). In the 2004 session,

the House had co-speakers so both parties had ex-officio members or "Floaters". Speaker

Morgan and Speaker Black selected there team of floaters (The Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). There were four ex-officio

members or "Floaters" in 2003-2004. Each party was able to choose two floaters from their

ranks. As mentioned above, Representative Culpepper was one of the individuals listed as an

ex-officio member or a "Floater" for the Democrats (The Governmental Relations Director

for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director

for NCSBA shared another trick of the trade employed by Speaker Black and Representative

Culpepper, which is to write the bill's title so that it is the bill. When a legislator creates a bill

that has that kind of title, it is almost impossible to amend that bill on the floor. If another

legislator tries to run an amendment on the floor that changes the title, that legislator has to

piece together a two-thirds chamber vote, which is a high vote count and difficult. Changing

a title requires a two-thirds chamber vote. Thus, when a bill that is only a title reaches the

floor; unless, other legislators were introducing a technical change that bill would not have

any substantive amendments on the floor (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA,

Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). In the 2003-2004 sessions, Speaker Black and

Representative Culpepper would take a blank bill that would be in the Rules Committee and

the bill would all of a sudden come out and would no longer be blank. That is another trick of

the trade that Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper utilized to conceal what they were doing with controversial legislation that they wanted to make into law (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). Therefore, Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper also merit inclusion in the circles of influence cluster called the powerful because of their ability to control the flow of legislation within House committees through the use of "Floaters" and other tricks of the trade.

A final and potentially the most potent source of power for both Senators Basnight and Rand is the Senate Leadership PAC. The Senate Leadership PAC helps other members campaigning for office in tight legislative races for seats (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Both Senators can pick and chose the legislators who they give money to in the General Assembly. This PAC money could be given to a legislator or a legislator's rival in the Primary or General Election. Therefore, the Senate Leadership PAC allows both Senators Basnight and Rand to enjoy the influence that interest groups have that contribute to candidates as well as there constitutional powers of President Pro Tempore and the Rules Chairmanship. Therefore, beyond respondents information, this power enjoyed by both Senators Basnight and Rand elevate Senator Basnight above Speaker Black and Senator Rand above Representative Culpepper on the hierarchies of power model.

The Strange Co-Speakership of 2003-2004

This study would be incomplete if the investigator did not apply the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models upon the Co-Speakership. In 2003-2004, Speaker Black shared a Co-Speakership with a Republican Representative named Richard Morgan. The Executive Director for NCSBA acknowledged that "Co-Speaker Morgan, his clout was

not the same as Co-Speaker Black even though they were Co-Speakers" (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, February 26, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF shared that Co-Speaker Morgan was very independent and a wealthy cattle farmer (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). However, Co-Speaker Morgan's party did not support him. In 2003-2004, the Republicans were fractured; there were pro and anti-Morgan people. The Republican Party did not have its act together well enough to get a law up or down because they were so busy fighting among themselves and trying to bring down the Morgan faction and they later succeeded (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Co-Speaker Morgan had the votes of some of the Democrats and a handful of Republicans. He was looked upon within the Republican Party as a traitor to the party for doing what he did to set up the Co-Speakership and join the Democrats in power sharing (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, February 26, 2007). The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) stated, "He did not have the Art Popes of the world, the very conservative in his corner." No respondent even mentioned Co-Speaker Morgan concerning his power in general or concerning Education Policy and Laws. Co-Speaker Morgan admits to the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA that his focus was elsewhere. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated that Co-Speaker Morgan "told me in person that he supported tourism and typically wanted to support business interests in the state." Nevertheless, it is clear that no respondent felt that Co-Speaker Morgan was more than a sometime major player in the circles of influence model. Speaker Morgan deserves inclusion in the circles of influence cluster called sometime major player because of his access to the use of "Floaters" and other tricks of the trade. However,

Speaker Morgan does not deserve placement in a higher circle because he did not have the same control that Speaker Black or Representative Culpepper held over the flow of legislation in the chamber. Turning back to Co-Speaker Black, this Co-Speakership enhanced and hurt his power at the same time. Most respondents agreed that the Co-Speakers probably negotiated positions, which made the House weaker in dealing with the Senate. This may also explain why both Senators Basnight and Rand always out ranked their House counterparts besides the senators' access to the Senate Leadership PAC. However, in the House itself, if both Speakers had a negotiated position, then that would be harder to overcome because that would mean that there were both Democrats and Republicans that would support the Co-Speakers (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). Therefore, in the end, Speaker Black gained more from the Co-Speakership than he lost. The Co-Speakership did not influence Speaker Black's placement in either the circles of influence model or the hierarchies of power model.

The One Who does not Walk the General Assembly Halls, but still has Power

The Executive Director for NCSBA said that she would place the governor pretty high on any Hierarchy of Power continuum (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). All respondents consistently categorized the Governor, Mike Easley, as in the highest echelon of the circles of influence cluster called the powerful. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared, "The governor does not travel to the General Assembly on a daily basis or actually walk the halls. His team of advisors and the governor's lobbying team carries the governor's message." Governor Easley is a two-term governor. All modern governors of North Carolina have power through their control of the state bureaucracy and their power to enforce state law, as well as their

access to the media and their budgetary authority. Therefore, all modern competent governors will find themselves included in the circles of influence cluster called the powerful.

Many respondents discussed the governor's relationship with the State Board and the Department of Public Instruction to express how the governor can control a state bureaucracy. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "I think these days the state board's agenda is whatever the governor wants." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA revealed that the governor appoints every member of the State Board of Education including the State Board of Education Chairman. She stated that the structure of appointing State Board of Education members creates a situation where these appointed members are very loyal to the governor. As revealed concerning the President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House (see pp. 150 and 151), appointing or choosing individuals to positions of power creates additional power for the appointee. This Governor appointed board determines the legislative agenda for the State Board of Education. The Department of Public Instruction is the bureaucracy that implements the directives and the agenda of the State Board. The Executive Director of PENC explained how Governor Easley triangulated control of all education issues by not only controlling the State Board of Education, but also entrenching his control in the Department of Public Instruction. Governor Easley decided to change the authority of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in order to gain complete control over the state bureaucracy, the Department of Public Instruction. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated:

> I am not sure what the former State Superintendent of Public
> Instruction, Mike Ward, did; but the governor's trust in Mike Ward eroded.
> When Mike Ward left the State Superintendent of Public Instruction office,
> Governor Easley took over all the control. The governor's team figured out
> that if all the control was in a position that the governor could control, then the
> governor could truly control public education. The deputy superintendent
> became the CEO of the Department of Public Instruction. The State
> Superintendent of Public Instruction, June Atkinson, has little control over
> anything except for the people who work directly for her.

Thus, the legislative agenda for the State Board of Education and the Department of Public

Instruction is always in tandem with what Governor Easley has in his education agenda.

Thus, the State Board of Education and the Department of Public Instruction are almost an

extension of the governor's education initiatives (The Governmental Relations Director for

NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Therefore, Governor Easley controls not

only the formulation of education policies, but the implementation of those same policies as

well. This complete control over the formulation and implementation of education policies

places Governor Easley in the circle of influence cluster the powerful as well as high on the

hierarchies of power model as well.

The budgetary authority of the governor is another source of power. The governor's

team of advisors and the governor's lobbying team largely shape the budgets of every state

bureaucracy. The governor's team not only proposes the budgets for the State Board of

Education and the Department of Public Instruction, but the entire public education budget.

The Executive Director for NCSBA (March 12, 2007) stated, "Education is so much a part of

the cost of doing business in the state; the governor's budget have an impact as well as the

governor's wishes of what he wants to see in terms of spending in education." The governor's

proposed budget is the starting point at which the House and Senate decide what initiatives

will be funded each year (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 16, 2007). Therefore, Governor Easley controls not only the formulation

and the implementation of education policies, but the budgets of the State Board of

Education and the Department of Public Instruction that formulate and implement these same

state policies. This triangulation of power that the governor has amassed is unparalleled in

state history.

The membership of the governor in the circles of influence cluster the powerful also

manifests itself in his ability to mobilize his team to carry his message to the General

Assembly. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA disclosed that it is not easy to

comprehend the influence of the governor's team because they do not always speak in a

committee, but the governor's team works every committee. Concerning education

legislation, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared that

the governor's team "talks to the legislators and says the governor really does not like this

and NCASA is leading you down a wrong path and you do not want to go there." The

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) continued, "The

governor's team helps to control the agenda from the governor's education perspective

without having to be at the microphone every time there is an issue being debated." The

Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained how the Governor Easley's team

functioned:

> The governor's office operates a lot like Karl Rove and Bush's
> Administration where if one disagrees with us then you are an enemy. In Karl
> Rove's instance, one is also un-American and unpatriotic. The governor is not
> too far different, they are thugs. The governor is a former prosecutor and his
> staff operates as intimidators. They intimidate the legislative staff, lobbyists
> and they intimidate legislators. If you do not do what they want you to do,
> they will scream at you and basically you are an enemy and a bad person.

Further, in 1996, the State of North Carolina granted the governor the power of vetoing legislation. (Politics.MyNC.com, 2008). Consequently, if Governor Easley's control of state bureaucracies, budgetary authority or team fails to deliver what the governor wishes concerning legislation, then Governor Easley can veto that legislation. However, the fact that Governor Easley cannot veto all legislation means that he is not in the circles of influence cluster called the all powerful, but simply the powerful. The respondents' election of Governor Easley to the top position on the hierarchies of power model also becomes clearer with each new power.

A final and potentially the most potent source of power for Governor Easley is his PAC. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) told a story that details not only how governor Easley uses his power of vetoing legislation to control policy and implementation changes, but also how he employed his own PAC to pressure members of the General Assembly to do what he wished:

> House Bill 706, the licensure bill passed with only three votes against the bill on both chambers. The governor was not even aware of the bill because he was working on the lottery. He wakes up and decides that he does not like the bill, but the bill has already passed and been sent to his desk. The governor vetoes the bill and we work with the legislators who are the chief sponsors and we all think it is a substantive issue. One day it dawned on me that the problem is not substance, but who is in control. There is no disagreement over substance, but power. The governor wants to let everyone know that he controls education. So what happened is that the governor brought in ten people in contested districts and most districts are not contested because of the way that they have been drawn during redistricting. There are very few districts that are in a contested seat. The governor brought in ten people, who were Democrats, and they were told that the governor had a million dollars left over and he would spend 100,000 dollars against each of their campaigns during the Democratic primary. Thus, these ten people decided to back off and then negotiated in the Caucus to make it look like the state board and the governor were in charge. It was more procedural looks than substantive changes. That is where the members' position was over-ruled publicly and they still got what they needed for their local districts, but the governor could sit there and beat his chest and say that he won.

Therefore, this power of the PAC enjoyed by both Senators Basnight and Rand elevate Senator Basnight above Speaker Black and Senator Rand above Representative Culpepper on the hierarchies of power model. In the same way, the power of the PAC elevates Governor Easley above Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper on the hierarchies of power model. Conversely, all these powers of Governor Easley make him a formidable foe and a powerful ally and elevate him above Senator Basnight and Senator Rand on the hierarchies of power model as well.

The Regular Major Players

NCAE - the One with the Power

As stated above (see pp. 146-148), the researcher employed Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models to situate and explain the power and influence of the education associations as well as NCPSF. Concerning the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models, the Executive Director for NCSBA stressed that NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA are going to have influence on educational policies and legislation of one type or another based on the issue (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member more specifically stated that NCAE is powerful. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 12, 2007) revealed, "Of all the education organizations, I believe that NCAE is the one with the power." All respondents consistently placed NCAE in the highest echelon of the Regular Major Players in K-12 education.

NCAE is a political force and it may be that teachers are the element that creates this power. The Literature shares that a large membership creates the potential for any organization to become a major player (see pp. 31, 32, 35, 36 and 37 of the Literature

Review). A school system may have eight school board members, but the same school system could easily have two thousand teachers. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA admitted that in a head to head contest between school boards and administrators versus teachers if a legislator is going to count how many calls he or she is going to get NCAE is going to beat the NCSBA and NCASA every time (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated "If a legislator is basing his or her vote on how many telephone calls or emails he or she gets; of course, teachers are going to always out do school board members and administrators." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member does not think people talk about NCSBA and NCASA as much as NCAE (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007).

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member also shared that when gauging NCAE's power one must always remember that legislators are married. Every legislator can tell you about a teacher that is in his or her family and usually it is a legislator's daughter, wife or grandmother (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated:

> I used to be a teacher so I can say things like this. The whole thing is kind of funny when you think about it. If a legislator does not have a teacher in his or her immediate family, there will be someone else working with education. There will be some connection.

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "I think the legislature is going to fall more on the side of teachers. I think legislators do things for teachers where they can." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member continued this thought by explaining that when money is available, legislators will raise

teacher salaries or lower class sizes. When there is a bad economy and money is tight, then legislators would try to come up with something else that they could do for teachers. Legislators might say this is the year that the legislature is going to change the school management law to help the teachers get more of a voice at the table or something along those lines (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007).

It would be naive to believe that NCAE is powerful and a strong organization only because the organization has many members and legislators are married to teachers. NCAE has some advantages against the other education associations and NCPSF. Not only does NCAE have a larger staff than the other education associations and NCPSF, but NCAE has more lobbyists as well (see pp. 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature Review as well as 119). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) shared, "when it was one of me and they had four registered lobbyist that makes a big difference in how many people you can get to in a day." In addition, NCAE also has a strong relationship with the governor. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF revealed that NCAE gives big contributions to the governor and the governor considers NCAE one of his greatest allies (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA affirmed NCAE's strong relationship with the governor when she stated that sometimes NCAE seems indifferent to a bill, but then the governor is opposed to the bill and then all of a sudden NCAE is opposed to the bill as well (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). However, NCAE influences the governor through more than just big campaign contributions. The Executive Director of PENC shared that one of the governor's education advisers is

influenced by NCAE and basically sits with the NCAE lobbyists at the legislature (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007).

Another advantage NCAE enjoys is that NCAE influences and some would say controls certain legislators. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) maintained, "There are some legislators who are mouth pieces for NCAE. They look to see how NCAE wants them to vote and that is how they vote." The Executive Director of PENC shared that many of the members of the Black Caucus are influenced by NCAE. The Executive Director of PENC continued that Bernard Allen was under NCAE's influence in his time at the legislature. Further, Jeannie Lucas was one of the Senate Education co-chairs and she was pretty much controlled by NCAE (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF confirmed that generally Senator Lucas voted the way NCAE asked her to vote (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). Therefore, NCAE's many members, lobbyists, relationship with Governor Easley and influence with certain legislators makes clear that NCAE is a regular major player because of the influence they ascertain from such practices.

Finally, the greatest advantage NCAE enjoys over the other education associations and NCPSF is that NCAE has a PAC. The President of NCAE does not think that the NCAE's PAC contributions to politicians are as influential in the big scheme of things. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "Legislators want NCAE's endorsement because legislators want to say that the teachers and the highly respected teachers association think they are the best candidate when it comes to education." The President of NCAE continued that legislators want NCAE's endorsement more than the money because the legislators know they are not going to win elections on the amount of money that NCAE contributes (The

President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). Further, NCAE does not give the same amounts of money as other large company PAC groups in the state. NCAE, teachers do not give as much as developers or people who run big restaurants and hotels as well as time-shares. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) shared, "Teachers just cannot afford it, but NCAE makes up for that by having larger numbers of people who are giving smaller amounts; but still NCAE cannot compete with the Bell South's and other large company PAC groups." However, the President of NCAE believes that NCAE is so influential because of the profession that NCAE represents. The President of NCAE continued that there is more to NCAE's influence because there are many teachers; so, politicians and citizens of the state look at NCAE as being a large group. There are teachers in every district in North Carolina and teachers as a group vote in higher numbers than other groups. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "There are many politicians who say that if a choice has to be made between either a large contribution of 10,000 dollars or a set of 10,000 of voters; wise politicians would choose the people rather than the dollars." In addition (see pp. 124-127), when NCAE does the endorsement interviews, all of the candidates seem to have a teacher in their background and some tell NCAE members that "Oh, my sister is a teacher" (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The President of NCAE concluded that if there is not a teacher in a legislator's family, then all can send back their hearts to the years they were in school and the influence of teachers who changed their lives (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007).

The other respondents were very clear that they think NCAE's PAC contributions to politicians help NCAE advance NCAE's legislative agenda (See pp. 159 and 165-167 concerning the effect of the Governor's and the Senate Leadership PAC on the hierarchies of

power model). When asked, "Does NCAE's PAC money mean anything in this?" The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) answered, "I am guessing it does. We would be silly if we did not think it did." The Executive Director of NCSBA (February 26, 2007) stated, "I am not going to say that they have more influence, but I do not underestimate the impact of a PAC. NCAE's PAC does not give NCAE more options, but more opportunities." Some respondents viewed NCAE's PAC contributions as more than just helpful, but as a negative influence upon the entire political process. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA maintained that organizations with a PAC are seen as "a player and there is a sense that they have a lot of power and authority because of their campaign finance presence" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). She continued that NCAE has a very strong PAC that has ranked in the top ten in funding legislative campaigns (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated, "NCAE greases the hand when they give money." The Executive Director of PENC took this thought a step further, when she discussed NCAE's ability to donate money to political campaigns. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated:

> NCAE is a bully and legislators sometimes vote for NCAE legislation because they do not want NCAE to be mad at them, so being asked by NCAE to vote for legislation might not necessarily be a positive thing. NCAE threatens that NCAE will not endorse you and you will not get any money.

In addition, The Executive Director of PENC shared that the NEA cannot give to a state candidate if the NCAE does not support that candidate. Thus, a candidate in North Carolina who loses NCAE also loses NEA and that is another four thousand dollars (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Governmental Relations

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Director for NCASA affirmed the Executive Director of PENC's statement when she stated

that in the next election, NCAE might run a candidate against a legislator instead of giving

the legislator a PAC check because the legislator failed to vote for some key NCAE

legislation. NCAE will help an opponent take a legislator on in the election, if NCAE is not

happy with that legislator (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 2, 2007). This explanation of NCAE's PAC helps to explain how NCAE

could influence or even control legislators who are dependent on NCAE's PAC money as

well. Concerning the rating of NCAE on the hierarchies of power model, three of the five

respondents who rated NCAE first did so because of the power of the PAC. Therefore,

NCAE's many members, lobbyists, relationship with Governor Easley, influence with certain

legislators and PAC contributions places NCAE in the circle of influence cluster called

regular major players. NCAE's attributes and abilities also created the highest rating for a

single education association on the hierarchies of power model.

The researcher understood that the respondents statements of this study are counter to

the findings of Fleer. Fleer's study found that neither lobbyists nor legislators believed that

gifts created any access or influence upon legislators (see Literature Review p. 47). This is

clearly not the case among the majority of the respondents of this study. The respondents,

whose organizations did not have PACs, made crushing statements involving the impact of

money on legislators making decisions in the legislative arena. Some even situated PAC

money and its use as morally corrupt and fiscally irresponsible (see pp. 131 and 132).

Therefore, according to the respondents of this study, education lobbyists believe that money

and gifts create access and influence legislators.

NCSBA - the Elected Ones

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) explained, "I believe when it comes to education issues affecting public schools that there are three groups that typically carry much clout in the debate on those issues. They are NCSBA, NCASA and NCAE." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated that the school boards association "is a little powerful because they are elected people." She concluded that there is some sort of a connection with legislators in that regard (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). All respondents consistently considered NCSBA as one of the more influential Regular Major Players in K-12 education.

The Executive Director for NCSBA stated that NCSBA represents the 115 local boards of education in North Carolina that are the governing bodies of this state's school districts (The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 12, 2007). School board members are generally respected and legislators want to make sure they are meeting the needs of their school board members. Earlier studies, usually linked the success or influence of a school board association to the fact that school board members are elected officials (see pp. 34 and 37 in Literature Review). The Executive Director of PENC argued that the notion that NCSBA is successful and influential because school board members are elected is far too simple of an explanation. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) countered that NCSBA is successful and influential because "the school board speaks on the behalf of that school community and all the schools report and are the responsibility of that school board in that community." The Executive Director of PENC believes that it is the authority that the school board has not the elected piece that makes NCSBA successful and

influential (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The

Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) affirmed this when

she shared:

> I think where NCSBA gets their power is because they have a direct line to DPI and the state board. NCSBA can build their case on the cost of administering the changes proposed by NCAE. NCSBA uses the cost of administration to argue that NCAE legislation will either take away the flexibility of local school boards or NCSBA can argue that school board members are elected officials and should have a certain amount of control over the local situation. It is those kinds of big arguments that you hear from the NCSBA to counter and defeat arguments put forth by NCAE.

Therefore, NCSBA belongs in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players

because of both the elected piece and the authority that comes from school board members

being the governing body of the local education agency.

Respondents consistently rated or positioned NCSBA high within its cluster on the

hierarchies of power model. There are several reasons for this beyond the elected and the

authority piece. The organization of NCSBA helps elevate NCSBA's rating on the hierarchies

of power model (see pp. 116 and 119). When asked, "How successful are you and your

organization if another education association opposes you?" The Executive Director of

PENC (March 30, 2007) answered, "NCSBA would trump PENC." She explained that

NCSBA would easily defeat PENC because of the organization behind NCSBA's

constituency work. The Executive Director of PENC continued that NCSBA would make

sure that school board members called their legislators (The Executive Director of PENC,

Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). When asked, "How successful is the school board

association if NCAE opposes the NCSBA?" The Education Committee's chief legislative

staff member (March 24, 2007) answered, "They can be pretty successful." However, the

Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that NCSBA's fortunes versus NCAE

might soon change. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA revealed that since she has been the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA either the Republicans have been in control of the House or the margins have been really close. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA continued that the Republican Party is not NCAE's allied party. NCSBA's local control issues and employer versus employee issues generally find more sympathy from Republican legislators. Therefore, as the Democrats continue to win back more seats and as the margins increase the story at the General Assembly may change. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that NCAE is part of the Democratic base and with the shift in power over the next couple of years; the state of North Carolina could potentially see a change and a shift in power from all the unions (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). Therefore, respondents rated NCSBA as number seven or in second place behind NCAE because of the elected and authority piece as well as NCSBA's ability to organize its constituents.

Another strength that NCSBA possesses is NCSBA's lobbyist. The literature suggests that a lobbyist and the number of lobbyists an organization has can make a difference in the influence that an organization has in a legislative arena (see pp. 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of the Literature Review). The Executive Director for NCSBA revealed that to some extent an organization's influence has to do with the credibility of the organization as well as the number of people and the right kind of people down at the General Assembly. The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) stated, "One cannot just send anybody and have them do the organization any good. It has to be the right kind of person, who has the skill set, knowledge base and the personality to do that." The other respondents affirmed this as they

compared and contrasted NCAE's and NCSBA's lobbyists. The Education Committee's chief

legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) shared:

> In my observation, the effectiveness of NCAE or NCSBA in the state
> legislature also depends on the lobbyist, whether NCAE or NCSBA has an
> effective lobbyist. The two organizations are close in power and influence
> depending on their lobbyist. Assuming the lead lobbyist for both organizations
> is equal, assuming both organizations have equally effective lobbyists, most of
> the time NCAE and NCSBA do have equally effective lead lobbyists. There
> have been times when NCAE had better lobbyists. In those times, I do not
> know what it is like right now, when NCAE does not have that advantage. The
> NCSBA's lobbyist is really, really good. She is very effective. When NCAE
> does not have an effective lobbyist and NCSBA has an effective lobbyist as
> has been the case for a number of years that is when NCSBA will succeed.

The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF explained her idea of who the most effective

lobbyist in the K-12 education arena was by talking about the North Carolina Center for

Public Policy Research's publication called *Rankings of the most influential lobbyists in the*

2005 North Carolina General Assembly. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF

stressed that in the lobby survey the Head Lobbyist for NCAE ranked forty-ninth and he is

viewed as a competitive lobbyist (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal

Interview, April 2, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007)

continued, "The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA came in the top twenty for

lobbyist. She was the only other education lobbyist in the lobby survey." Thus, the Associate

Executive Director of NCPSF identified the lobbyists for NCSBA and NCAE as the most

influential in the K-12 education arena. When asked, "Who is the most influential lobbyist

for the K-12 education associations?" The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007)

answered, "The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA is a wonderful lobbyist, she

works very hard and she always does her job." According to the respondents, the excellent

lobbyist of NCSBA brings more influence to NCSBA than NCSBA has enjoyed in other

years. The high marks for NCSBA's organization are also due to NCSBA's lobbyist. Therefore, the accomplishments and work of NCSBA's lobbyist create the high rating of NCSBA on the hierarchies of power model. These finding do not contradict earlier findings of other studies (Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989), but suggest that the effectiveness of an organization's lobbyist is very important.

NCASA - the Local Leadership of a School District

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member stated that the administrators are influential but not necessarily powerful (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). All respondents consistently viewed NCASA as one of the big three in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated NCASA has influence because the organization represents the local leadership of the school district who have the expertise and knowledge to explain why a particular course of action is a good or bad idea. The NCASA brings a certain sense of clout because of whom NCASA represents as well as the fact that these school leaders reside in every community across the state (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). NCASA is highly organized and this fact assists NCASA placement in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players (see pp. 115-119).

Respondents consistently rated or positioned NCASA as the least powerful within its cluster on the hierarchies of power model. There are two explanations for NCASA's consistent low rating among the three regular major players. When asked, "How successful are you and your organization if another education association opposes you?" The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) answered, "NCASA may or may not beat PENC;

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legislators tend to like teachers more than administrators." The reasons for this could be the often-repeated phrase that many legislators might be married or know a teacher, but the same cannot be said for administrators. An additional reason is that no one likes having to go to the principal's office or having to call anyone in central office because they never answer their phones. Another issue for NCASA is that NCASA is often viewed as an extension or loyal partner of NCSBA. There are advantages and disadvantages to this perception. On the positive side, NCASA might owe its regular player status to its strong ties to NCSBA. If all the respondents considered NCSBA as a somewhat major player, where then would NCASA go except south as well. Since, NCSBA has strong credentials for membership in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players, respondents naturally placed NCASA in the same cluster as well. However, a negative side effect of this perception is that NCASA is seen as a junior partner to NCSBA. The result of this status is that it helps NCASA concerning the circles of influence model, but guarantees that NCASA will always place below NCSBA on the hierarchies of power model. Therefore, respondents placed NCASA in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players because of the expertise of the members of NCASA, the organization of NCASA as well as NCASA's close of association with NCSBA. NCASA eighth or last place ranking in the regular major players cluster occurs because of the perception that NCASA is an extension of NCSBA.

NCPSF - the One without a Membership

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated that NCPSF "is usually not asking for something for itself which I think is a difference and I think they are very influential in convincing legislators about their ideas." NCPSF is considered the fourth most influential organization and noticeable below the influence of the

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big three in the circles of influence model. It has been noted that NCPSF does not have a membership and lobbies under a different model than the associations (see pp. 122-123 and 130-131). The legislators and the associations view NCPSF as having a different function than the associations. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) explained that the reason she classified NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA as being the key voices or the major players in K-12 education is because "in the education committee often the committee members will say they want to hear what their local superintendent, a school board member or a teacher thinks about an issue. Therefore, they want to hear from NCASA, NCSBA or NCAE." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) continued that "You do not hear education committee members saying I want to hear what NCPSF has to say; NCPSF is not in every issue day in and day out." Therefore, the respondents were divided, but ultimately all of the respondent s thought that NCPSF was a sometimes major player in the legislative arena.

The researcher insists that NCPSF not be written off because respondents quickly pointed out that NCPSF is no lightweight concerning passing its legislative wants to the General Assembly. When asked, "How successful is NCPSF if NCAE opposes you?" The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) answered, "We can be successful. NCPSF had a very controversial bill for Project Genesis and NCAE was opposed to the bill and NCPSF won that bill. That was a NCPSF bill only, but NCPSF was very successful in that." When asked, "How successful is NCAE if NCPSF opposes them?" The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) answered, "NCAE is probably going to be more successful, however, what NCPSF does is they provide the research, the ideas and the seeds for legislation." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff

member continued that if NCPSF has convinced the governor or the state board or the legislature that something is a good idea then NCPSF probably is going to win. But if it is something that just NCAE comes up with and NCPSF says that legislation is really a bad idea, then NCAE will probably be successful (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "The calendar bill provides a good example. The teachers wanted to dispose of those five workdays and the legislature was willing to go along with it. It did not matter what NCPSF was out there saying regarding teacher development." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member continued by saying that if NCPSF is able to convince people ahead of time, then they are going to be successful. However, if NCPSF just comes out and opposes legislation, NCPSF will probably not win that fight (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). Therefore, respondents placed NCPSF in the circles of influence cluster called sometimes major players because of NCPSF's research and ideas that plant the seeds for future legislation. NCASA ninth place rating and placement in the sometimes major players cluster occurs because NCPSF does not truly represent a faction on the education debate.

PENC - the Little Guy

Finally, the Education Committee's chief legislative staff member ranked PENC as a Regular Weak Player. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated, "I think they were starting to emerge as more of a player in many education issues, but then PENC's Executive Director resigned." PENC is considered the weakest of the major organizations in the circles of influence model and the hierarchies of power model.

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The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) stated, "I think right now PENC is a weak player because they have in the last few months lost their execute director." The constant change of leadership clearly has not helped PENC in the circles of influence model and the hierarchies of power model. Further, the constant leadership changes also continued to change PENC's legislative agenda. Thus, PENC was poorly organized (see pp. 116-117 specifically) and at times did not have a full-time lobbyist on staff (see pp. 114-115 for the importance of a lobbyist with an active daily presence). Therefore, respondents placed PENC in the circles of influence cluster called regular weak players and last place on the hierarchies of power model because of PENC's frequent leadership changes, poor organization and frequent absence of a full-time lobbyist.

The Coalition - a Researcher's Dream Come True

Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models would predict that NCAE should defeat the other associations and NCPSF on most issues because of their unrivaled power as an organization. However, respondents agreed that there is no clear front-runner when it comes to measuring success at the General Assembly. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) puts it best when she stated, "I do not think that NCAE, NCSBA or NCASA has dominated and been the all powerful group that everyone seems to follow." The reason NCAE has not been able to control the K-12 education policy and legislation arena in North Carolina is The Coalition. According to the respondents who were asked The Coalition has not only checked NCAE's power, but The Coalition is arguably more powerful than NCAE. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "It was hard to defeat us if we worked together." At another time, the Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) exclaimed, "When the four of us were

on the same side of an issue, we rarely lost." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) confirmed this shift in power when she shared, "I think the legislators want to constantly know what The Coalition's position is on education issues." When asked, "NCAE and The Coalition are they equal?" The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) answered, "I would put The Coalition over here and NCAE over here, but I would probably put NCAE just slightly below The Coalition." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) spoke of NCAE's inability to pass legislation without having to negotiate when she stated:

> I will specifically say NCAE except for one special provision in the budget bill a couple of years ago I cannot remember us not negotiating it out. Well and the school calendar bill obviously. I cannot remember them being able to get a piece of legislation passed that we adamantly opposed.

The respondents, who were asked, were very clear that NCASA, NCSBA, NCPSF and PENC have negated NCAE's strengths of number of lobbyists and member numbers (see pp. 31 and 32 of the Literature Review) by combining resources and working together as The Coalition. Earlier studies (Iannaccone's typology, 1967; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989) predict that such an alliance as The Coalition could seriously change the legislative/lobbying process. The Coalition also creates high markings for itself because the alliance brings together the expertise and opinions of all the stakeholders in the education arena (such as: teachers, administrators, school board members and a public think tank).Therefore, respondents, who were asked, placed The Coalition as the most powerful in the circles of influence cluster called regular major players. These same respondents placed The Coalition in the sixth rating place or the highest place for regular major players on the hierarchies of power because of The Coalition's employment of all the

resources (memberships, lobbyists, organization of constituents and research capabilities) of all the alliances members.

Compromise among the Competitors or "Something for Everyone"

Before the study explores the power and influence of all the associations and NCPSF if they should all align on the same side of an issue, all the respondents discussed the importance of compromising and negotiating issues. In a normal conversation, the term compromise has a weak or negative connotation. However, in the K-12 education policy and legislation arena of North Carolina, the respondents view compromising and negotiating as an asset. The researcher found that the assumptive worlds model's third domain concerning "What policy mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate?" proved useful in analyzing the stories of the respondents concerning compromising (see pp. 22, 23 as well as p. 76).

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member declared that lobbyist for the associations and NCPSF have to be willing to compromise. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) shared that "Compromising is part of the legislative process and is like playing poker. You have to know when to dig your heels in and when to slide back and play some cards. It is an art form." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained compromising by saying that everyone gives a little bit, one does not get as much as one wants, but one compromises and hopes the ultimate outcome is positive for public schools and the membership one represents (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). As mentioned before (see pp. 138 and 139), the language of the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA is mirrored in the language of Marshall et al.'s (1989) respondents. However, Marshall et al. (1989) called their respondents' explanations of compromise "something for everyone" (p. 44).

Respondents' actions were dictated by the need to compromise or not to compromise and clearly fall within the assumptive worlds model's third domain. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that if she does not think that a piece of legislation will be embraced by the legislature and she hears from many members of the committee where the legislation is going that this is a bad idea and will not go anywhere, then she would of course maintain her opposition. However, if there is an issue that keeps resurfacing session after session and slowly the legislation keeps garnering supporters, then she would need to negotiate with the opposing group and try to prevent a bad piece of legislation from being passed (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA continued that she might give up something, but at the same time, she might gain something as well. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) concluded, "I might cut my losses and work with the opponents that might not be ideal, but it will be something the organization can live with and still operate in public schools." Therefore, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA recognized the appropriateness and need of the operational principle of compromising in order to influence even bad legislation.

The researcher further probed this operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's third domain when he asked respondents, "Why does NCAE just not come to you in good faith and sit down and negotiate it out first?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) responded, "I think some of it is what incentive would I have to come to the table necessarily. I want to see who their bill sponsor is, how much traction they have before I figure out what my play is." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA continued that each situation and issue is different and it is a nebulous kind of thing (The

Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). Nebulous talk surrounded many of the respondents' efforts to converse about compromising. However, the operational principle of comprising within the assumptive worlds model's third domain was so powerful and needed that the respondents told stories to explain compromising and negotiating in order to situate these often unwanted or negative traits into useful or positive traits.

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member told a story that several years ago, NCSBA wanted to change the law that dealt with school board appeals. The original law basically allowed students and parents to appeal anything. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) shared:

> Any decision had to be heard by the school board and the school boards across the state did not want to hear that Susie did not make cheerleading. The school board concluded that there is no law being broken. It is just Susie did not make cheerleading.

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member continued that NCAE had some concerns that teacher rights might be changed and that teachers should be able to appeal certain decisions. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated, "NCAE was able to work with NCSBA and go in and have the changes treated in a way that they could live with the changes." Thus, NCAE and NCSBA worked out a compromise that benefited both sides. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member story illustrates that even long-time rivals could compromise on legislation to create a situation where everyone's interests were served. Once again, this story reveals that NCAE embraced the operational principle of comprising within the assumptive worlds model's third domain in order to influence bad legislation. Finally, NCSBA compromised with NCAE in order to build consensus to pass their legislation.

The Executive Director of PENC spoke of another more recent story involving a compromise between PENC on one side and NCSBA and NCASA on the other side. The Executive Director of PENC shared that the Teacher Recruitment and Retention Task Force identified the lack of planning time for teachers as an issue that needed to be addressed during the workday. NCAE had asked Representative Jeffus to sponsor a bill that required five hours of planning time during the workweek and a duty-free lunch period for teachers. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "This is the same year that the schools were getting less money because of the reduction of the 44 million dollars because of the tax rebate." Representative Jeffus understood that schools were going to have fewer resources than usual to educate students and so she asked the Executive Director of PENC as well as the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA to review the bill. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) explained, "Representative Jeffus knew The Coalition had been working on that bill and The Coalition had it defeated." However, the Executive Director of PENC agreed with NCAE and Representative Jeffus that five hours of planning time during the workweek and a duty-free lunch period for teachers was important. Therefore, the Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) continued, "I did not want the bill to be defeated but I also needed to be reasonable and not butt heads with NCSBA and NCASA." The Executive Director of PENC had a meeting with her fellow The Coalition members and communicated with them that she understood that school districts and schools did not have the money they needed to operate because of the 44 million dollar reduction. She continued that she understood that NCSBA and NCASA were not saying that they did not want to help or support teachers, but that their organizations could not support this legislation because there was no money. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007)

stated, "NCASA actually took a neutral position because the principals were still opposed to the bill, but NCSBA and PENC agreed upon a compromise." The Executive Director of PENC and the Executive Director of NCSBA told legislators that they had made this legislation into a bill that does not create an unfunded mandate. The rewritten bill required that if a school or system did not have the money, then the school or system was not required to do anything. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) revealed that "NCAE basically had to shut-up and even though they spoke in favor of the bill and originally championed the bill, the legislators wanted to know what The Coalition thought." The legislators then reviewed the rewritten bill and passed that version of the bill. Therefore, just as in Marshall et al. (1989), the operational principle of compromising is an important aspect of the legislative process.

An Idealized Statewide Bureaucratized Lobby

K-12 Education Subcommittee

Once again, earlier studies (Iannaccone's typology, 1967; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989) predict that if the education lobby became a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby (see p. 33 for Iannaccone's typology), that this united education lobby could seriously change the legislative/lobbying process. Further, Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models would predict that if all the associations and NCPSF aligned on the same side of an issue, all the associations and NCPSF would succeed in the K-12 education policy and legislation arena of North Carolina. However, Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models would also predict that as legislation passes into the Full Education Committee and the floors of both Senate and House that passage would become harder. The

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA maintained that if NCAE, NCASA and

NCSBA advocate for or oppose a piece of legislation more than likely an education focused

committee is going to be very favorable to the position that the three major K-12 educational

organizations are advocating (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 16, 2007). When asked, "How often do outside interests come into the

K-12 Education Subcommittee and try to oppose something or to get something passed if all

the education associations are lined up on one side?" The Governmental Relations Director

for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) answered, "Rarely. I cannot think of a circumstance off the top

of my head." Therefore, as long as NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA and NCPSF avoid highly

controversial bills, they will succeed in pushing legislation through the K-12 Education

Subcommittee. Table 8 presents those data.

Table 8. Impediments to the Passage of Legislation from a "Statewide Bureaucratized" Education Lobby in the K-12 Education Subcommittee

LOCATION	IMPEDIMENTS
K-12 Education Subcommittee	Highly Controversial Legislation

The Full Education Committee

Concerning the Full Education Committee, respondents stated that non-controversial

issues would succeed as stated in the K-12 education policy and legislation arena of North

Carolina. Once outside the K-12 Education Subcommittee, one impediment to the passage of

legislation even with a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby is the level of controversy

surrounding a piece of legislation. The Executive Director of PENC stated that in 2003, all

the K-12 education organizations stopped the school calendar bill because all the K-12

education organizations were all on the same page (The Executive Director of PENC,

Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA

explained that in 2003, all of the K-12 education groups in the state worked cohesively to fight the school calendar bill. NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA and NCPSF worked together to maintain local control of the school calendar. Ultimately the legislation died in the Senate Education Committee and never made it to the House. Therefore, the school calendar bill never made the crossover deadline and was no longer eligible for consideration in that year (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA referred back to the school calendar bill and cautioned that when all four education organizations opposed changing the school calendar that was not a controversial position. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007)stated, "When NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA and NCPSF were standing together saying this is bad for schools, it is bad for students, this is bad for teachers, it is bad for education in general and that was not seen as controversial." The position of the K-12 education groups basically defended public schools and the right for local communities to determine their own school calendar. The controversy was in changing local flexibility and requiring schools to uniformly start and end later. Thus, when the four stood together, NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA and NCPSF were on the side of defending the status quo and what seemed reasonable for the operation of schools (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Again, if the four organizations are together advocating a position that is controversial working together will enhance the odds that NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA and NCPSF will be successful on that issue, but it is not a given. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA shared that the level of controversy that an issue involves would determine whether the legislation passed the Full Education

Committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member affirmed the statement of the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA when she echoed that a bill's passage hinged on its level of controversy. Other impediments to the passage of legislation even with a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby are the state budget and the University system interests. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member concluded that if money is not a problem, then a bill is probably going to pass unless it is really controversial (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). However, the Executive Director of PENC emphasized that one most also consider the power and influence of the University, when gauging the passage of an education bill. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "Erskine Bowles gets what he wants." She maintained that the public schools have more students and more people are affected by public schools than UNC system schools; nevertheless, the University system has really increased its share of the overall education budget and the public education share has gone down. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) shared, "there is a strong possibility that the University system could definitely trump an aligned K-12 education lobby. They are not viewed as an opponent, but in a way they are because they are vying for the same pie of resources." The Executive Director of PENC continued that the University system has one of the most powerful PACs. She maintained that there are hundreds of thousands of dollars that the University system gives out to campaigns. The Executive Director of PENC lamented (March 30, 2007) "When one pairs all of the PAC money, tickets and Erskine's influence it is a sight to behold; they got it all." Further, Governor Easley and Senator Basnight feel that

only the state can support the university system, just like prisons. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) stated, "Governor Easley and Senator Basnight have the perception, right or wrong, that the locals and school boards and the counties have the ability to tax and fund something that is important locally." The Executive Director of PENC continued that both, Governor Easley and Senator Basnight believe that universities and community colleges warrant state support particularly when it comes to construction and the public schools do not need that support (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 30, 2007). Thus, the governor has proposed a University bond bill, but not included the public schools. According to the Executive Director of PENC, the University system has gotten more than its share of funding and the proposed bond bill is just one more example of the university system obtaining more than it is entitled. Therefore, with a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby non-controversial issues would succeed as stated in the K-12 Education Subcommittee. However, impediments do exist for a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby concerning the passage of legislation in Full Education Committee. A piece of legislation might fail to pass through the Full Education Committee dependent upon the level of controversy of the legislation, the state budget and the amount of opposition from the University system interest. Table 9 presents those data.

Table 9. Impediments to the Passage of Legislation from a "Statewide Bureaucratized" Education Lobby in the Full Education Committee

LOCATION	IMPEDIMENTS
The Full Education Committee	Level of Controversy: the Higher the More of an impediment
	The State Budget and other Money Constraints
	Opposition from the University System Lobby

The Floor of the House or Senate

Concerning the floor of the House or Senate, respondents stated that non-controversial issues would succeed as stated in the K-12 Education Subcommittee as well as the Full Education Committee. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member related an example of a really controversial bill that all the K-12 education associations agreed upon that was stopped and did not become law. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member stated that about ten years ago there were proposals to put health centers on school campuses so that students could get health care. The religious right, who were totally opposed to placing health centers on school campuses, stopped this bill. The religious right thought that health centers on school campuses might promote promiscuous behavior. Further, the religious right advocated that health centers on school campuses would impinge on what parents should be doing and as a result health centers on school campuses did not happen (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). Several respondents continued to use the Governor's proposed University bond bill as an example of what they must overcome to pass legislation on the floor of the House or Senate. These respondents believe that the Governor's proposed University bond bill should include money so that the state could assist in building schools. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that all three organizations that are the key players in the K-12 education policy and legislation arena support the need for state assistance in building schools. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA revealed that this issue of including public schools in the University bond bill has some controversy because there is some debate whether the state should help local school systems build schools. She shared that the building of schools has typically been seen as a county

responsibility. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that there have been statewide bond referendums to help with school construction and NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA are saying that it needs to happen again. However, all the respondents recognized that there are competing needs for limited bond money (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) described, "You have overlaid vitas the State Treasurer's caution to the General Assembly about debt affordability. He is saying the state can afford about a three billion dollar bond." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF continued that NCAE, NCASA and NCSBA want the University bond bill to include two billion dollars for public school construction. The competition exists because the University system wants a cut of the bond money, proponents of land preservation want one billion dollars for projects, proponents of water and sewer want one billion dollars for their own projects, and proponents for building housing for person's of low income want another billion dollars (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, April 2, 2007). When asked, "So the one example we have you think will be negotiated or do you think K-12 could lose out and get nothing?" The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (April 2, 2007) responded, "No, I do not see that happening. The Coalition and NCAE are both on the same side; so, it would be difficult for me to see how the legislature could set school construction aside and fund the other things." Therefore, with a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby non-controversial issues would succeed as stated in the K-12 Education Subcommittee as well as the Full Education Committee. The same impediments exist for a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby on the floor of the House or Senate as in Full Education Committee. A piece of legislation might fail to pass on the floor of the House or Senate dependent upon the level of

controversy of the legislation, the state budget and the amount of opposition from other well organized interests. Thus at each step, more interests compete for the same limited resources that are in the state budget. Table 10 presents those data.

Table 10. Impediments to the Passage of Legislation from a "Statewide Bureaucratized" Education Lobby on the Floor of the House or Senate

LOCATION	IMPEDIMENTS
The Floor of the House or Senate	Level of Controversy: the Higher the More of an impediment
	The State Budget and other Money Constraints
	Opposition from Well Organized Interests and Lobbies

Summary

Chapter 5 has focused on the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models, the assumptive worlds model's third domain to explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. The researcher found that Governor Mike Easley is the most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. Senator Marc Basnight, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate follows the governor as the second most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher discovered that Representative Jim Black, the past Speaker of the House was just so slightly in third place as the most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher determined that Senator Tony Rand was the fourth most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher revealed that Representative Bill Culpepper was the fifth most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. Chapter 5 also reveals that the effectiveness of any political organization is predicated on that entities governance practices and level of organization. Concerning the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF, the researcher found the rank order

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of most influential to least influential amongst the K-12 major education players. They are in order of influence: NCAE, NCSBA, NCASA, NCPSF and finally PENC as the weakest if the five K-12 major education players. Further, The Coalition has created a situation in which the K-12 education legislative arena is totally up for grabs and success is measured issue to issue with no clear winners. Finally, a united K-12 Education Lobby or a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby has significant power in the K-12 Education Subcommittee. A united K-12 Education Lobby depending on the level of controversy, the state budget and the amount of opposition from other well-organized interests can be powerful to simply influential in the Full Education Committee or on the floors of both Senate and House.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: A POLICY MYSTERY CONCERNING THE PASSAGE OF THE SCHOOL CALENDAR BILL

Organization of a Policy Mystery Concerning the Passage of the School Calendar Bill

This chapter uses the assumptive worlds model to explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. The Chapter also uses the arena model to explain how an arena shift affects the power and influence of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. Chapter 6 consists of three sections. First, the researcher presents a concise overview of the passage of the school calendar bill into law. Second, the researcher explores what strategies and actions the proponents of the school calendar bill undertook during the Interim Period to create a favorable environment for the passage of the school calendar bill. Third, the researcher discusses the maneuvers and actions the proponents of the school calendar bill performed to pass the school calendar bill into law.

A Concise Overview of the Passage of the School Calendar Bill

Before 2003-2004 Session   Interim Period   Bill Passage

Figure 3. Timeline of the Passage of the School Calendar Bill

Figure 3 helps to place visually the events surrounding the passage of the school calendar bill into three separate temporal phases. The first phase called "Before 2003-2004

Session" concentrates on any school calendar legislation in North Carolina as well as other states before the failure of the 2003 school calendar bill. The second phase of the timeline called, "Interim Period" encompasses the interim between the passage failure of the 2003 school calendar bill and the introduction of the 2004 school calendar bill. Finally, the third and final phase called, "Bill Passage" covers the period of time from the introduction of the 2004 school calendar bill to the House until its passage into law.

*Before 2003-2004 Session: The Prequel*

In 1986, Virginia passes a school calendar bill	In 1998, North Carolina proposes a bill to add days to the school calendar	In 2001, Texas passes a school calendar bill
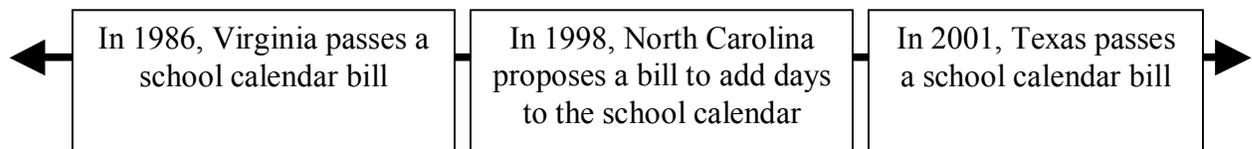
Figure 4. Timeline of Legislation before 2003-2004 Session

Figure 4 assists in viewing any school calendar legislation in North Carolina as well as other states before the failure of the 2003 school calendar bill. At first glance it becomes apparent that legislation requiring public schools to set their school calendars to begin after Labor Day is a peculiar southern phenomenon. In 1986, Virginia became the first state to pass legislation requiring Virginia public schools to begin classes after Labor Day (Silberman, 2003a). This Virginia law has been dubbed the Kings Dominion Law for the theme park in that state (Silberman, 2003b). In 2001, Texas passed a law barring Texas public schools from beginning earlier than the week that included August 21 (Silberman, 2003a). In 2002, South Carolina began debating and finally passed in 2006 legislation that required South Carolina public schools to begin school no earlier than the third Monday in August (Save South Carolina Summers, 2007). Even though Virginia and Texas had both passed their respective legislation earlier, after Labor Day school calendar legislation was not

proposed as legislation in North Carolina until 2003. In fact, in 1998 the North Carolina

House proposed and then postponed indefinitely House Bill 1425 that would create a pilot

program to grant local school districts the option to extend the instructional calendar for

struggling schools. The bill was called the Additional School Days Pilot. The bill proposed a

program to select schools to participate in the pilot program (House Bill 1425: Additional

School Days Pilot, 1998). The pilot program would then require that participating schools

"shall provide at least 20 additional instructional days, 110 additional instructional hours, and

shall employ their instructional staff for a term of 12 months" (House Bill 1425: Additional

School Days Pilot, 1998). Thus, beginning the school calendar after Labor Day was not a

political issue in North Carolina until 2003.

On April 2, 2003, Senator Patrick Ballantine, a Republican from New Hanover

County, and Senator Charlie Dannelly, a Democrat from Mecklenburg County, each

proposed a bill requiring public schools to set their school calendars to begin after Labor

Day. Senator Dannelly proposed Senate Bill 779 called *Schools begin after Labor Day*.

Senator Ballantine proposed Senate Bill 1002 called *School starts after Labor Day*. The only

difference between these two bills was the wording concerning the specific school opening

date. Senate Bill 779 stated that school would begin after Labor Day. Senate Bill 1002 stated

that school would begin the Tuesday following Labor Day. Both bills were referred to the

Senate Committee on Education/Higher Education. There were several groups opposed to the

bill and they were the NCAE, NCASA, NCSBA, PENC, PSFNC as well as the North

Carolina Business Committee for Education (Wrinn, 2003). The bill also had many

supporters, such as the Senate President Pro Tempore Marc Basnight, a Democrat from Dare

County, the North Carolina Association of Realtors, the North Carolina Restaurant

Association, the North Carolina Hotel and Motel Association, the North Carolina Travel Council as well as the North Carolina Hospitality and Lodging Association (Silberman, 2003a). On April 30, 2003, despite the opposition, the Senate Committee on Education/Higher Education passed Senate Bill 779 (Senate Bill: Schools Begin After Labor Day, 2003). However, the committee members had significantly changed Senate Bill 779 by including a loophole to allow school districts to opt out. A school district could opt out if "schools in that local administrative unit have been closed an average of eight days per year during any five of the last 10 years because of severe weather conditions, energy shortages, power failures, or other emergency situations" (Senate Bill: Schools Begin After Labor Day, 2003). Thus, Senator Dannelly pulled the bill after many Senators chose to use the loophole to allow their school districts to begin school before Labor Day (Robertson, 2003).

Interim Period

The Proponents New Plan of Attack

The mystery is, how did a bill that was decisively defeated in 2003 become law in 2004? The analysis of hierarchies of power and circles of influence revealed that the major K-12 Education Associations are very successful in passing and stopping legislation in the Education Subcommittee, when they agree on an issue (see pp. 86 and 87). The analysis illustrated that this same group with the addition of other K-12 education interests is successful in passing and stopping legislation in the Full Education Committee as well as the floors of the House and the Senate as long as the K-12 Education Lobby is not pushing controversial issues and as long as money is not an issue (see pp. 87-92). However, the proponents of the school calendar bill were amassing a new plan of attack to turn their defeat into a victory. In the interim between the end of the 2003 Long-Session and the beginning of

the 2004 Short-Session, the backers of creating legislation requiring public schools to set their school calendars to begin after Labor Day were industrious and diligent in adding more components to their attack. In Marshall et al.'s 1989 study, the assumptive worlds model identified four domains that order a policy maker's assumptive world (see pp. 22 and 23 of the Literature Review as well as p. 76). Marshall et al. found that each domain not only guides the actions of successful participants in the legislative arena, but produces operational principles of appropriate behavior for these same participants as well. The researcher employing the assumptive worlds model concerning the first and third domain uncovered the new objectives of the proponents of the school calendar bill. Concerning the first domain, the proponents of the school calendar bill had a serious problem on their hands because they did not have the right to advance the school calendar bill. The proponents had to find a way to make the school calendar bill eligible. Further, the proponents of the school calendar bill knew that they were in what Marshall et al. (1989) called a "boundary dispute" with the education associations (p. 39). Thus, the school calendar bill also needed validity in order to guide the bill through the legislative process and into law. Concerning the third domain, the proponents of the school calendar bill concluded that the same line up of Realtor, Tourism and Travel interests would only lead to defeat for their side again. The proponents had to mobilize even more groups to join the fray. Specifically, the proponents of the school calendar bill disrupt the balance of power by either bringing new interests to the table or weakening the Education Lobby with a defection. Table 11 aids in determining whether the proponents of the bill really achieved their goals of overcoming their deficits in the first and third domains in the Assumptive worlds model. The researcher discusses the proponents'

answer to each of these questions and then identifies the specific strategies used to effectively address the question as well as influence the passage of the school calendar bill.

Table 11. Proponents Goals during the Interim Period

What will create Validity for the bill?	What will create Eligibility for the bill?	What new group can be found to disrupt the balance of sides for the bill?	What education group will change sides to weaken the Education Lobby?
?	**?**	**?**	**?**

Economic Study Provides Validation

The researcher utilized the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal that the proponents of the school calendar bill were in a "boundary dispute" with the education associations. Marshall et al. (1989) stated that a "boundary dispute" occurs "When multiple jurisdictions of authority exist, there always arises a boundary problem" (p. 39). In this instance, the proponents and the education associations did not and could not claim authoritative jurisdiction, but rather both lobbies claimed the bill as within their sphere of influence. Therefore, the proponents of the school calendar bill needed to enhance their economic claims concerning the school calendar bill in order to gain validity for the bill as an economic issue. The proponents presented an East Carolina University economic study called, "Early School Start Dates in North Carolina And The Affect On North Carolina's Hospitality And Tourism Industry: An Estimation Of The Potential Financial And Economic Impact" (Chandler, 2004). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that East Carolina University's Hospitality Department conducted an economic survey to determine the financial impact of increasing the length of the summer break for students and teachers. Dr. David Edgell and Dr. James Chandler, both East Carolina University hospitality management professors, found that "Factoring in vacation dollars spent on amusement parks,

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entertainment, golf courses, resorts, spas, travel and transportation, the impact could be $2.1

billion a year from the 10 extra days of vacation" (as cited in Hui, 2004). The premise of the

study was that the additional ten days would create an additional two weeks of tourism

opportunities for the families of North Carolina (The Governmental Relations Director for

NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). According to Chandler (2004):

> If the start of the public school year were delayed by only (10) days in
> the month of August, this could produce additional revenues of $377.5 million
> per year. When considering the additional impact of the economic multiplier
> effect, it is quite possible that an additional $880 million in economic activity
> could be generated, which would result in $1.26 billion per year in economic
> growth (p. 2).

The Executive Director for NCSBA reaffirmed the statement of the Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA when she shared that the study touted the impact of what the coastal

communities could expect to generate in terms of rental income as well as what that income

would do to the state economy if legislators made a ten day change to the school calendar

(The Executive Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, February 26, 2007).

The respondents were divided on how much influence the East Carolina University's

Hospitality Department study had on legislators and the passage of the school calendar bill.

The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "The ECU study did influence people even

though that survey was questioned very heavily by many people." When asked, "How much

influence did that study really have?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA

(March 19, 2007) replied, "I do not think it helped the bill proponents because the study

caused as many questions as the study had answers and was so hypothetical that many people

just dismissed the study. The whole methodology from the study stunk." The Associate

Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) answered the question "How much influence

did that study really have?" by revealing, "In the beginning the study had an impact."

However, the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF continued that NCPSF's research director did an analysis of the premises and assumptions that influenced the study's calculations. NCPSF released a paper on the findings of NCPSF's research director. NCPSF's research director found that the study was flawed. NCPSF's research director concluded that the study was flawed because the study used a very small sample of biased respondents. The study generated respondents from individuals who visited a tourism related website. The NCPSF's research director concluded that this is a major flaw because the few respondents might be biased toward the interests of tourism and that all the respondents needed computer access to respond to the study. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) shared that ultimately the proponents of the school calendar bill, "pulled back the study." When asked, "How much influence did that study really have?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) responded, "Connie Wilson from Mecklenburg County used the study in the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development to help validate the fact that if legislators lengthened the summer break, the state would receive an increase in tourism funding." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated that the Joint Select Committee on Small Business "took the findings from the study into account and I think it did help persuade that committee." The Executive Director of PENC believes that the study's influence was to counteract all the education issues and to make the bill's passage into an economic issue. The Executive Director of PENC explained her thoughts by emphasizing that the bill's proponents could say that the issue is now part of the economic development of the state. She concluded that if one makes that argument, that would give one power to make the bill into an issue of

economic development of the state and not an education issue (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007).

The findings from the respondents suggest that the East Carolina University's Hospitality Department study was not a knockout blow to those opposed to the school calendar bill because of the defects in the study. However, the study's timing increased its influence. Its early influence, especially before the 2004 session, started because at first legislators and others took the study at face value until it was exposed by the NCPSF's research director as flawed. More importantly, the proponents used the study as an operational principle to remove the school calendar bill from the boundary dispute with the education associations.[ix] This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain aided the proponents to remold the school calendar bill from an education issue as the education groups had cast the legislation in 2003 into an issue of economic development for the state. This early redefining of the legislation is pivotal because the bill's champion, Connie Wilson, then presented the study to the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development. Therefore, before NCPSF's research director declared the study flawed, Connie Wilson used the study as a tool or operational principle to advance the school calendar bill in the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development as an issue of economic development for the state.

Eligibility Granted Through A Study Committee

Before an examination of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development can begin, a brief description needs to be given detailing what are study committees, how they are formed and why they are formed. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that the study committees that occur between the long and

short session are an extension of the agenda of the leadership. In the 2003-2004, the leadership would include Senator Basnight, Senator Rand, Speaker Black and Representative Culpepper (see pp. 149-159). The leadership uses studies as a vehicle for keeping an issue in the talking stage and to keep some attention drawn to the issue. Certainly issues that the party in power thinks are important and need further study would have more priority for getting initiated as a study (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The party not in power usually will not have the strength to pass a study; so most often, the party in power really shapes the studies that will happen between sessions (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). Of course, any legislator can file legislation asking for a study. A legislator building a case has some control over what gets heard, how information is presented as well as what sides are heard during a study committee session. All pieces of legislation that call for studies are grouped together in one comprehensive studies act at the end of session called the Studies Act. This act, which initiates many of the studies that will take place before the short session in the following year, is one of the last pieces of legislation that is enacted at the closing of the session. The Studies Act has to be passed by both the House and Senate and then signed by the Governor (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The respondents agreed that every study committee publishes a final report before the beginning of the short session. This report usually has the study committee's recommendations and includes copies of the proposed bills that the study committees are going to recommend to the General Assembly. A bill that has the approval of a study committee has a little more credence because it had been studied (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007).

The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF believes that, in 2003, when Senator

Dannelly from Mecklenburg County withdrew his defeated school calendar bill from the

Senate Floor, Democratic Senator Dannelly then placed the school calendar bill in a study

bill. She continued that this occurs often when it appears that a leader in the Senate is going

to lose a bill. Rather than have the Senate Leader face the embarrassment of losing a bill, the

Senate Leadership places the defeated bill in a study (The Associate Executive Director of

NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). At that point, Connie Wilson a Republican

Representative from Mecklenburg County began to aggressively move and champion the bill

in the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development.[x]

The researcher utilized the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to show that

the proponents of the school calendar bill did not have the right to advance the school

calendar bill in either chamber. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA revealed

that the proponents of the bill used the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic

Development to make this bill eligible because without the committee's recommendation the

bill would not have been eligible for the 2004 session. The Governmental Relations Director

for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated, "The rule for short session is that the bill either has to be

a money bill, a financing bill, still alive from the previous session or it has to be

recommended by a study commission, and the Joint Select Committee concerning Economic

Growth and Development was a study commission." Thus, it was critical to the proponents of

the bill to obtain the endorsement of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic

Development. Without the endorsement of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business

Economic Development the school calendar bill, the rules and procedures would have

required the proponents to wait until the 2005 session. Thus, the endorsement of the Joint

Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development made the school calendar bill eligible to become law in 2004.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) stated, "NCASA, NCSBA and NCAE understood this and spoke out against the bill once word was out concerning what the proponents of the bill were doing." Within the study committee, the committee had not really explored or studied the school calendar change. Representative Wilson introduced this bill at the second to the last meeting on April 6, 2004 and the bill was for discussion only. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) affirmed the secrecy of the presentation when she stated, "If I remember right, it was not until the day of that meeting that I even knew that there was going to be a presentation by Representative Wilson." The Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development held its final meeting on April 26, 2004. According to the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, the education community did not have much time to talk to people to discuss the ramifications of this issue and the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development is not a study committee that the education community would usually attend (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). On April 26, 2004, when at the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development members were voting on what they would recommend for the 2004 legislature, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that she testified before the committee that NCASA was very concerned about a change in the school calendar. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA told the study committee that the school calendar bill would have a detrimental impact on the operation of public schools. She continued, "I was able to get the President of NCAE on the phone, got him to come over and

testify with me before the committee that NCAE opposed the legislation" (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The President of

NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "I testified at the Joint Select Committee on Small Business

Economic Development and at that point NCAE was not in favor of the school calendar bill

that was being proposed." The Minutes of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business

Economic Development quote the President of NCAE as saying:

> There is a whole lot that can be done at the beaches, and in the mountains, but there are a lot of parents who do not go to the beaches or the mountain, who need to understand how they can work with their children during the school year. Schools need to have that kind of time and this bill prevents that from happening. (p. 11, second to last page of Minutes)

After the comment's of the President of NCAE, a Co-chair of the Joint Select

Committee on Small Business Economic Development, Representative Stephen LaRoque

asked Representative Wilson, "If she would like to make a motion to include the bill, 'School

Calendar Changes' in the package going forward from the committee" (Minutes, 2004, p. 12,

last page of Minutes). Representative Wilson then moved that the committee should add her

bill to its list of recommendations. Representative Bordsen then challenged this motion, when

she stated, "that it (the bill) came late to the committee and there was not enough time to

adequately explore all facets of the proposal" (Minutes, 2004, p. 12, last page of Minutes).

Representative Bordsen continued, "the bill is not appropriate to go forward as a product of

this committee" (Minutes, 2004, p. 12, last page of Minutes). Representative Bordsen

concluded her remarks by saying, "this bill should not go forward with the momentum that

would be given to it as proposed legislation of this committee and I recommend that the

committee not vote for this to be included in the package of recommendations" (Minutes,

2004, p. 12, last page of Minutes). Representative Allred then commented, "I do not know

whether the bill would be eligible for consideration unless it was recommended by this committee" (Minutes, 2004, p. 12, last page of Minutes). The Minutes of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development quote:

> Mr. Canaan Huie, of the Fiscal Research Division, responded to Representative Allred's comment, saying that since this proposed legislation does not take effect until the 2005-2006 school year and would have no effect on the 2004-2005 state budget, it therefore would not be eligible under that provision of legislative rules. (p. 12, last page of Minutes)

Representative LaRoque asked the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development to vote on Representative Wilson's motion to include her school calendar bill in the recommendations of the committee. As a result, the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development voted on a bill that they had not studied (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007).

The outcome was that the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development voted to include the school calendar bill in the committee's final report. The proponents utilized the endorsement of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development as an operational principle to bypass the rules and procedures that would have compelled the school calendar bill to sit idle until the 2005 session. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain served the proponents to make the school calendar bill eligible to become law in the 2004 session. Therefore, the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development granted the school calendar bill eligibility for the 2004 session as well as more credence because proponents of the bill could claim that a study committee had endorsed the school calendar bill.

Parent Group Disrupts the Balance of Opposing Factions

The Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development and the East Carolina University economic study called, "Early School Start Dates in North Carolina And The Affect On North Carolina's Hospitality And Tourism Industry: An Estimation Of The Potential Financial And Economic Impact" played a small, but crucial part in the passage of the school calendar bill. The proponents used the study as an operational principle to remove the school calendar bill from the boundary dispute with the education associations. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain aided the proponents to remold the school calendar bill from an education issue into an issue of economic development for the state. The study set the stage for the committee to endorse the school calendar bill. The proponents also utilized the endorsement of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development as an operational principle to bypass the rules and procedures that would have compelled the school calendar bill to set idle until the 2005 session. Without this endorsement, the school calendar bill would not have been eligible for consideration in 2004.

The researcher utilized the third domain of the assumptive worlds model to disclose that the proponents of the school calendar bill needed to disrupt the balance of power between education groups versus realtor and tourism interests by bringing a new interest to the table. In 2004, a new group emerged called "Save Our Summers" (SOS). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA shared that one of the voices that is often missed in the legislative process is the voice of parents. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) explained, "As a voice, the PTA has been nonexistent in the legislative process for years. SOS stepped in to fill that parent void." The Executive

Director for NCSBA (March 12, 2007) shared that SOS was very effective because they "cloaked themselves in family values saying, 'That their efforts would save the summer for families to be able to go to the beach.'" When asked, "What do you think about the group called, SOS?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated:

> I think it was very effective. Realtor and tourism interests knew that they needed parents and that is why some of the proponents organized SOS. I do not think that was a group of parents who all of a sudden on their own created SOS because otherwise the debate would be the Education World pitted against the Travel and Tourism as well as Realtors Association and given the experience they had in 2003 they realized that they could not win that way. They needed to come up with a new strategy.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) shared, "the groups that really had an interest in pushing the legislation were very strategic in thinking about how to present their message and how to organize and put a new spin on what had failed in 2003." She thought the realtor and tourism interests were very smart in how they organized and were able to turn the focus away from business interests and focus on saving our summers (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Therefore, in 2003 education groups were able to fight the legislation saying that legislators were putting business interests ahead of what is best for North Carolina schools. Realtor and tourism interests changed the focus by putting parents out front as part of SOS saying the school year needs to change to accommodate North Carolina families (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

The inclusion of SOS was not enough to disrupt the balance of power between education groups versus realtor and tourism interests. The proponents used SOS as an operational principle to disrupt the balance of power between education groups versus realtor and tourism interests. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's third

domain helped the proponents to mobilize many people and families in favor of the school

calendar bill. SOS mobilized people in three ways. First, SOS created a website (see pp. 116-

117 and 121) that placed this parent group out in front of the public saying that the group

wanted a longer summer with their children as well as time for family vacations because the

school year is treading on the family time of citizens of the state (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Executive

Director of PENC explained that SOS was able to generate many emails and phone calls to

legislators through the website (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March

9, 2007; see pp. 116-117 and 121 as well). The President of NCAE maintained that the SOS

website helped get more and more people involved with the group. Therefore, most

respondents viewed the website as a tool to organize parents and the public. The Education

Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) stated:

> I think you had people in the urban areas that did not favor the bill.
> You had the Raleigh-Durham area; the legislators from this area certainly
> were not keen on the school calendar bill. But, interestingly what Save Our
> Summers did, it had the effect of getting people in the middle of the state to
> make phone calls or email their legislators. Parents from Cary, North Raleigh,
> Durham and Greensboro began to contact legislators and they were talking
> about summer vacation for their kids.

The strategy to pass any bill in the General Assembly is that one needs voters from across the

state to be in support of the legislation (see pp. 119 and 177). Therefore, the emails and

phone calls came from all over the state and SOS delivered that to the proponents of the

school calendar bill.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA shared that next SOS also put forth

an effort to have signatures gathered through a petition drive. SOS had parents signing

petitions and there were opportunities in various hotels and restaurants to sign a petition in

coastal North Carolina (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal

Interview, February 2, 2007). When asked, "What did you think about that?" The

Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "It was just another

signal that this was a well-orchestrated campaign and the big momentum they had to change

the law." The President of NCAE asserted that legislators viewed the petition with a little

more credibility than the East Carolina University study because these were names of their

constituents and they tend to listen to people who vote for them (The President of NCAE,

Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) continued:

> The petition had a lasting impact as well throughout the debate
> because people can shift statistics to put their own spin on the statistics—and
> the opponents had questioned the study and there were some scars—but
> signatures of people they are still constituents so I do not know if one can do
> anything to—well, I guess one could question the way signatures were
> gathered but there are still names that people in the General Assembly can
> recognize in the General Assembly. I do not know what one can do much to
> kill the influence that comes from voters back home who want to see certain
> things done. Thus, unlike the study that started strong, peaked and then
> crashed the petition was influential throughout the process.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) countered, "Generally,

petitions are not overly helpful. The proponents threw that number out often, however many

signatures they got, but that is not a reason for a legislature to do something because X

number of people signed a petition." She continued by explaining that there are many factors

that one must consider concerning any petition. One must discover if the signatures are

statewide as well as how many people did not sign the petition. The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA concluded that in general petitions are not strong drivers, but what the

petition did do was it got some parents vocal who otherwise might not have even known

about the bill or the website (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal

Interview, March 19, 2007). Therefore, for different reasons the respondents agreed that

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SOS's petition drive influenced legislators either directly by seeing names and the number of names on the petition or indirectly by garnering other parents to become involved in the political process.

Finally, SOS created a media blitz concerning the school calendar bill. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that the nice catchy sound bite save our summers was picked up by the media. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) quipped, "Apparently the simpler the message the easier it is to talk to a legislator." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA said that there were press conferences announcing that parents were working to make the legislature give parents summers back with their kids as well as many news articles in print (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "I think that the radio ads had a really big impact." She continued that the radio ads came at a time when the school calendar debate was flowing in the legislature and certainly kept the issue before the public and in the minds of the legislators (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF reaffirmed what the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (March 16, 2007) said when she stated that SOS did television, radio, and many talk shows as well. She shared that "I must have appeared on two or three television shows and I know I was on two radio shows." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) thought the media blitz "was the very first smart thing that happened in this process to turn the tide."

The question that begs to be asked is how did this group grow from an unknown group to very influential in a matter of minutes? The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007)

stated that SOS was a grass-roots parent group and "if it was there in 2003 the SOS group had not evolved to the point the group was in 2004." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member stated that she had never heard of the group before 2004. How does an unknown grass-roots group pay for media slots and a website? The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) supplies the answer that "Tourism and the Realtors funded a well oiled public relations campaign." She continued that the "Save Our Summer group was actually the front; this group was empowered by Tourism and the Realtor interests" (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). Empowerment was only the tip of the iceberg because some respondents claimed that there was even a closer link between SOS and the realtor and tourism interest groups. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) asserted concerning SOS that "there was money from other interests used to organize them." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) revealed, "Jim Hobbs registered the domain for the website of Save our Summers. Jim Hobbs is the president of the North Carolina Hotel/Motel Association." Further, the Hotel/Motel Association is one component of the Tourism Coalition. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA maintained that the Hotel/Motel Association also paid for radio spots talking about the need to change the school calendar law to save our summers for kids. She concluded by stating that "certainly parents were the front line leading the charge and being the focus of the media attention, but they were funded and pushed by tourism interest groups" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Therefore, most respondents believed that SOS was an extension of the powerful Realtor and Tourist interests.

SOS played an important role in the passage of the school calendar bill. The proponents used SOS as an operational principle to change the 2003 calculus of education groups versus realtor and tourism interests to education groups versus realtor, tourism interests and parents. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's third domain aided the proponents to rally many citizens in support of the school calendar bill. However, no respondent stated or inferred that the school calendar bill became legislation because of the introduction of SOS. All respondents believed that the education groups could have still defeated the school calendar bill even with this new group added to the equation. However, while SOS was just starting, a change occurred to the proposed legislation sometime after the final Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development meeting and before the first day of the 2004 short session. This modification foreshadowed one of the most significant changes concerning the passage of the school calendar bill. The report of the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development included a draft of what would become HB 1464. According to the report, the bill draft was published on May 11, 2004 (Report To The General Assembly: Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development, 2004). Throughout 2003 and even on this draft on May 2004, the plan to change the school calendar required the reduction of ten teacher workdays. The modification changed the reduction of ten workdays to only a loss of five teacher workdays, but school personnel pay would stay the same and not reflect the loss of the five professional workdays. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA reported that after the 2004 short session began, Representative Wilson asked that the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA come over and look at what she was putting together to introduce this session. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "The

first draft that she offered already had the workday reduction in there." Therefore, by the time

the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development ended to within three

weeks into the 2004 short session, Representative Wilson's draft was ready and the bill

already had the workday elimination there (The Governmental Relations Director for

NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The significance of this reduction is that

many respondents thought the reduction of teacher workdays came about from a compromise

within the education community.

NCAE's Change Weakens the Education Lobby

As has already been discussed, the proponents of the bill had already changed the

2003 calculus of education groups versus realtor and tourism interests to education groups

versus realtor, tourism interests and parents. However, the proponents of the school calendar

bill did not stop with that calculus adjustment. The proponents sought to break up the

cohesion of the education groups as an operational principle by attempting to get any of the

education groups to switch sides and become proponents of the bill as opposed to fighting the

bill. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's third domain helped the

proponents by weakening the education lobby with the defection of NCAE. Thus, in the last

days of May, NCAE announced that teachers of the state now supported the bill. This section

discusses a few background details concerning NCAE's history with the teacher workdays;

why NCAE changed; and finally, the impact of NCAE's change.

NCAE's History with the Teacher Work Days

The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF shared her knowledge of the history of

the 20 professional workdays that the school calendar bill planned to reduce to 15

professional workdays. North Carolina passed a law in 1974 that created 20 professional

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workdays. North Carolina was the only state in the nation where teachers had professional work days for which they were paid to come to school and to have days without children where they could work together, meet together, do special education plans, design curriculum, do bulletin boards and all kinds of things. In addition, the addition of the 20 professional workdays changed teacher pay drastically as well. In 1973, the starting teacher's salary was $6,732 dollars a year. However, because of this extended term of twenty days the average teacher salary increased to $7,560 dollars a year. The top teacher salary was $10,182 dollars a year and under the bill that created the 20 professional workdays the top teacher salary increased to $11,680 dollars a year. The 20 professional workdays were something that the leadership of NCAE had worked on and were finally successful in lobbying the General Assembly and getting them to approve a ten-month teacher calendar as opposed to the nine-month calendar. Dr. A. C. Dawson was the executive director of NCAE in 1974 and he stated that this bill that created 20 professional workdays moved the teaching profession much nearer to a full time profession. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) maintained that "From 1974 to 2004, NCAE was always violently opposed to any encroachment on those professional workdays at anytime by anybody." The President of NCAE affirmed NCAE's work to create the 20 professional workdays when he described that members of NCAE, especially older members, who remembered when those workdays were first developed and these members said those days are good for teachers and teachers and NCAE might want to hold onto these days. The President of NCAE continued that these members thought NCAE was a part of the development of those days and that NCAE and teachers cannot be in a position where they are opposed to those professional workdays (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007).

Why NCAE Changed

In mid-May, the NCAE conducted a 10,000 member survey and found that sixty percent of those surveyed supported the later start (Durhams, 2004). The NCAE leadership stated that teachers "were willing to have 10 teacher workdays cut from the school calendar as long as they did not lose any pay" (Bonner, 2004a). By May 28, the NCAE leadership exclaimed their support of legislation requiring public schools "to make the school year start no earlier than August 25 and end no later than June 10" ("General Assembly briefs," 2004). The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) stated, "The ten day reduction of professional workdays changing to only five professional workdays was the big issue that brought us to the table." Further, the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF praised the proponents of the bill in their decision to take the five workdays out of the calendar and continuing teacher pay the same. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) explained, "NCAE would not have changed sides if the bill had said delete five work days from the calendar and decrease the salary schedule equivalent to five days of work that would have been a dead deal." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA recounted how NCAE switched sides. The proponents of the school calendar bill rewrote the legislation to create what ultimately lured teachers to support the change and that ultimately divided the education community that stood united in fighting the change in the past year. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "I do not know where the concept originated for reducing the workdays with no reduction in pay, but that was a very smart move because it was akin to five additional vacation days that teachers were being given." This new revised school calendar bill caused NCAE to break ranks with the education

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community that had fought the legislation in 2003 (The Governmental Relations Director for

NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

NCAE did not simply see the reduction of days and then change course. The

Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) shared:

> When the bill was sweetened with the five workdays removed and the salary continuing, the President of NCAE told me that NCAE was doing a survey of their membership and that NCAE had not changed their position, but that it looked like that may happen. . . . I never heard the survey questions, but I was told that the essence of the questions that came from the telephone poll was would you like to have five free days of vacation and be paid for those five days. When you are asked a question like that most people are going to say yes.

The President of NCAE shared that the survey that NCAE put forth was a telephone survey.

The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) continued, "NCAE tried to contact every member

to gauge where member were at on the calendar issue. The survey included a telephone call

that asked teachers to respond to a question concerning the calendar bill issue." When asked,

"Do you remember how teachers responded to where they stood on the calendar issue?" The

President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) responded, "In the thousands, basically, we had a

majority of our members to respond that they supported the calendar changes." The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) confirmed the President of

NCAE's statement when she stated that the President of NCAE "was constantly quoting their

survey and something like sixty percent of their members responded that they supported the

calendar changes." Therefore, NCAE put forth a telephone survey and NCAE garnered from

this survey that 60 percent of their membership indicated that they supported the school

calendar bill. This survey then served as an impetus to change course on the school calendar

bill. NCAE declared support for a bill that for 30 years NCAE had opposed.

The President of NCAE revealed that NCAE and teachers had slowly drifted away from supporting the 20 professional workdays because teachers and NCAE had looked at the calendar in terms of students only. For many years, teachers and NCAE had concerns over the use of professional workdays and many members felt that there was very little input in the development or construction of those teacher professional days. The President of NCAE continued that when administrators had geared or targeted the professional days toward assistance for teachers to better prepare teachers for the classroom that is one thing, but the workdays tend to be utilized for other purposes. In many cases, at the beginning of the school year, when teachers want to meet with parents, working on preparing their classrooms, looking at records and just trying to prepare for the school year; teachers felt they were being called to meeting across town, at central office or even into meetings at the school site that had little relevance to what would assist students or help them assist students. When the school calendar bill emerged, many of teachers said NCAE has the opportunity to remove some of these days that saddle teachers to a seat at some workshop that administrators assumed was important. The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) maintained "People feel passionate about the fact that teachers are not respected when it comes to those days." This thinking helped many members of NCAE move toward the calendar bill. Therefore, NCAE surveyed its members and the leadership of NCAE found that the majority of members wanted NCAE to move ahead and support the legislation that would remove those five professional workdays from the school calendar as long as there is not elimination of pay (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007).

The Impact of NCAE's Change

The respondents were all very clear on their opinions on the impact of NCAE's defection. The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) began speaking of NCAE's defection as well as the fallout from NCAE's defection by expounding upon the principle that in terms of working well with others in the Education Community, "there is a long standing, understanding that it is not real good to burn bridges because one might have to cross over that bridge one day." The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) cautioned, "I think that what NCAE did was to harm terribly the relationship between themselves and the other major education associations in the state." When asked, "How big do you think it was that NCAE was on the other side?" The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) answered, "I think they tipped it. NCAE gave any legislator political cover so that he or she could say teachers want this and they are the ones who are with the kids every day. It just gave the legislators political cover." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) answered the same question by saying:

> That was the turning point. I think the vote would have been very close. I think the tourism people would have been very close but if you had had NCAE lobbyists who would have been working 70,000 teachers across North Carolina who would have been emailing in, members would have been very nervous about voting for that bill. That is what made the difference. . . . I must tell you that it is not necessarily that NCAE had the 70,000 members calling and emailing and that kind of thing, because a goodly number of their membership did not like that NCAE was supporting the school calendar bill. They still do not today. But NCAE had the organizational stance that they could take and they could quote numbers. I really think that was the tipping point. NCAE's turn on that issue certainly made it easier for the other side.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that the change from NCAE was a very detrimental blow to stopping the legislation. NCAE's change encouraged a large number of teachers to lobby on behalf of changing the school calendar. The proponents of the bill had

money from the realtor and tourism interests and numbers from NCAE as well as SOS and that ultimately resulted in the change (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC maintained that NCAE's switch hurt because the education community was not unified (see pp. 189-191). She explained that happened with the calendar bill because NCAE's switch fragmented the education lobby. It gave legislators some cover because the year before when the education community was all together the bill went nowhere (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) continued, "I think if we were unified we would have been able to get enough people who cared about education to say if all these people are against this maybe we should slow it down." The Executive Director of PENC cited the fact that NCAE supported the bill made it harder for legislators to resist leadership's influence. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) explained:

> Given the fact that leadership was pushing for the bill, there was not a strong enough argument to vote against the bill. There was not enough strength on the other side to overcome the perceived detrimental effects that they would experience from leadership if they bucked leadership.

The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) continued that "there are issues where politicians evaluate and decide what hill do you want to die on and legislators do not want to die on any hill." The Executive Director of PENC deduced that legislators concluded that the bill was not so bad that they were willing to vote against the bill and raise the ire of leadership. Further, legislators were getting enough emails from the Save Our Summers group that they could justify voting for the bill knowing that the bill was a bad bill (see pp.116-117, 121 and 213). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) maintained, "Ultimately, it was that legislators did not have the backbone to stand up." The Governmental

Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) shared, "I believe that if NCAE had not switched their position, the education family would have been able to defeat the bill." She continued that the bill would have had no traction because even after the Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development recommendation, there was no movement on this bill after it was filed until after NCAE switched their position (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member linked the proponents of the bill taking "away the five teacher workdays and then NCAE got on board" as critical to the passage of the school calendar bill. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member continued that once NCAE sided with the realtor and tourist interests that was really the clincher because it is a very influential organization in the legislature. Teachers were in favor of it and teachers are everywhere. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) reached the same conclusion that all the other respondents reached and that was "if NCAE had not been in favor of the school calendar bill, it would have not passed."

NCAE played a pivotal, if not the largest, role in the passage of the school calendar bill. The proponents divided the unity of the education groups as an operational principle by convincing NCAE to switch sides and become proponents of the bill as opposed to fighting the bill. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's third domain helped the proponents by weakening the education lobby with the defection of NCAE. Researchers have shown that the fragmentation of the education lobby results in losses to the education community (Iannaccone's typology, 1967; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Bridgeland et al., 1986; and Marshall et al., 1989; see also pp. 33 and 188). Therefore, the respondents were very clear that NCAE's defection almost guaranteed the passage of the school calendar bill.

Table 12. Proponents Goals Accomplished during the Interim Period

What will create Validity for the bill?	What will create Eligibility for the bill?	What new group can be found to disrupt the balance of sides for the bill?	What education group will change sides to weaken the Education Lobby?
An Academic Study	**A Study Committee**	**A Parent Group**	**NCAE**

Table 12 defines how the proponents of the bill achieved their goals of overcoming their deficits in the first and third domains in the Assumptive worlds model. Table 12 illustrates that the East Carolina University's Hospitality Department's economic survey provided some initial validity for the school calendar bill by removing the boundary dispute with the education associations. The Joint Select Committee on Small Business Economic Development granted eligibility to the school calendar bill in the 2004 session. The proponents added SOS, a new often forgotten group, that changed the 2003 calculus of education groups versus realtor and tourism interests to education groups versus realtor, tourism interests and parents. Finally, the change of NCAE not only weakened the Education Lobby, but almost guaranteed the passage of the school calendar bill.

Bill Passage

On May 13, 2004, Representative Connie Wilson proposed House Bill 1464 requiring "that public schools shall open after August 25 and close not after June 10" (House Bill: School Calendar Changes, 2004). House Bill 1464 also stated that each local board of education would have to cut 10 teacher workdays from the school calendar. The bill was referred to the House Committee on Commerce. On July 1, 2004, the House Committee on Commerce passed House Bill 1464 by a 10 to 6 vote. Bernard Allen a Democrat (D) from Raleigh, Russell Capps a Republican (R) from Raleigh, Jim Crawford a D from Oxford, Billy

Creech a R from Clayton, Rick Eddins a R from Raleigh, Sam Ellis a R from Raleigh, Mickey Michaux a D from Durham, David Miner a R from Cary, Don Munford a R from Raleigh and Paul Stam a R from Apex all voted yes. Gordon Allen a D from Roxboro, Joe Hackney a D from Chapel Hill, Verla Insko a D from Chapel Hill, Paul Luebke a D from Durham, Deborah Ross a D from Raleigh and Jennifer Weiss a D from Cary all voted no. Leo Daughtry a R from Smithfield and Paul Miller a D from Durham did not vote (Bonner, 2004b). On, July 14, 2004, the House sent House Bill 1464 to the Senate. The Senate bill was different from the House bill and the House rejected the Senate's changes. A conference committee comprised of members from both the House and the Senate met and compromised on these differences. On, July 18, 2004, the House ratified House Bill 1464 by a vote of 59 yes, 37 no and 12 not voting. The next day, the General Assembly presented House Bill 1464 to the Governor and the Governor signed and made House Bill 1464 law on August 9, 2004 (North Carolina General Assembly, 2008).

During the passage of the bill beginning with the period of time from the introduction of the 2004 school calendar bill in the House until its passage into law, the backers of creating legislation requiring public schools to set their school calendars to begin after Labor Day knew they must accomplish three major tasks (see Table 13).

Table 13. Proponents Goals during the Bill Passage

In the House, how can the bill receive a quick and friendly committee hearing?	In the Senate, how can the bill receive a quick and friendly committee hearing?	How can the proponents fight off the addition of any amendments to the bill to ward off a conference committee?
?	**?**	**?**

Table 13 reveals that the first and second tasks required the proponents to move the school calendar bill quickly through both chambers. At the same time, the proponents had to

complete the third task of fighting the addition of any amendments to the school calendar bill. An amendment that creates a substantive difference between a House bill and its Senate bill counterpart must go to a conference committee (see pp. 94, 97-100 and 139). If the two chambers agreed to send the school calendar bill to a conference committee, the proponents of the bill knew they would not have the control that they had enjoyed throughout the interim period. The researcher discusses the tactics used to guide the school calendar bill to passage through both chambers and the actions taken by the proponents to keep the school calendar bill out of a conference committee.

An Arena Shift in the House Provides a Quick and Friendly Committee Hearing

This section discusses the definition of an arena shift; what constitutes an Education Bill; who assigns bills to committees in the House; and why Rules Chair Culpepper chose the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. In the final section, the researcher reveals the influence that the arena shift had by studying what occurred in the House Commerce Committee and then the impact of the House Commerce Committee's vote on the school calendar bill.

Definition of an Arena Shift

In order to place the bill in a House committee where the hearing would be quick and friendly, the proponents of the school calendar bill assigned the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. The proponents of the school calendar bill had carefully reshaped the school calendar bill from an education issue, as the education groups had cast the legislation in 2003, into an issue of economic development for the state. The researcher calls the assignment of the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education

Committee an arena shift, which is part of Mazzoni's arena model. As discussed earlier (see pp. 28-30), Mazzoni's arena model (1991) identifies four essential arenas: the subsystem, the macro, the leadership and the commission arenas. The subsystem arena is the iron triangle (see pp. 27-28) that includes interest groups ruling a specific policy domain along with the legislature and the state bureaucracy regulating and assisting that specific domain. According to Mazzoni, an arena shift occurs whenever a powerful individual or group moves an issue from the subsystem arena to the macro, the leadership or the commission arenas. That did not occur with the school calendar bill. Instead, powerful individuals assigned the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. The researcher believes that an arena shift still occurred and that Mazzoni's arena model can support this claim because powerful individuals placed the school calendar bill into the Commerce Legislative Subsystem as opposed to the Education Legislative Subsystem. Therefore, the researcher argues that an arena shift occurs whenever a powerful individual or group moves an issue from a subsystem arena to any other arena. Concerning the school calendar bill, powerful individuals moved the school calendar bill from one subsystem arena to another subsystem arena. The researcher maintains that this arena shift produced the same effect that any other arena shift would produce and that is the realtor and tourism interests had a huge advantage over the education groups because the realtor and tourism interests are a part of the iron triangle within the Commerce Legislative Subsystem. In order to prove this, the researcher examines and discusses what exactly constitutes an Education Bill, who assigns bills to committees in the House and why did these individuals choose the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. After the researcher has proven that an arena shift occurred, then the researcher investigates

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and determines what influence if any the arena shift had on the passage of the school calendar bill. As discussed above, the researcher determines the influence that the arena shift had by studying what occurred in the House Commerce Committee and then the impact of the House Commerce Committee's vote on the school calendar bill.

Why are you Confused? What Constitutes an Education Bill

All the respondents agreed upon similar criteria concerning what makes an issue an Education Bill. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that any education policy issue is referred to either the House or Senate Education Committee and that committee will debate the legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA articulated that beyond policy issues any issue that has an impact upon the educational process at K-12, University or community colleges is referred to the Education Committee. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA clarified that these issues are outside of funding issues because those go to the Education Appropriations Committee. The House Education Appropriations Committee is a sub-committee of the whole House Appropriations Committee. The members of the House Education Appropriations Committee are House Education Legislators or members of the House Education Committee. In addition, usually the two House Full Education Committee Chairs sit on the House Education Appropriations Committee as well. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA continued that there is a cross over between the memberships of the two committees, but the House Education Appropriations Committee is about a fourth of the size of the House Education Committee. There are some issues that have enough of a policy discussion to them that they will go to the House Education Committee before they go to the House Education Appropriations

Committee. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) explained,

"Issues go to the Education Appropriations Committee, when the state has to ante up

money." The Executive Director of PENC disclosed that legislators might also introduce

Education Bills that are personal or an anecdotal experience that the legislator has within his

or her specific district. These matters can deal with hiring, certification of teachers as well as

pretty mundane issues (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9,

2007). The Executive Director of PENC continued that hazardous materials in and around

schools and other such items also are sent to the education committee (The Executive

Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). However, the Governmental

Relations Director for NCSBA shared that there are some teacher or administrator issues that

go to other committees such as retirement or benefit issues. Retirement issues usually go to

the House Retirement Committee. Nevertheless, when asked, "So is this common for a bill

that appears educational in nature, but is not assigned to the Education Committee?" The

Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) responded, "No. In the 12

years I have done education lobbying, I have not seen a bill with this kind of impact on the

educational process not go to the House Education Committee." Therefore, all the

respondents agreed that the school calendar bill met the criteria for assignment to the House

Education Committee.

If Speaker Black Needed Something Done, Strong-Armed; Culpepper was the Guy

As discussed above in the hierarchies of power and circles of influence section (see p.

154), the Speaker of the House decides the committee placement of every piece of legislation

in consultation with the House Rules Chairman. However, on legislation that Representative

Culpepper championed, Speaker Black would defer to Representative Culpepper. The

Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) explained concerning such an occasion, "if you went to Speaker Black, he would state that 'you need to go talk to Rules Chairman Culpepper and you need to convince him on why this bill needs to be somewhere else.'" Speaker Black would not over step Representative Culpepper (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). This is apparent that such an arrangement occurred from the researcher's conversation with the President of NCAE. When asked, "Why was the school calendar bill, HB 1464 not referred to the Education Committee?" The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) responded, "That is where the House Rules Chair sent the bill." The researcher then asked, "Do you know why?" The President of NCAE (March 28, 2007) answered, "I am not sure; but, it went to the House Commerce Committee." Therefore, the respondents answered the question of who assigned the legislation to the House Commerce Committee with Representative Bill Culpepper, who was the Chair of the House Rules Committee (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). The next question becomes why did Representative Culpepper, the Chair of the House Rules Committee, assign the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee?

Need a Quick Friendly Hearing, Go to the House Commerce Committee

The coalition of an after Labor Day school start date had the pleasure of adding Representative Bill Culpepper a Democrat from Chowan County to their ranks sometime during the interim period (Durhams, 2004). Most of the respondents believed that Representative Culpepper assigned the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee because the bill would receive a quick friendly hearing. Four respondents stated that the proponents of the bill knew that the House Education Committee would probably not

vote the bill out of the committee. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member shared that in order for a bill to make it through the system, it has to pass out of a committee. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member (March 24, 2007) explained, "The proponents of the bill thought they would get a friendlier hearing in the House Commerce Committee because the education community formed the bedrock of the opposition to the bill." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member emphasized that the proponents felt that the House Education Committee would not be a friendly setting (The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated, "The leadership in the House, counted noses and knew that that bill would not get out of the House Education Committee." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA basically employed the theory of iron triangles or subsystems to describe why the proponents chose the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA explained that the lobbyists for the proponent associations knew the House Commerce Committee just as the education association lobbyists know the House Education Committee. Members on the House Education Committee were used to dealing with the education association lobbyists on a regular basis. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) continued that if most of the education community that "the Education Committee legislators are used to dealing with testifies that this is the worst piece of legislation ever; it will take something to get that bill out of the Education Committee." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA concluded that the proponents of the bill decided that legislators sympathetic to the education lobby were probably not the best for getting the bill voted to the House Floor (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). One respondent

reversed the scenario and thought that the bill sponsors knew that the House Commerce

Committee would vote the bill out to the House Floor because that committee would be

friendlier to realtor and tourism interests. The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26,

2007) stated:

> The Realtors are the largest lobby and donors to political campaigns in
> the state. I do not know how much they contributed to each candidate, but
> they do have a substantial war chest. This money might not have helped them,
> but the money did not help the Education Community. This bill did not even
> go to the Education Committee is a signal that it did not matter what educators
> really thought.

Two respondents thought that the proponents feared that the House Education Committee

would take too long in debating the bill. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA

(March 19, 2007) explained, "I think the proponents knew that members of the House

Education Committee would add a number of amendments and the proponents would have

also had a harder time controlling the debate." The Governmental Relations Director for

NCSBA revealed that the Education Committee as a whole has a reputation of taking a long

time fully debating and really examining issues. The Education Committee is considered

both thorough and slow (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal

Interview, March 19, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC affirmed the Governmental

Relations Director for NCSBA statement when she hypothetically stated that the school

calendar bill would have had a full hearing in the House Education Committee and that

would have allowed people to point out all the educational issues that were not taken into

account in the House Commerce Committee (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal

Interview, March 9, 2007). The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member

(March 24, 2007) summarizes why the proponents of the bill chose the House Commerce

Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee when she explained that

Representative Culpepper and the other proponents of the bill:

> They did not break any laws and they did not break any rules. An
> unspoken rule is a bill does not necessarily have to go to the committee that is
> the logical committee for it. The unwritten rule is any bill can go anywhere.
> An education bill is not required to go to an education committee. So they
> played that very well. They kept it out of the education committee.

Therefore, all the respondents agreed that the choice of committee had a significant impact

on the passage of the school calendar bill. Therefore, the arena shift occurred to insure that

the school calendar bill received the most favorable committee assignment.

What Occurred in the House Commerce Committee

The Chair of the House Commerce Committee

Before the researcher can discuss and examine what occurred in the House

Commerce Committee, the researcher needs to discuss who chaired the House Commerce

Committee during the school calendar debate. The General Assembly has a custom that when

a Chair of a committee sponsors a bill that Chair has to step down and a Co-Chair or a Vice

Chair has to then chair that committee during both the debate and the vote over the sponsored

legislation (Director of the Legislative Drafting Division, August 4, 2008). Representative

Wilson had to step down as the Chair of the House Commerce Committee because she was

one of the primary sponsors of the school calendar bill. The House Commerce Committee

had only one Chair during the 2003-2004 sessions and that was Representative Wilson. The

House Commerce Committee did have two Vice Chairs Representative Jim Harrell III and

Representative John Sauls. However, neither Vice Chair chaired the House Commerce

Committee on the day that the House Commerce Committee both debated and voted upon the

school calendar bill. Representative Culpepper chaired the House Commerce Committee

during both the debate and for the vote upon the school calendar bill. Representative Culpepper is the Chair of the House Rules Committee, but he is also a floater or an ex-officio member of almost every committee (see p. 155). Under the 2003-2004 House Rules, there were several legislators who were given the authority to go and vote on any committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Representative Culpepper had the right to be on the House Commerce Committee and to cast a vote for or against the bill because of his floater status. However, a floater floating onto a committee and displacing the two Vice-Chairs to chair that committee is a very rare occurrence. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) stated, "I have never heard of a floater being a chair." A further complication is that Representative Culpepper was also one of the primary sponsors of the school calendar bill. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "I do not believe that Speaker Black would have been that audacious to place a floater as a Chair." When asked, "What if Black and Culpepper did do that?" The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) answered:

> If Culpepper was not listed as a Co-Chair or Vice Chair and was added to that position and only showed up for the passage of the bill, and for our purposes concerning education, there were few times that we would sit in the Commerce Committee because Education bills do not go to that committee; that would send quite a message.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) shared concerning a floater becoming a chair, "It is the only incidence that I can remember on legislation that I have followed." Finally, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) maintained that "This definitely helped the bill because Representative Culpepper was the second most powerful person in the House and he was chairing the House Commerce Committee." Therefore, Representative Culpepper's chairmanship helped control the

discussion on the committee as well as illustrated how serious the proponents of the bill were to do everything in their power to pass the school calendar bill into law. Further, Representative Culpepper's chairmanship might also be a historic first for the state of North Carolina concerning a floater becoming a chair of a committee.

The Public Hearing and Vote

Many of the respondents felt that the public hearing in the House Commerce Committee was brief, very controlled and foreshadowed the eventual outcome of the bill. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF shared that the public speaking period in the House Commerce Committee was cursory with very little time to ask questions. She continued that during the hearing, the proponents of the bill made sure that there was a preponderance of their point of view communicated from different groups; from the realtors, from SOS and from NCAE. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF s (March 16, 2007) stated, "They handpicked their speakers and of course as soon as Representative Culpepper called for a vote; it was obvious that the school calendar bill was not going to another committee, but was going straight to the House Floor." The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF explained that the proponents knew who they were going to hear from and who they were not going to hear from (The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF, Personal Interview, March 16, 2007). The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) maintained, "The public hearing was where the proponents of the bill said do not confuse me with the facts. I do not care how many facts you give me." The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member echoed the Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 24, 2007) belief that the hearing seemed very controlled when she stated, "my sense is that the proponents were careful whom they let speak at the hearing." The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA confirmed the brief nature of the hearing when she spoke about the lack of motions or amendments to the bill. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA shared that the one rule that legislators usually expect and accept is the recognition of wanting to make motions and amendments. In the House Commerce Committee, there were several members who wanted to offer amendments and they were not allowed to offer their amendments. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated, "These members were ruled out of order by Representative Culpepper in his role as chair." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA held that in the House Commerce Committee, the voices of the tourism industry, SOS parents and realtors seemed to carry clout and the bill received a favorable report in the House Commerce Committee. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) explained "The school calendar bill went to the House Floor and the bill never went to the House Education Committee, which is atypical for this type of legislation."

The Shift of Focus on the School Calendar Bill

The impact of the arena shift of assigning the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee was that the bill was quickly voted to the House Floor. According to the Executive Director of PENC, the impact of the House Commerce Committee's vote on the school calendar bill was that the bill passed (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that the proponents were able to get favorable placement in committee assignments, where their side had every advantage and they worked the system marvelously to place the bill on the House Floor. The arena shift created more of a focus on what legislators need to do for businesses in the state (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA continued that the proponents had an edge by bypassing the

House Education Committee and placing the bill before a business focused commerce

committee that limited the debate on the educational merits of the bill (The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) maintained:

> I really think in the house education committee there would have been
> a much closer vote if not an outright difference in the outcome. In the House
> Education Committee the members on that committee understand the logistics
> of schools and realize that one size does not fit all and that communities need
> to be able to do different things to meet different needs of different students.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) revealed,

"Even though it is usually easier to stop legislation than to advance legislation, the stars were

aligned to make this one happen. Using the system to their advantage was exactly what

happened." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) emphasized,

"The placement of the bill and the way the committee was run by the new chair guaranteed

that the school calendar bill would reach the House Floor." The Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) shared "The proponents had a good game plan,

they had power brokers on their side who helped to maneuver the legislation in the House,

they had money, they had numbers and everything just fell in place for them." Therefore, the

proponents of the school calendar bill enacted an arena shift to situate the bill quickly for a

vote on the House Floor.

The Senate Rules and Procedures Creates Opportunities

The researcher utilized the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal that

the rules and procedures of the Senate created opportunities for both sides. Further, the

researcher utilized the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to

analyze the language that respondents used to situate their practices (see p. 76). This section

discusses the culture of the Senate Education Committee and what occurred the day the

Senate Education Committee recommended the school calendar bill

The Senate is a Boy's Club

The House Education Committee and the Senate Education Committee are very

different. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that one difference

between the House Education Committee and the Senate Education Committee is the size of

each committee. The House Education Committee is a much larger committee than the

Senate Education Committee. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (April 26,

2007) stated, "A single person cannot do a vote count of the whole House Education

Committee in a timely manner and that is not the case in the Senate Education Committee."

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA shared that another difference is that

committee legislation will always pass on the Senate Floor (The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) explained, "The Senate is a boy's club. You usually do

not see things coming out of the committee that do not pass on the floor." The Governmental

Relations Director for NCASA emphasized that the Senate Education Committee moves

quicker and is much more cohesive in their decisions than the House Education Committee.

In addition, the Senate has in recent years had more of a cohesive unit of Democrats in power

that vote as a block on most issues (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA,

Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The House Education Committee Chairs and the

Senate Education Committee Chairs also behave differently. The Governmental Relations

Director for NCASA revealed that every committee chairman has a different style and there are some chairman who chose to have a hearing on every bill assigned to his or her committee whether he or she personally likes the bill or not. There are other chairman who personally oppose pieces of legislation and he or she use the chairmanship to prevent things he or she oppose from coming to a debate in the committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) shared:

> I have seen chairman who will say 'we are going to hear this bill but we are not going to vote on it, we are just going to talk about it so that we can see what the issue is but it stops here' and that has been used as a tool for stopping legislation.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) affirmed the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA's statement when she explained that "once the bill is in a committee it is at the chairman's discretion as to whether the bill is heard or not." Remember, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (April 26, 2007) story concerning the difference between her communications with the Senate Education Committee Chairs and their House counterparts (see p. 156):

> Many times on the Senate side you will get a "We will see" or "We will see how that fits into everything." For some reason the House chairmen are willing to give you more definitive dates about when they are going to hear your bills when you go talk to them about it instead of "Oh well we will get to that."

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA believed that these delaying remarks occur because either the Senate Education Committee Chairs, think that Senator Basnight or Senator Rand might care and they need to go check with one of them first or because the Senate Education Committee Chairs do not meet together so they have to talk to one another to make sure they are on the same page. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA

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added that on the House side, she rarely meets with one of the House Education Committee Chairs without the other one being there (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). According to linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA utilized language implying that the Senate and Senate committees are micro-managed or at least heavily supervised by Senator Basnight and Senator Rand (see p. 150-159). This supervision is possible because of the small size of the Senate, Senator Basnight's and Senator Rand's longevity in their Senate positions and possibly the cohesiveness of the Senate Democrats.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that on the Senate side, there were three chairmen over the Senate Education Committee in the 2003-2004 session. There were two Democrats and one Republican. The two Democratic Chairs were Senator A. B. Swindell representing Nash and Wilson Counties and Senator Jeanie Lucas representing Durham County. Senator John Garwood was the Republican representing Stokes, Surry and Wilkes Counties. In the 2003-2004 session, the Senate was heavily controlled by Senate Democrats. However, in a few Senate Committees the Senate had a token Republican, who was named as chairman but really did not have much authority. This token chair occasionally presided over the committee, but really did not have a lot of authority in controlling the legislative flow of what moved out of the committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Senate Education Chairman, who presided over the meeting where the Senate Education Committee voted upon the school calendar bill, was Senator Swindell. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) shared:

> I have seen Senator Swindell do a little of what I talked about, where there is an issue he personally opposes or he believes the leadership opposes, he has actually held debate on some pieces of legislation and said we are going to talk about it today but we are not going to vote on it.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA continued that Senator Swindell uses his authority in a way that is appropriate, it is not against any kind of rule; but, it is not the same approach that every chairman takes. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA emphasized that Senator Swindell takes a very literal approach to making sure pieces of legislation that the committee votes to the Senate Floor has the stamp of approval of himself and the leadership. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) declared, "Senator Swindell is very effective." The linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame aid the researcher in discovering that the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA perceives Senator Swindell in the same top-down heavily supervised system that the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA used to describe Senator Basnight or Senator Rand. There is the same hint to partisan control. One can hear the hands on approach of the micro-manager in the two statements concerning hearing legislation, but not allowing a vote and the statement about placing his stamp on legislation heading to the Senate Floor. Therefore, the respondents quotes leave little doubt that the practices and culture of the Senate is managed from the top-down.

An Emergency Hearing in the Senate Education Committee

The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA stated that after the school calendar bill passed the second and the third reading in the House. The school calendar bill went to the Senate. The researcher employed the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal that the proponents of the school calendar bill sought to create the same quick and friendly committee hearing in the Senate as in the House. When the school

calendar bill came to the Senate, the Senate immediately referred the bill to the Senate Education Committee on that same day. The Senate Education Committee had an emergency hearing (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) maintained, "There was a meeting called after the adjournment of that day's session for the Senate Education Committee to take up that bill." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA maintained that the only ones present at the meeting were those who were there in the legislature at the time and who could quickly assemble (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC emphasized that the meeting occurred so that leadership could say an Education Committee saw the bill (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) affirmed the statements of the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA and the Executive Director of PENC when she stated, "The Senate Hearing was less than ten minutes." Therefore, all the respondents that the researcher asked agreed that the Senate Education Committee meeting to hear and vote upon the school calendar bill was brief.

Senator Swindell limited the debate by allowing those for and those against the bill to have only one spokesman each. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) stated that Senator A. B. Swindell said,

> This thing has been fully vented over in the House, it has been in the media, and there has been much discussion on this bill. We are not going to spend a lot of time on the bill. We are at the end of session. Each side gets one person and that person will have three minutes and that is it.

The Senate Education Committee heard from the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA speaking for the opposition and one of the lobbyists from NCAE for the other side.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) exclaimed, "I talked as fast as I possibly could within three minutes and threw in as many issues in the hearing as I could. The bill flew out of that committee." Then a voice vote was taken. In the voice vote, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA thought that the opposition won the vote and defeated the bill. However, Senator Swindell heard the vote and ruled the opposite way (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 16, 2007) maintained that Senator Swindell said, "It appears the 'I's' have it." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) shared, "No one could act quickly enough to take advantage of a roll call vote or a show of hands or anything along those lines." When asked, "When you say in the Senate there was a voice vote, is there not a mechanism or some sort of call where you can say, can we have a hand count?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) replied, "There is an opportunity for that but this vote and the ruling by the Chairman, Senator Swindell, happened so quickly that everyone was stunned and there was no time." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA revealed that the Senate does not have the same rules as the House concerning voting and recording the votes of Senators. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA continued that a Senate Committee's vote is not a recorded vote, so one cannot obtain how an individual on any Senate Committee voted. However, if a vote is close the chair can call for Senators to vote by a show of hands; but, that vote is still never recorded. (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). Senator Swindell ruled and then he adjourned the committee. The bill was then sent to the Senate Floor (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007). When asked, "Did

Senator Swindell favor the school calendar bill?" The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) responded, "I do not know where he personally stood on it." She continued, "I honestly believe he was told from the Senate Leadership that this thing had come out of the House with serious momentum and it needs to go to the floor of the Senate" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). Therefore, the proponents used the top-down managed culture of the Senate as an operational principle to create the same quick and friendly committee hearing in the Senate as in the House. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain aided the proponents to vote the school calendar bill out of the Senate Education Committee. Further, the proponents could also tell education groups that the school calendar bill was heard in an education committee.

They Saw the Writing on the Wall

As stated above (see p. 241), the researcher employed the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to show that the rules and procedures of the Senate created opportunities for both sides. The school calendar bill passed in the Senate, but not before some influential senators attached some amendments to the school calendar bill. The House and Senate bill had enough of a difference that the legislative leadership convened a conference committee. There were some fairly significant changes to the school calendar bill in the conference committee (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, March 19, 2007). Some of the exceptions that are in the bill were added by the conference committee. Year round schools had already been recognized as exempt from the school calendar bill, but the conference committee also recognized modified year round

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schools for exemption as well (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal

Interview, April 26, 2007). The conference committee added a new section stating:

> The required opening and closing dates under this subsection shall not apply to any school that a local board designated as having a modified calendar for the 2003-2004 school year or to any school that was part of a planned program in the 2003-2004 school year for a system of modified calendar schools, so long as the school operates under a modified calendar. (North Carolina General Assembly, [Edition 4] 2008)

The conference committee also expanded the educational waivers section of the school

calendar bill (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April

26, 2007). The original House bill read, "The term 'educational purpose' means a local school

administrative unit establishes a need for a school to accommodate a special program or a

special population of students" (North Carolina General Assembly, [Edition 4] 2008). The

conference committee revised this section:

> The term "educational purpose" means a local school administrative unit establishes a need to adopt a different calendar for (i) a specific school to accommodate a special program offered generally to the student body of that school, (ii) a school that primarily serves a special population of students, or (iii) a defined program within a school. (North Carolina General Assembly, [Edition 4] 2008)

The question that comes to mind is why would the proponents select legislators, who were

opposed to the bill, to sit on the conference committee? The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA answered this by explaining that these legislators, who were opposed to

the bill, actually voted for the bill on the Senate Floor. The Governmental Relations Director

for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) continued, "They saw the writing on the wall and knew the

votes were there and they wanted to be able to exercise some influence potentially in the

conference. So, they voted for the bill on the Senate side." The Governmental Relations

Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) explained, "These legislators voted for the bill

probably so that they could add an amendment and then get on the Conference Committee." The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) revealed, "I do not know if this is a written rule or it is just understood that if you do not vote for the bill you cannot be on the conference committee." Therefore a few powerful Senators, who were opposed to the bill, used their knowledge of the legislative procedures and rules as an operational principle to add an amendment, claim membership to the conference committee and then expand some of the educational waivers. This operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain helped the proponents to make the school calendar bill slightly more acceptable to the opponents of the school calendar bill.

Précis of Bill Passage Period

Table 14. Proponents Goals Accomplished during the Bill Passage

In the House, how can the bill receive a quick and friendly committee hearing?	In the Senate, how can the bill receive a quick and friendly committee hearing?	How can the proponents fight off the addition of any amendments to the bill to ward off a conference committee?
An Arena Shift	**Using the Senate Rules and Procedures**	**Proponents fail and there is a Conference Committee**

Table 14 demonstrates that the arena shift insured that the school calendar bill received a quick and friendly committee hearing in the House. Table 14 also shows that the proponents' employment of their knowledge of the Senate procedures and rules as an operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain insured that the school calendar bill received a quick and friendly committee hearing in the Senate. However, powerful Senators utilized the same operational principle within the assumptive worlds model's first domain to their advantage on the Senate Floor and in the Conference Committee as well.

Summary

Chapter 6 has focused on the first and third domain of the assumptive worlds model as well as the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina as well as the arena model that explains how an arena shift affects the power and influence of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. The researcher found that during the interim period the strategies and actions adopted by the proponents of the school calendar bill created a favorable environment for the passage of the school calendar bill. The researcher discovered that NCAE's change of position was the most influential piece of the puzzle concerning the passage of the school calendar bill. The best quote comes from the Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) when she said, "I think they tipped it." All the respondents were very clear that the defection of NCAE insured that the school calendar bill would pass. During the bill passage period, the researcher uncovered an arena shift and the occurrence of this arena shift was a close second to the defection of NCAE concerning the passage of the school calendar bill. The arena shift also revealed the operational mindset that the House Leadership adopted to pass this legislation. The researcher revealed the culture of the Senate Education Committee and that both the proponents and opponents of the school calendar bill employed the Senate Rules and Procedures to create havoc for the other side. Finally, the researcher found that strong, effective and patient Senators, who knew how to play the game, could impact a bill on the Conference Committee that the very powerful House and Senate Leadership Teams worked feverishly to guide and shield through the legislative process.

CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Organization of the Implications Section

The conceptual framework devised for the study is adapted from both

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological System of Human Development* and Marshall and Gerstl-

Pepin's (2005) *Politics from Margin to Center* (as seen on page 52). The circles in the

conceptual framework are arranged in order of concreteness. As one moves outward through

each circle, the behaviors become more internalized and less measurable or observable. This

Chapter is organized to begin with one circle then move on to others, for different layers of

analysis. Thus, one sees how each circle of the conceptual framework helped to analyze the

data. One can also see how the conceptual framework brought to the surface and highlighted

the identification of key elements in the school calendar bill politics. Finally, the Chapter

points to ways to use the conceptual framework in future research on the legislative process.

The Center Circle of the Framework

The Arena Shift

The political system is located in the center circle of the framework because the

political system is the most concrete of all the circles. The political system contains the

minutes of committees and study groups; the archived votes of committees and House Floor

votes, the typed and published Rules of the Chamber as well as other printed data that is

accessible. The first circle also contains Mazzoni's (1991) arena model. The arena model

examines the arenas where politicians, interest groups and elites initiate, determine and enact regulations, directives, laws and procedures to govern and control policies and issues. Mazzoni's arena model identifies four essential arenas: the subsystem, the macro, the leadership and the commission arenas. The subsystem arena is the iron triangle that includes interest groups ruling a specific policy domain along with the legislature and the state bureaucracy regulating and assisting that specific domain. According to Mazzoni, an arena shift occurs whenever a powerful individual or group moves an issue from the subsystem arena to the macro, the leadership or the commission arenas (see pp. 27, 28, 29 and 30 of the Literature Review). As stated on pages 226 through 233 of this study, that did not occur with the school calendar bill. Instead, Representative Culpepper, with the knowledge and possibly full support of Speaker Black, assigned the school calendar bill to the House Commerce Committee as opposed to the House Education Committee. The researcher believes that an arena shift still occurred and that Mazzoni's arena model can support this claim because Representative Culpepper placed the school calendar bill into the Commerce Legislative Subsystem as opposed to the Education Legislative Subsystem. The standing committees in the General Assembly are nothing more than Mazzoni's subsystems. Both the Education Committee and the Commerce Committee are subsystems where the three members of the iron triangle come together and mediate policy. In the Education Committee, the iron triangle consists of the major education associations, the legislators and the North Carolina School Board/Department of Public Instruction. In the Commerce Committee, one sector of the iron triangle consists of the realtor and tourism interests in which includes Hotel/Motel interests as well as restaurant and others, the legislators and the Department of Commerce.

The importance of all of this committee discussion is that according to Mazzoni's arena model an arena shift occurs whenever a powerful individual or group moves an issue from the subsystem arena to the macro, the leadership or the commission arenas. Mazzoni's model does not recognize arena shifts involving two subsystems. As stated on pages 226 through 233 of this study, the arena shift from the Education Committee to the Commerce Committee was just as detrimental to the education interest groups effort to stop the legislation as if the House Leaders had shifted the school calendar bill to the macro, the leadership or the commission arenas. Further, the subsystem shift may even be more powerful because the House Leaders retained all their internal control, while the education forces lost all influence because they are not part of the iron triangle that comprises the Commerce Subsystem. Another reason arena shifts involving subsystems are more powerful is that they can occur so quickly and do not hinder the legislative process in any way. Of course tracking an arena shift involving subsystems is difficult. The other arenas are very public, such a Blue Ribbon Panels and ballot initiatives, and various medias would tell the story of a bill that has bounced out of the General Assembly into another arena. The legislative process is less transparent and even within the legislative process the subsystem is even murkier because there are so many subsystems and numerous votes occur in a committee where floor votes are restricted to either House or Senate and are initiated by the chamber calendar. Needless to say, more subsystem/committee studies need to take place in order to gain greater understanding of the legislative process.

As a segue into the next two circles, Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models and Marshall et al.'s (1989) assumptive worlds model helped to make sense of Mazzoni's (1991) Arena Model. The hierarchies of power and circles of

influence models helped to reveal that Representative Culpepper and Speaker Black had the power to create an arena shift. The assumptive worlds model disclosed why the two most powerful House Leaders would embark upon an arena shift. Concerning the utilization of Mazzoni's (1991) arena model, the model is easy to employ if a researcher has interviewed respondents who know the legislative arena. Interviewing elites with knowledge of the legislative arena is not a must, but recommended. A respondent, who is not close to the top of the food chain, may be apprehensive of being too forthcoming with privileged information because of reprisals or fear of impediments to his or her advancement because loose lips sink ships and careers.

The Second and Third Circles

The second circle contains Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models (see pp 22, 36 and 37 of the Literature Review as well as pp. 146 and 147). These models help to situate the members of any organization. The third circle contains Marshall et al.'s (1989) assumptive worlds model (see pp 22 and 23 of the Literature Review as well as p. 76). The assumptive worlds model has two sets of theories that work together to aid any researcher to focus on the unstated beliefs and insider knowledge of the members in any organization. One set of theory is the four domains that order a policy maker's assumptive world. The second set of theory is the linguistic theories of Edelman, 1977; Pfeffer, 1981a, 1981b; Donmoyer, 1984; and Burlingame, 1983. Chapter 4 used the first, second and third domain of the assumptive worlds model as well as the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame. Chapter 4 used the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to reveal the negotiating strategies that chamber leaders employ to navigate several bills through the conference committee process. Chapter 4 employed the

second domain of the assumptive worlds model to explain why the associations may not take action on an issue that divides an association's membership. Chapter 4 utilized the third domain of the assumptive worlds model to uncover the practices embedded in each organization to mobilize members to champion the organization's legislative agenda; to reveal the strategies and methods utilized by the associations to advance their legislative agendas; to uncover the existence of policy issue network; to reveal the social relationships between The Coalition members; and finally to reveal the different lobbying styles of each organization as well as how to stop legislation. The researcher then carefully catalogued the different activities where possible and finally analyzed how successful each organization was in their endeavors. Finally, Chapter 4 used the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to analyze the language that respondents used to situate their practices; to explain how each respondent interpreted the political rules of the game in North Carolina; to reveal the subjective process by which associations create their legislative agendas; and finally, to note the different language employed by the members of The Coalition when explaining their social relationships with one another.

The hierarchies of power and circles of influence models provided a simple blue print to organize and then write Chapter 5. Chapter 5 also utilized the third domain of the assumptive worlds model to analyze the stories of the respondents concerning compromising. Chapter 6 employed the first domain of the assumptive worlds model to probe and analyze how the proponents of the school calendar bill made the school calendar bill eligible; how the proponents of the school calendar bill removed the school calendar bill from a "boundary dispute" with the education associations; and finally, how both sides created opportunities for themselves utilizing the rules and procedures of the Senate. Chapter 6 also utilized the third

domain of the assumptive worlds model to probe and analyze how the proponents of the

school calendar bill mobilized SOS to join the fray; as well as how the proponents of the

school calendar bill disrupted the balance of power by weakening the Education Lobby with

a defection. Finally, Chapter 6 used the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer

and Burlingame to explore the language of the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA

concerning the micro-management of the Senate.

The three models together reveal not only much about an organization, but the

individuals that constitute the organization. The bedrock of this study rests on these three

models. Many of the interview questions spring from one or all of these models. The three

models also help to explain data that occurs in the different circles as well. The example of

Mazzoni's (1991) arena model has already been discussed, but these three models also helped

to unearth information in the political culture and cultural theory circle, the ideology circle as

well as outside the hegemonic policy square. This occurred during the interviews when the

researcher was probing the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models question or

assumptive worlds model question and then the respondent would answer or volunteer

information that just popped out. Finally, some of the respondents enjoyed the process of the

interview because in their own words, "I have never really thought about that" and it was

rewarding to follow some of the intellectual links to their conclusions. These same

respondents related how they had never really thought the implications or looked at the big

picture of what was happening at a finite moment of time.

The Fourth Circle

The fourth circle holds Elazar's (1966) political culture (see pp 14 and 15 of the

Literature Review) and Thompson et al.'s (1990) cultural theory (see pp 16-20 of the

Literature Review). Political culture and the five ways of life are the patterns or orientations to political action that all individuals and groups have embedded within their practices and beliefs. As should come as no surprise, these questions are hard to write for an interview and feel so subjective when a researcher contemplates what a respondent's answer really means. However, political culture and cultural theory are both incredibly interesting theories and warrant further research. Thompson et al.'s cultural theory simply improves Elazar's political culture theory, but does not really replace the political culture theory. By this, the researcher means that Elazar's political culture theory becomes more realistic with cultural theory used as a backdrop. For instance, the term "Moralistic" to describe anything sounds judgmental if not downright condescending. Therefore, cultural theory presents better terms such as egalitarian for moralistic and hierarchical for traditionalistic. Further, cultural theory makes Elazar's political culture theory more objective by using the combination of cultural theory's two continuum's called grid and group.

Elazar's Political Culture Theory

With that said, the researcher now begins the part of the study that investigates whether the research gave any hints to whether North Carolina is a hybrid traditionalistic and moralistic state or in the new language of cultural theory a hierarchical and egalitarian state. The researcher uncovered nothing to imply that North Carolina is a moralistic-egalitarian state. Elazar attached the moralistic label to North Carolina because of the migration of Scotch-Irish settlers from Western Pennsylvania to Western North Carolina via the Appalachian Mountains as well as the migration of Scotch-Irish settlers arriving in Eastern North Carolina and then pushing west to Western North Carolina to find available land. However, Eastern North Carolina and specifically east of I-95 has a disproportionate amount

of power and influence in the state concerning North Carolina politics. The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) shared, "There is just a history of political strength in the counties east of I-95. The Middle and Western portions of the state are under-represented. The East has a disproportionate number of senators compared to the rest of the state." In addition, more Governors and officials in state-elected positions come from the East. Therefore, any culture the early Scotch-Irish settlers might have brought with them is lost or not present in statewide North Carolina politics.

The researcher did discover evidence that North Carolina is a traditionalistic-hierarchical state. Luebke (1990) and Fleer (1994) both found that North Carolina is a traditionalistic-hierarchical state (see pp 40-42 of the Literature Review). Further, Luebke (1990), in almost haunting foreshadowing, employs the phrase "what was good for business, was good for North Carolina" (p. 38). In this study, the needs of businesses that sell properties to the well-to-do and the tourism industry that draws the same crowd to spend money defeated public school education groups. If that was not bad enough, the parents and adults, who fought for the school calendar bill, were individuals wealthy enough to make the argument that they would like to have the freedom from the public school calendar to take several vacations over the summer. One could argue that the corruption recently seen in the General Assembly as well as the arrests of General Assembly members and statewide officials coupled with the influence of PAC contributions could be the beginning of a North Carolina that is labeled as a traditionalistic-hierarchical and individualistic state. However, the argument could be countered that the elites in North Carolina have such unquestioning power that sometimes they believe they are outside the law. More research needs to be

completed to determine if money keeps the elite in power or if money corrupts the system to the point that the state becomes an individualistic state.

The Fifth Circle

The fifth circle contains the competing-values perspective. Values are permanent principles that a particular manner of conduct or condition of existence is personally or socially desirable. Further, values shape every individual's view of physical and human nature (see pp 11-14 of the Literature Review). Values direct the practices and beliefs of all major players in a political system. At the very core of all individuals are their values. Unfortunately, drilling down to another's core using interview questions is not very promising. The competing-values perspective does not generate great qualitative answers to questions. However, a researcher may have more luck filtering respondent answers through a competing-values filter. The competing-values perspective gains some traction when the researcher reflected upon the conflict between NCAE and The Coalition. The entire issue of employer versus employee conflict seems to be answered by the assumptive worlds model, but then the competing-values perspective adds more depth or insight. The issue is more than just simply an employer versus employee conflict, but also local issues and local control issues of a school board versus the collective interests and power of teachers across the state. Future researchers would be wise to include the competing-values perspective if only to flush out details and to help refocus the assumptive worlds model when behaviors or beliefs seem to contradict.

The Sixth Circle

Beyond the five circles are ideologies. As stated earlier, (see p. 39) ideology is "a fairly coherent set of values and beliefs about the way the social, economic, and political

systems should be organized and operated and recommendations about how these values and beliefs should be put into effect" (Isaak, 1987, p. 133). The researcher did not really think that he would garner much from the lens of ideologies. The questions are easy to write, but most of the answers did not uncover anything that is not already commonsense. Ideology or political parties ground the General Assembly where a political party in the majority can lock out the other party from participation in the legislative process. Concerning education issues and education legislation, all the respondents stressed that education issues and education legislation are very non-partisan. However, during the final interview with the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, she shared that NCSBA's fortunes versus NCAE might soon change. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA continued that since she has been the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA either the Republicans have been in control of the House or the margins have been really close. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that the Republican Party is not NCAE's allied party. NCSBA's local control issues and employer versus employee issues generally find more sympathy from Republican legislators. Therefore, as the Democrats continue to win back more seats and as the margins become bigger the story at the General Assembly may change. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated that NCAE is part of the Democratic base and with the shift in power over the next couple of years; the state of North Carolina could potentially see a change and a shift in power from all the unions (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The ideologies lens unveils the myth that education issues and education legislation are non-partisan. The NEA is not part of the Democratic base; the NEA is a pillar of the Democratic Party. Therefore, it would be naïve to say that any legislation, but especially education legislation is non-partisan. This study has

clearly shown that the party in power controls the flow of legislation and almost all the shut-off valves to stop legislation in the process. The researcher believes that future studies should continue to target ideologies and that future researchers should continue to flush into the light the link between ideologies and the legislative process. This is important and creates a segue into the area outside of the hegemonic policy square because the ruling party will automatically not allow certain voices and issues to reach the committee level of any legislative body.

Beyond the Hegemonic Policy Square

Beyond the hegemonic policy square is situated politics from beyond the margins. Inside the square, Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin's (2005) state, "insiders communicate information among themselves; they glean ideas about how to manage issues through networking among consultants, lobbyists, and their counterparts in different states" (p. 75). Unfamiliar methods of discussing and visualizing legislation are minimized, generating token responses during political election years (Schattschneider, 1960). Therefore, marginals float outside the hegemonic policy square to illustrate that there are those who are not allowed to play by the rules and norms of any political system. The researcher did not really know what he would learn concerning marginals. The questions are not difficult to write, but they do take much forethought. The researcher situated his questions in terms of if the respondent became involved with a marginal group on either side of the pendulum what would they do to help that group. This strategy produced a great amount of information.

The Term "Marginal"

The conceptual framework and specifically the visual image of the conceptual framework helped to generate a serious discussion from the respondents concerning groups

and people floating outside the hegemonic policy square. As the researcher questioned the

respondents about the failures of political outsiders and those who do not follow the rules of

the assumptive worlds, it became very clear that the study's conceptual model would provide

more accuracy concerning a major problem in the scant literature concerning marginals and

the political arena. The study's first question walked right into the problem and that question

is, "Who or what groups seem to never have power/influence at the state capital?" The

problem is that the little literature that exists has not really identified when a group is

marginal and when a main street group or non-marginal group is on a continuous losing

streak in the political arena. Further, the respondents and the conceptual model quickly

revealed that the all encompassing term "marginal" in conjunction with the political arena

begs for a more concise definition. The legislative process is complex and more clarity is

needed to determine who is what. Fortunately, the conceptual model points the way to a

better classification system or more precisely the conceptual model takes the term "marginal"

as a heading and then breaks down that term into more succinct sub-groups.

The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA (March 19, 2007) brought the

problem to the forefront when she said:

> I would assume that if you have gotten someone to file your bill that
> you would have some level of influence. The one group, that gets their bill
> filed every year, but it does not go anywhere, are the bikers, who want to ride
> their motorcycles without a helmet. They have supporters because their bill is
> filed, but that group has been around forever. There is even a biker day several
> times a year at the legislative building. It would be a stretch to say that the
> bikers are 'voiceless' because they do participate in the process. I am not sure
> if I would know if a group was voiceless because they are not going to show
> up at the legislative building and work a piece of legislation.

In this statement, the Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA makes a distinction

between marginal groups, who file bills that go nowhere, and marginal groups that do not

take a meaningful part in the legislative process. The Education Committee's chief legislative

staff member (March 24, 2007) shared a similar sentiment when she stated:

> I think any group could have influence. I have seen motorcycle guys
> come together opposing the Helmet Law. I have seen them. They come to the
> building and they work the building. I have seen children in wheelchairs
> coming to the building. I have seen advocates or people that I do not think
> have a voice; such as people in poverty, but I have seen advocates promote
> their cause or needs for them. People in prison, they have the criminal defense
> bar and civil rights organizations come to lobby on the behalf of prisoners.
> They do have influence and there is a voice. I guess if you want me to talk
> about how they get it?

Therefore, a better classification system that denotes the political abilities of a marginal

group is needed to structure a group's ability to maneuver beneficial legislation through the

political and legislative arenas.
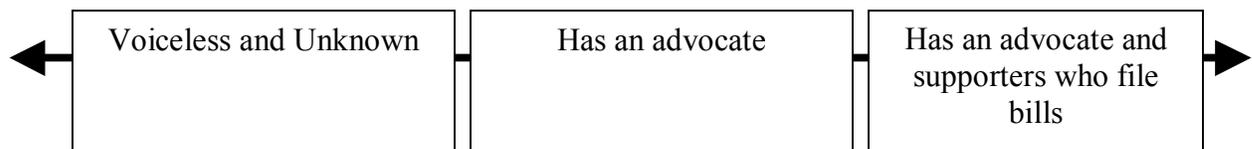
Figure 5. Continuum of Political Abilities of a Marginal Group

Figure 5 assists in viewing what the respondents said concerning classifying different

marginal groups. The respondents made very clear that some marginal groups are voiceless

and unknown; while other groups simply have advocates. Concluding Figure 5 are groups

that have supporters and they are able to file bills that ultimately year after year go nowhere.

Finally, the literature would need to decide whether a group that can pass legislation through

a committee; but no farther, would warrant the "marginal" title or fall under a main street

group or non-marginal group that is on a continuous losing streak in the political arena.

Therefore, researchers employing the Continuum of Political Abilities of a Marginal Group

with the use of a group's history should now be able to discuss how marginal a group is and the steps that the group needs to take to become organized.

Organization of a Marginal Group

The final section concerning marginals involves the respondents' discussion concerning the failures of political outsiders and those who do not follow the rules of the assumptive worlds. The respondents keyed in on one aspect that they used to describe failures as well as how to differentiate different marginal groups on the above-proposed continuum. Respondents over and over again cited marginal groups' lack of organization in the political and legislative arenas as the source of their alienation. At first glance, one might say that this is just elites blaming the victim for his or her own circumstances. However, the researcher believes that this charge is untrue and that the respondents simply were answering the question "If you were offered a job to be the advocate, lobbyist or executive director of a marginal group that was not organized in any way, what would you do?" This section discusses the organization for established groups, finding one's voice and making marginal issues more global, money, communicating with the media and finally the myth of the one champion and voices from every region.

Organization for Established Groups

In Chapter 4 on pages 115-122, the researcher examined how the respondents organize their constituents. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA shared that an association organizes by deciding to be involved in legislation, having a daily presence, having a mechanism for activating the association's membership to get involved, and to reinforce the presence of the person who is involved in the daily participation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 16, 2007).

Further, several of the respondents that the researcher interviewed described the historical organizational process of her organization as time consuming. In fact, no respondent believed that it took less than 15 to 20 years to organize her association to the point that the organization was influential. This is somewhat troubling because the organizations that took 15 to 20 years to organize would not be considered marginal in that the education associations represent professionals that are part of the state bureaucracy or democratically elected officials who are already part of the political arena. Therefore, all of the respondents prefaced that as an advocate for a marginal group that was not organized in any way, there would need to be some initial first steps that had not been discussed when they discussed their organizations.

Making Marginal Issues More Global

All of the respondents agreed that in order for any group to be successful it needs to make its proposals appealing to as many people and groups as possible. However, before any marginal group will be successful, the respondents stated that an individual or a small group of people need to first determine the issues that the marginal group has in common. The respondents pictured leaders who move around in neighborhoods and communities to get people to a point where they feel they can rally people based on a set of common issues. The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member thought of the Hispanic community as an example of a marginal group and then explained that the Hispanic community would need to figure out what are the common issues, because it is not going to be the same from one racial group to another. One should start locally with common issues and common problems that the group wants to fix. After there is a consensus, the marginal group needs to have a good communicator to decide what the best way to communicate their problems to others

(The Education Committee's chief legislative staff member, Personal Interview, March 24, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC expounded upon this idea of communicating to others by explaining that a marginal group will find success when they can make their issues more global. The Executive Director of PENC (March 30, 2007) used an LGBT issue as an example when she described bullying issues. She stated:

> Bullying is bullying regardless of who the target is and that should be the focus of LGBT legislation; bullying for any reason is wrong. For marginal groups, the framing of the issue is more important than anything else because if one frames it as should a fifteen year old be treated this way.

Therefore, marginal groups must start the slow process of organizing by determining and rallying marginal members around a set of issues while communicating those issues to others outside the group in a global manner in order to gain more allies and supporters.

Money is Always an Issue

The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) said it best concerning organization when she stated, "Money is always an issue." The Executive Director for NCSBA continued speaking about money in the context of the PTA in North Carolina. The PTA in North Carolina as an education association has little organization and the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models rate the PTA of North Carolina as an Often Forgotten Player in the legislative arena. Thus, the researcher asked the Executive Director for NCSBA, "How easy is that to do, to build up the financial backing?" The Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) responded:

> That is tough, it is hard work and it takes time. This work comes in stages and the first stage is to hire an Executive Director to have the energy to move forward with that new agenda of organizing to become influential in the General Assembly. I think right now they have an Office Manager and everyone else is a volunteer. There is nothing wrong with volunteers and you can get a lot of work out of a volunteer. Obtaining money for employees is not easy and the organization will not be what it ultimately becomes over night.

There is a gradual growing period. This can be done with dues and corporate sponsors.

The answer for an organization that collects dues from 250,000 people sounds daunting. The conclusion from this is that money helps to build organization into a group. Unfortunately, this was not an issue for any of the four major education associations; so, the researcher can offer no further information concerning the impact of money upon a marginal group wishing to organize into an influential group. However, the researcher believes it is safe to conclude that the lack of money clearly has hampered the efforts of the bikers to pass their legislation. The bikers appear in Raleigh, but too little avail. No respondent mentioned a full-time advocate or lobbyist working on behalf of the bikers, much less any independent individual monitoring the General Assembly for changes to push forward the bikers' agenda. Therefore, the bikers will have no success until they play by the rules and create and fund some sort of organization that is devoted to pushing biker issues forward.

Issues are Driven by the Media

Another item that needs to take place along with building an organization is communicating with the media. The Associate Executive Director of NCPSF (March 16, 2007) shared, "Issues are driven by the media; there are all kinds of ways that newspaper, magazines, the radio and internet blogs help to influence what people think about issues." The Executive Director of PENC expands upon this thought when she stated that she would develop relationships with the press for two purposes. The first purpose involves hopefully finding more people, who are interested in an issue. The second purpose is to make sure the group is getting a concise and consistent viewpoint out globally to all stakeholders. Further, the Executive Director of PENC shared that she would write about the issues in publications that would allow people to cite her information and her group's position. The purpose for this

is to build editorial credibility (The Executive Director of PENC, Personal Interview, March 9, 2007). The Executive Director of PENC (March 9, 2007) stated, "One wants to be the go-to-person that the media consults when your issue is being addressed, but one also builds credibility with the legislators as well." Therefore, a marginal group interested in change would be wise to determine how to work with and influence the media to create positive and consistent coverage of the group's issues.

The Myth of the One Champion

The respondents criticized the idea of a marginal group finding a single champion or supporter as unworkable. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) revealed, "It is often better if you have an idea you want to move forward that you have more vehicles for moving the legislation forward." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA explained that there is often a companion bill filed on any given piece of legislation. An organization will file a House and Senate bill on the same issue at the same time that may be identical word for word except for the House Bill Number and Senate Bill Number. That way if the House Bill stalls on the issue, the Senate bill is still there and the organization has another shot in making that bill become law (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA thought that with only one sponsor this type of strategy could not be employed. Further, the Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) stated, "One cannot pass legislation with only one legislator. It takes 61 votes in the House and 26 in the Senate to pass a bill on the respective floor." It is common sense that the more legislators that an organization can connect with the more likely that their bill will pass into law. However, a marginal group will not be able to convey their message to legislators in

every district throughout the state, unless they have mobilized members in every district. The example of the bikers is illustrative because the bikers clearly have a few champions, but not enough legislative votes to bring their bill to a committee. Therefore, any group that concentrates on one legislator will not be successful because they will not have influence that is broad enough to create the votes for a bill's passage (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

Summary

Chapter 7 focused on the Conceptual Framework and how the framework explained the data, highlighted truly noteworthy findings and discussed where the framework can advance future research. The researcher found Mazzoni's arena shift should be recast to account for subsystem shifts because the powerful that undertake subsystem shifts retain all their internal control, while their opponents lose power, influence and control. The researcher discovered that Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models and assumptive worlds model reveal not only much about an organization, but also about the individuals who constitute the organization. Further, the three models also help to explain data that occurs in other circles as well. The researcher determined that a strong argument could be made that Elazar's political culture theory for North Carolina is faulty and that North Carolina has moved from a traditionalistic-hierarchical state to a traditionalistic-individualistic state. The researcher learned that the competing-values perspective reveals otherwise hidden details and helps to refocus the assumptive worlds model when behaviors or beliefs seem to contradict in an individual or a group. The researcher found that the ideologies lens also discloses otherwise concealed information and that as the Democratic Party continues to ascend that the influence of School Board Associations and Administrator

Associations will probably decline. The researcher has remedied the lack of an operational definition of the term "marginal" in the legislative arena. The Continuum of Political Abilities of a Marginal Group should help focus future research on marginal groups in the political and legislative arena. Researchers now have the ability to compare and contrast different groups whether they are marginal or main-street groups as well as operate with a baseline concerning what is marginal. Finally, the researcher determined that the failure of any group to follow the rules of the assumptive worlds or organizing results in marginalization. Marginal groups who wish to become organized must find one's voice and make their issues more global. Once a group has achieved some success the group must begin to collect and use money to continue to improve the organization of the group. After the group has secured a source of reliable money, the marginal group must begin to effectively communication with the media. Finally, marginal groups cannot rely on one or a few champions and must mobilize voices from every region of the state. A group that does not mobilize in every region of the state and seek multiple supporters is doomed to continue in the marginal continuum, much like the bikers of North Carolina.

Conclusions

Chapter 4 used the first, second and third domain of the assumptive worlds model as well as the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to elicit and analyze, from the data, the actions and the language that the key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina used to situate their practices. Chapter 4 presented the history and governance rules of the four key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF. The Chapter revealed the organizations' understanding of how to maintain their ability to impact their legislative agendas as well as how to operate

within the process and procedures of the legislature. Finally, the respondents made very clear that any successful entity must have a plan addressing organizational guiding principles as well as organization and mobilization of members; what an organization will do when legislation divides the group; finding allies; and finally identifying strategies to stop legislation; as well as choosing an organizational stance on a lobbying style.

Chapter 5 has focused on the hierarchies of power and circles of influence models, the assumptive worlds model's third domain to explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. The researcher found that Governor Mike Easley is the most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. Senator Marc Basnight, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate follows the governor as the second most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher discovered that Representative Jim Black, the past Speaker of the House was just so slightly in third place as the most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher determined that Senator Tony Rand was the fourth most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. The researcher revealed that Representative Bill Culpepper was the fifth most powerful individual in the North Carolina legislative arena. Chapter 5 also reveals that the effectiveness of any political organization is predicated on that entities governance practices and level of organization. Concerning the key state-level education associations as well as NCPSF, the researcher found the rank order of most influential to least influential amongst the K-12 major education players. They are in order of influence: NCAE, NCSBA, NCASA, NCPSF and finally PENC as the weakest if the five K-12 major education players. Further, The Coalition has created a situation in which the K-12 education legislative arena is totally up for grabs and success is measured issue to issue

with no clear winners. Finally, a united K-12 Education Lobby or a "Statewide Bureaucratized" lobby has significant power in the K-12 Education Subcommittee. A united K-12 Education Lobby depending on the level of controversy, the state budget and the amount of opposition from other well-organized interests can be powerful to simply influential in the Full Education Committee or on the floors of both Senate and House.

Chapter 6 has focused on the first and third domain of the assumptive worlds model as well as the linguistic theories of Edelman, Pfeffer, Donmoyer and Burlingame to explain the actions of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina as well as the arena model that explains how an arena shift affects the power and influence of key state-level education association executives and lobbyists in North Carolina. The researcher found that during the interim period the strategies and actions adopted by the proponents of the school calendar bill created a favorable environment for the passage of the school calendar bill. The researcher discovered that NCAE's change of position was the most influential piece of the puzzle concerning the passage of the school calendar bill. The best quote comes from the Executive Director for NCSBA (February 26, 2007) when she said, "I think they tipped it." All the respondents were very clear that the defection of NCAE insured that the school calendar bill would pass. During the bill passage period, the researcher uncovered an arena shift and the occurrence of this arena shift was a close second to the defection of NCAE concerning the passage of the school calendar bill. The arena shift also revealed the operational mindset that the House Leadership adopted to pass this legislation. The researcher revealed the culture of the Senate Education Committee and that both the proponents and opponents of the school calendar bill employed the Senate Rules and Procedures to create havoc for the other side. Finally, the researcher found that strong,

effective and patient Senators, who knew how to play the game, could impact a bill on the Conference Committee that the very powerful House and Senate Leadership Teams worked feverishly to guide and shield through the legislative process.

Finally, Chapter 7 focused on the Conceptual Framework and how the framework explained the data, highlighted truly noteworthy findings and discussed where the framework can advance future research. The researcher found Mazzoni's arena shift should be recast to account for subsystem shifts because the powerful that undertake subsystem shifts retain all their internal control, while their opponents lose power, influence and control. The researcher discovered that Marshall et al.'s (1989) hierarchies of power and circles of influence models and assumptive worlds model reveal not only much about an organization, but also about the individuals who constitute the organization. Further, the three models also help to explain data that occurs in other circles as well. The researcher determined that a strong argument could be made that Elazar's political culture theory for North Carolina is faulty and that North Carolina has moved from a traditionalistic-hierarchical state to a traditionalistic-individualistic state. The researcher learned that the competing-values perspective reveals otherwise hidden details and helps to refocus the assumptive worlds model when behaviors or beliefs seem to contradict in an individual or a group. The researcher found that the ideologies lens also discloses otherwise concealed information and that as the Democratic Party continues to ascend that the influence of School Board Associations and Administrator Associations will probably decline. The researcher has remedied the lack of an operational definition of the term "marginal" in the legislative arena. The Continuum of Political Abilities of a Marginal Group should help focus future research on marginal groups in the political and legislative arena. Researchers now have the ability to compare and contrast

different groups whether they are marginal or main-street groups as well as operate with a baseline concerning what is marginal. Finally, the researcher determined that the failure of any group to follow the rules of the assumptive worlds or organizing results in marginalization. Marginal groups who wish to become organized must find one's voice and make their issues more global. Once a group has achieved some success the group must begin to collect and use money to continue to improve the organization of the group. After the group has secured a source of reliable money, the marginal group must begin to effectively communication with the media. Finally, marginal groups cannot rely on one or a few champions and must mobilize voices from every region of the state. A group that does not mobilize in every region of the state and seek multiple supporters is doomed to continue in the marginal continuum, much like the bikers of North Carolina.

Interview Protocol

1st Interview

Warm-Up.
         Probe: Tell me about yourself?
         Probe: How did you become a or the _____?
         Probe: Tell me the craziest/funniest thing that has happened to you in your capacity
as a or the _____?
         Probe: What do you most enjoy about a or the _____?

How does education legislation usually become law?

What was different or changed from typical education bills, if anything, concerning the
school calendar bill?
         Probe: Who initiated the school education bill?
         Probe: What were their goals and purpose?
         Probe: Had not a similar bill been proposed before?
         Probe: What changed?
            Probe: Are there specific unwritten rules that the education interest groups
broke?

Who or what groups had the most power/influence during the school calendar bill?
         Probe: How did they obtain this power/influence?
            Probe: Are there specific unwritten rules that they follow?
            Probe: Is their power/influence related to performance/leadership abilities,
political affiliation, background?
         Probe: How did/do they use this power/influence?
            Probe: Does their use of power/influence contribute further to their
power/influence?
         Probe: Do the same individuals and groups always have power/influence?
         Probe: How could you increase your power/influence at the state capital?

Who or what groups seem to never have power/influence at the state capital?
         Probe: How can they obtain power/influence at the state capital?
         Probe: Can you name any specific strategies?
         Probe: How should they use this power/influence?
         Probe: What could these individuals and groups do different?
            Probe: Are there specific unwritten rules that they break?

<u>2nd Interview</u>

Warm-Up.
        Probe: Is there anything that you would like to add/say concerning our first interview?

How does education legislation usually become law?
        Probe: Are there specific unwritten rules that exist to initiate and enact legislation?
        Probe: Who generates education bills?

Who or what groups usually have the most power/influence at each juncture?
        Probe: How did they obtain this power/influence?
            Probe: Are there specific unwritten rules that they follow?
            Probe: Is their power/influence related to performance/leadership abilities, political affiliation, background?
        Probe: How did/do they use this power/influence?
            Probe: Does their use of power/influence contribute further to their power/influence?
        Probe: Do the same individuals and groups always have power/influence?

What is your role for the _____ association at each juncture?
        Probe: How could you increase your power/influence at the state capital?

What do you do different, if anything, if you and the association favor or disapprove of a bill/piece of legislation/law?
        Probe: How successful are you and your organization if another education association opposes you?
        Probe: How successful are you and your organization if all the other education associations opposes you?
        Probe: How successful are you and your organization if all the other education associations support a common bill even if controversial?

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[i] The researcher began a search for literature on education interest groups by first searching the ERIC database. The first keywords/descriptors were *education associations* and the *United States* and these keywords yielded no usable articles. The second set of keywords/descriptors was *educational interest groups* and the *United States* and these keywords yielded no articles. The third set of keywords/descriptors was *lobbying* and *politics of education* and these keywords yielded 113 articles. From the third search, most of the articles discussed special education, gifted students and national arts movements. The third search yielded only six relevant articles. After limited success the researcher used many different keywords/descriptors such as: *power*, *influence*, *political culture*, *ideology*, *ideologies*, *teacher associations*, *administrator associations* as well as *values*; however, all these searches yielded little new information. The researcher then decided to explore the Worldwide Political Science Abstracts database since the researcher is searching for research from the field politics of education. Many of the early theories of politics of education come from the field of political science. However, after repeated failures to find anything relevant, the researcher began to type in the names of noted researchers in the field of politics of education. Famous researchers as keywords/descriptors yielded a modest amount of articles. Since the chosen topic has not been deeply researched, the researcher began to tap broader and broader sources. The researcher searched the following databases with limited success: Social Sciences (World Cat) database, Social Sciences (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences) database and the Social Sciences (America: History & Life) database. The researcher then began to scan the work cited and bibliographies of the works in hand to widen the literature review. This method proved more fruitful because the researcher found several more works than had previously been discovered using computer databases.

[ii] The best mental picture is a golfer striking a golf ball.

[iii] Article 9A Legislative Branch Lobbying.
§ 120-47.1. (Effective January 1, 2007) Definitions.
The following definitions shall apply in this Article:
(1a) The term "expenditure" means any advance, contribution, conveyance, deposit, distribution, payment, gift, retainer, fee, salary, honorarium, reimbursement, loan, pledge or thing of value greater than ten dollars ($10.00), or a contract, agreement, promise or other obligation whether or not legally enforceable, that directly or indirectly is made to, at the request of, for the benefit of, or on the behalf of a covered person, legislative employee, or that person's immediate family member.
(1b) The term "executive lobbyist" means a lobbyist registered pursuant to Article 4C of Chapter 147 of the General Statutes.
(3a) The term "immediate family member" means spouse, descendant, or ascendant.
(4) The term "legislative action" means the preparation, research, drafting, introduction, consideration, modification, amendment, approval, passage, enactment, tabling, postponement, defeat, or rejection of a bill, resolution, amendment, motion, report, nomination, appointment, or other matter, whether or not the matter is identified by an official title, general title, or other specific reference, by the legislature or by a member or employee of the legislature acting or purporting to act in an official capacity. It also includes the consideration of any bill by the Governor for the Governor's approval or veto under Article II, Section 22(1) of the Constitution or for the Governor to allow the bill to become law under Article II, Section 22(7) of the Constitution.
(4a) The term "legislative employee" means employees and officers of the General Assembly.
(4b) The term "legislative liaison personnel" means any State officer whose principal duties, in practice or as set forth in that person's job description, include lobbying the General Assembly.
(4c) The term "legislative lobbyist" means any lobbyist for or against legislative action.
(4d) The term "legislator" means a member of the General Assembly or a person elected or appointed a member of the General Assembly prior to taking office.
(5) The term "lobbying" means any of the following:
a. Influencing or attempting to influence legislative action through direct communication or activities with a covered person, legislative employee, or that person's immediate family member.
b. Solicitation of others by legislative lobbyists or lobbyists' principals to influence legislative action.

c. Developing goodwill through communications or activities, including the building of relationships, with a covered person, legislative employee, or that person's immediate family with the intention of influencing current or future legislative action, but does not include communications or activities with a covered person, legislative employee, or that person's immediate family member in a business, civic, religious, fraternal, or commercial relationship which is not connected to legislative action.

(6) The term "lobbyist" means an individual who meets any of the following criteria:

a. Is employed and receives compensation, or who contracts for economic consideration, for the purpose of lobbying.

b. Represents another person and receives compensation for the purpose of lobbying.

c. Is legislative liaison personnel.

   The term "lobbyist" shall not include those individuals who are specifically exempted from this Article by G.S. 120-47.8. For the purpose of determining whether an individual is a lobbyist under this subdivision, reimbursement of actual travel and subsistence expenses shall not be considered compensation; provided, however, that reimbursement in the ordinary course of business of these expenses shall be considered compensation if a significant part of the individual's duties involve lobbying before the General Assembly.

(7) The terms "lobbyist's principal" and "principal" mean the person on whose behalf the legislative lobbyist lobbies. In the case where a lobbyist is compensated by a law firm, consulting firm, or other entity retained by a person for legislative lobbying, the principal is the person whose interests the lobbyist represents in lobbying.

(7a) The term "news medium" means mainstream media providers whose sole purpose is to report events and that does not involve research or advocacy.

(8) The term "person" means any individual, firm, partnership, committee, association, corporation, business entity, or any other organization or group of persons which has an independent legal existence.

[iv] Most effective is the highest rank in Thomas & Hrebenar's study.

[v] The American Sociological Association's Code of Ethics has five separate parts. Here I have quoted in full the relevant parts. "Sociologists are honest, fair, and respectful of others in their professional activities—in research, teaching, practice, and service. Sociologists do not knowingly act in ways that jeopardize either their own or others' professional welfare. Sociologists conduct their affairs in ways that inspire trust and confidence; they do not knowingly make statements that are false, misleading, or deceptive.

Sociologists respect the rights, dignity, and worth of all people.

Sociologists are aware of their professional and scientific responsibility to the communities and societies in which they live and work. They apply and make public their knowledge in order to contribute to the public good. When undertaking research, they strive to advance the science of sociology and to serve the public good" (American Sociological Association, 2006)

[vi] The President of NCAE was quick to point out that NCASA is able to build and maintain its approximately 7,000 individual strong membership through tax payer money. NCASA pays the dues of all the administrators in the state in order to claim that NCASA represents all administrators in the state. The President of NCAE stated, "However, NCASA is not paying these dues, but rather the public is paying these dues to NCASA" (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). NCASA is able to take from public coffers the money so that NCASA can build their membership numbers. It is more influential when one goes to a legislator and states that one represents 4,000 people or 40,000 people or 100,000 people (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). The President of NCAE continued, "As far as I know, there has been no written language for it; nor has there been any permissive language against NCASA from dipping into public coffers. Someone conceived of the idea that NCASA does not have to spend money on membership" (The President of NCAE, Personal Interview, March 28, 2007). This nebulous loophole that the President of NCAE mentions above exists even though there has been no lack of trying on the part of NCAE to create permissive language that clearly outlaws NCASA from dipping into public coffers. The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA stated, "Two years ago NCAE tried to introduce legislation so school districts could not pay dues on behalf of administrators who joined professional organizations, which is a normal thing you do for people in professional positions" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007). The NCSBA opposed the legislation and the NCASA opposed it and NCAE could not get any legislator to

introduce the legislation (The Governmental Relations Director for NCSBA, Personal Interview, April 26, 2007).

[vii] There has been a change under state law under the campaign finance and ethics reform (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007). The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA believes that the new ethics law certainly has seemed to slow good-will lobbying down because people are concerned that good-will lobbying is not something that can be done or if an organization is doing any good-will lobbying, the organization has to report and disclose the amount of money spent on the activities and meals during the good-will lobbying process. In the past, that kind of activity was not even disclosed. Good-will lobbying was common practice, but state lobbying and campaign finance reports did not require any kind of reports on expenditures groups made to take legislators out to dinner or to pay for attendance at different events. In 2007 and beyond, if an organization spends any money, what is called a reportable expenditure, on any legislation or legislator during the legislative session that reportable expenditure has to be turned into the Secretary of State's office on lobbying expense reports (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

[viii] The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA revealed that NCAE was able to get an exception in state law that allows teachers and other members of NCAE to have a portion of their paycheck deducted from their paycheck and submitted directly to the PAC of NCAE. NCAE lobbied and had passed this law either in the late 1990's or early 2000's. In essence the school district's school finance officer is collecting PAC contributions from the paychecks of NCAE members and submitting the PAC contributions to NCAE to in return hand out to candidates. The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA (February 2, 2007) states, "No other group in the state qualifies for this exception. The North Carolina State Employees Association, which I formerly worked for at the time NCAE had this law passed, has wanted to extend this exception to their members." The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA concluded that this exception to the law is only for NCAE and the General Assembly has never extended this law to any other group. "It is a special perk that the NCAE enjoys" (The Governmental Relations Director for NCASA, Personal Interview, February 2, 2007).

[ix] In the present case of the school calendar bill, the researcher can only think of a federal mandate or maybe a State Supreme Court ruling that could also have served as an operational principle.

[x] Mecklenburg County is the home of Carowinds, the amusement park. There is a reason that Virginia's school calendar law is called "King's Dominion" law and that is the amusement park lobby has an economic interest in longer summers.