VIRGINIA DUAL ENROLLMENT POLICY AS THE TRANSFORMATION OF

INTENTIONS: A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Once a privilege of the few, American colleges and universities now serve millions of students each year. One of the most pressing trends accompanying expanded access is the rising cost of this higher education. As more students are educated at greater costs, the total financial burden, shared by institutions and private individuals alike, becomes more oppressive. One way that states have already begun to address funding issues within public higher education is to help students begin their post-secondary education while still in high school. In design and theory, dual enrollment programs provide students with the opportunity to earn high school and college credits simultaneously while also reducing the total education expenditures for which a state would otherwise be responsible. This trend is illustrated in the growth of dual enrollment program in the Commonwealth of Virginia, which offers dual enrollment through the state community college system.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to elucidate the process by the statewide dual enrollment policy was developed and enacted in Virginia by state policymakers and to examine the *transformation of intentions* that led to the policy action. Additionally, this study was designed to determine the level at which those original policy intentions are apparent in the implementation of the policy at the local level, and whether or not significant unintended consequences have manifested. This study explored both the creation and implementation of the dual enrollment policy in Virginia, specifically tracing the policy aims and values as they were interpreted and

acted upon at various levels within the state education bureaucracy. The case study

consisted of two levels, the first focused on the dual enrollment policy-makers and the

second on the implementation sites for dual enrollment, community colleges and high

schools. Both document analysis and interview data was collected from both levels of the

study. The data generated was analyzed using Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* model

and the dual enrollment policy process was uncovered and described in relation to it

(1997).

The findings of this study indicated that dual enrollment policy in Virginia was

transformed in terms of the values and intentions in a number ways across the entire

system and across time. Initial policy values of efficiency and choice interacted with the

value of equity that was introduced at the implementation sites. These values were then

augmented by the more recent addition of quality as an intention of dual enrollment

policy. The consequences of this interplay of values were seen in the interests that

persisted at the implementation level, including program funding and affordability,

student access and opportunities, and the maintenance of local interests. The results of

this study also provided a needed framework upon which a thorough examination of new

dual enrollment policies and practices in Virginia can be made. Finally this study

contributed to the broader literature on qualitative, interpretive policy study, specifically

helping to frame policy and policy formation as the transformation of intentions.

DEDICATION

For Tish, Gavin, and Alana

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Once a privilege of the few, American colleges and universities now serve

millions of students each year. The growth of the post-secondary education sector in the

past few decades has been nothing short of profound. The United States Department of

Education stated that, "between 2002 and 2012, enrollment increased 24 percent, from

16.6 million to 20.6 million." (United States Department of Education, National Center

for Education Statistics [NCES], 2015). The increase in number of higher education

students has not only impacted four-year colleges and universities, both public and

private, but also trade schools, for-profit institutions, and junior and community colleges.

In fact, approximately 7 million students attended a public two-year institution in fall

2013 alone (United States Department of Education, NCES, 2014). Options for college

students have increased as their numbers have swelled. The diversity of the institutions

operating in the higher education landscape has also served to provide expanded access to

groups of Americans whose options for post-secondary study were limited just decades

ago (United States Department of Education, NCES, 2015).

The numbers of college students from underrepresented minority groups has been

on a steady climb. Not only are there more college-age African-American and Hispanic

students in the U.S., but their rate of college going as a portion of their combined

population has also been on the rise. According to the U.S. Department of Education, "between 2000 and 2013, the percentage of college students who were Black rose from 11.7 to 14.7 percent, and the percentage of students who were Hispanic rose from 9.9 to 15.8 percent" (United States Department of Education, NCES, 2015). While still underrepresented based on the total population, the college-going rates for African-Americans and Hispanics are "becoming more closely aligned with their respective shares of the population in this age range " (United States Department of Education, NCES, 2011). However, more equitable opportunity for post-secondary study and expanded access has not occurred without consequences.

        One of the most pressing trends accompanying expanded access is the rising cost of this higher education. In current dollars, the cost of public college and university total tuition and room and board fees grew from $5,881 per year in 1980-1981, to $9,300 in 2000-2001, to $12,681 in 2009-2010. This 115% increase in costs in public higher education over the past three decades still lagged behind the growth in private school costs, which rose from $13,555 to $31,876 per annum over the same period at an increase of over 135% in constant 2011 dollars (United States Department of Education, NCES, 2011b). As more students are educated at greater costs, the total financial burden, shared by institutions and private individuals alike, becomes more oppressive. The federal government must outlay more in direct support for educational institutions through its numerous grant programs and in assisting individual students through financial aid. Meanwhile, students who choose to attend college will more often be required to make financial sacrifices in the short-term or find themselves saddled with enormous school debt in the long-term.

The issue of college affordability and the pressure these rising costs put on the federal budget as well as student financial capacity have not gone unnoticed in Washington, D.C. The Obama Administration has taken steps to reign in the costs of higher education for students while simultaneously calling on post-secondary institutions to reduce their operating costs and state governments to invest more in public higher education. In his 2012 State of The Union Speech, President Barak Obama noted, "it's not enough for us to increase student aid… States also need to do their part, by making higher education a higher priority in their budgets. And colleges and universities have to do their part by working to keep costs down" (The White House, 2012, p. 1). One way that states have already begun to address funding issues within public higher education is to help students begin their post-secondary education while still in high school. In design and theory, early college programs provide students with the opportunity to earn high school and college credits simultaneously while also reducing the total education expenditures for which a state would otherwise be responsible.

Dual Enrollment

Many states have adopted policies for statewide early college opportunities for students, often referred to as dual enrollment programs. Often these programs are enacted and at least partially funded at the state level, but they are almost always implemented at the local level through partnerships between colleges and secondary school districts. As Karp, Calcagno, Hughes, Jeong and Bailey stated, "Dual enrollment programs are collaborative efforts between high schools and colleges that allow high school students … to enroll in college courses" (2008, p. 1). In addition, "college credit earned through dual enrollment is recorded on the students' college transcripts, just as it would if they

were regularly matriculated college students" (Karp & Jeong, 2008, p. i). These types of

programs can lessen the financial strain on state coffers in two ways. First, when students

can accumulate college credits at a faster rate, then the total amount of time the state must

provide support for their education is also reduced. Second, although statewide dual

enrollment programs sometimes require more upfront funding, the bundling of services

(i.e. providing for secondary and post-secondary education simultaneously) can reduce

overhead costs and the need to duplicate services. Students can also see a financial

benefit from participating in state-sponsored dual enrollment programs, since college

tuition for dual enrollment college credit is usually available at a reduced rate.

In addition to alleviating the strain on strapped budgets, dual enrollment programs

have been touted as providing additional advantages for students. Many policy makers,

bureaucrats, and education leaders believe "dual enrollment participation can

have…benefits, with the ultimate aim of improving student access to, success in, and

completion of college" (Karp and Jeong, 2008, p. 2). Improving access to higher

education, student success and retention, and completion rates seem to align with the

rising trends seen in the college-going statistics. In addition, this positive impact has not

been limited to those students from groups who have had historically high college-going

rates. Karp and Jeong (2008) noted, "these goals can accrue to a wide range of students,

not just those at the top of the academic spectrum" (p. 2). State-sponsored dual

enrollment programs appear to be in a position to reduce higher education costs while

also improving access to and success in college for a wide range of students.

Virginia Government

Mirroring the national trend, enrollment in public colleges and universities in the Commonwealth of Virginia is projected to grow from 297,608 full-time equivalents (FTE) in the 2008-2009 academic year to a projected level of 333,808 in 2015-2016, including a projected growth in the community colleges alone from 108,573 FTE to 132,579 (State Council of Higher Education for Virginia [SCHEV], 2011c). This amounts to a projected 12.2% increase in the number of students in all Virginia public colleges and universities in those seven years. The Virginia Community College System (VCCS) will be impacted even more directly, as the percentage increase in community college attendance is projected to rise at a more dramatic rate of 22.1% (SCHEV, 2011c). As college going has expanded across the nation during the past decade, so to have the number of students attending public colleges and universities in Virginia.

The rising number of students attending college in the Commonwealth has occurred in the wake of lessening state tax revenues and increasing pressure to reduce state budgetary spending. In fact, in a report on college tuition and fees, the State Council for Higher Education in Virginia (SCHEV) stated that "five consecutive years of general fund (state tax revenue) budget reductions have put the affordability and accessibility of Virginia's nationally acclaimed system of public higher education at risk" (SCHEV, 2011b, p. 2). As Virginia has reduced its share of public higher education funding, institutions have been forced to place more of the financial burden onto students in order to stay afloat. Illustrating this shift, the SCHEV report stated, that the "average (mean) increase for in-state undergraduate tuition and mandatory E&G fees from 2009-10 to

2010-11 is 13.1% at four-year institutions, [and] 12.6% at two-year institutions"
(SCHEV, 2011b, p. 2).

The Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment, last authorized in 2008, did briefly
mention the statewide fiscal benefit this program provides the Commonwealth. By not
duplicating the facilities and equipment required to repeat courses taken both in high
school and then later in college, the plan alleged that a "cost benefit" for the state can be
achieved. However, the plan also touted the positive impact that dual enrollment
programs can have on college access. The plan specifically described national-level
research, although no sources were provided, that demonstrated that these types of
programs "are a vehicle for increasing post-secondary participation rates" (Virginia
Department of Education [VDOE], 2008, p. 1). The policy makers also stated that the
plan "promotes rigorous educational pursuits" and concluded "high school students who
accrue college credit are more likely to continue with their education beyond high school
than those who do not" (VDOE, 2008, p. 1).

It appears that the Virginia policy makers believed that dual enrollment could not
only impact the state financially, but also impact student access to and success in higher
education. Since its inception in 1998, dual enrollment has become an important sector
within the VCCS, currently accounting for upwards of twenty-five percent of the total
student headcount in some community colleges (SCHEV, 2011a; SCHEV, 2011d). Each
year, thousands of Virginia's students, from over 444 high schools across the state,
graduate with community college credit (Virginia Community College System [VCCS],
2012). In fall 2011, there were nearly 26,000 dual enrollment students who were
receiving both high school credit and credit from a Virginia community college (SCHEV,

2011d). With the total headcount for the entire VCCS at approximately 200,000 students in fall 2011, dual enrollment students made up 13% of total fall enrollment for all the community colleges in the state (SCHEV, 2011a; SCHEV, 2011d).

However, despite being promoted in the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment, the goals of improved access to higher education, lowered overall costs, and greater student success are not isolated, but rather can interact and even influence and each other. Achieving one goal may affect or restrict the accomplishing of another. For example, expanded access to higher education might result in more and more students enrolling in college who are ill prepared for the rigor of coursework they will encounter. This may inflate total college attendance numbers but do so at the cost of lowering student success and graduation rates. Additionally, as more and more students choose to participate in publically supported higher education after high school, more resources may be required to expand the capacity of post-secondary institutions to accommodate this growth. Therefore, more access to higher education might in turn reduce overall college success while simultaneously increasing the bottom line.

Rationale

In January 2012, Governor McDonnell announced a plan to expand the current Virginia dual enrollment program, moving from a plan that allowed high school students to earn concurrent college credit while in high school to a plan that provides a framework to allow students to earn a college degree while still in high school. This proposal was codified as Virginia House Bill (HB) 1184 and was passed during the spring 2012 term of the Virginia General Assembly. Among other education initiatives, this bill required secondary divisions to "establish written agreements with a Virginia Community College

specifying the pathway for students to complete an associate's degree or a one-year

Uniform Certificate of General Studies from a Virginia Community College concurrent

with a high school diploma" (Commonwealth of Virginia, 2012, p. 1). This new policy

highlighted the increasing role dual enrollment will play in the future of the Virginia

public education system. Preferably, a thorough understanding of the current condition of

dual enrollment in the state should have been made before additions to the policy were

enacted. However, more evidence on the process through which the dual enrollment

policy is created and maintained, along with a broader understanding of how the policy

has been implemented, will be vital in evaluating this new facet of dual enrollment in

Virginia.

To fully understand the process that gave rise to a statewide dual enrollment

policy in Virginia, an investigation into the intents of the policymakers must be made.

While the laudable goals of improved access, greater student success, and added financial

benefits are categorically stated in the Virginia plan, the values that underlie them are not

so explicit. Given the potential that the goals stated in the original plan may be

contradictory in, it would follow that the values that precipitated them reflect differing

concepts about the purpose of educational policies in Virginia in general and dual

enrollment specifically. Similarly, to evaluate the implementation of the program at the

ground level, an account must be made of the extent to which the original values that

underscore the policy are present and whether other values have been injected into the

program as multiple levels of bureaucrats have interacted with the policy itself.

Purpose

Addressing mounting post-secondary costs and expanding classrooms will require innovative solutions and policies that involve multiple stakeholders and different levels of government involvement. Many of these policies will be created and enacted in state capitals, but they will mostly be implemented at the street-level, in community colleges and high schools. However, despite the prevalence of dual enrollment programs and the broad impact they promise, Karp and Jeong noted, "it is surprising that more research, from additional states and districts, is not available" (2008, p. 2).

The purpose of this study was to elucidate the process by the statewide dual enrollment policy was developed and enacted in Virginia by state policymakers and to examine the "transformation of intentions" that led to the policy action (Hall & McGinty, 1997, p. 439). This provided insight into, what Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) describe as the "subculture…of the policymakers" (p. 5). Additionally, this study was designed to determine the level at which those original policy intentions are apparent in the implementation of the policy at the local level, and whether or not significant unintended consequences have manifested. This study explored both the creation and implementation of the dual enrollment policy in Virginia, specifically tracing the policy aims and values as they were interpreted and acted upon at various levels within the state education bureaucracy. The results of this study provide a needed framework upon which a thorough examination of new dual enrollment policies and practices in Virginia can be made, including an evaluation of HB 1184. It also contributes to the broader literature on qualitative, interpretive policy study, specifically helping to frame policy and policy formation as the transformation of intentions.

The study explored the following research questions:

RQ1. How did the political actors and policy makers in the Commonwealth of Virginia decide on a dual enrollment policy model, and what factors influenced the decision?

RQ2. For what purposes, both publicly stated and otherwise, was a dual enrollment policy adopted in Virginia.

RQ3. How were the initial intentions of the policy makers translated into a policy action at the state and local school/college level?

RQ4. How do both state level and street level bureaucrats interpret, interact with, and implement the policy? How does this compare with the intended goals of the policy, and in what ways do these interactions differ across the state?

RQ5. What have the intended and unintended consequences of the policy been as implemented and experienced by participants at the community colleges and secondary levels?

RQ6. Who ultimately benefits from dual enrollment policy *in-experience*, in what ways, and at whose expense?

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The preponderance of research into dual enrollment programs has involved investigation into their structure and delivery, the benefits they provide for students, and the policies that govern and shape them. This review of the dual enrollment literature follows this general course, describing the findings as well as shortcomings of the recent research into this issue. However, there has been a lack of research into dual enrollment, which is only now beginning to change. In a literature review and bibliography on dual enrollment programs, Allen (2010) presents a comprehensive synopsis on the latest research findings (2000-2010) that includes a review of the most current dual enrollment research methodologies.

While no exact consensus has coalesced around one, singular definition of dual enrollment, the term is most generally understood to refer to opportunities that allow high school students to enroll in college classes (Allen, 2010; Mokher & McLendon, 2009). While the exact nature of dual enrollment programs are varied, these "collaborative efforts between high schools and colleges…provide students with a challenging academic experience and the opportunity to earn college credit prior to high school graduation" (Karp & Hughes, 2008, p. 14). Often students participating in these programs earn this college credit concurrently with high school credit, and thus dual enrollment may also be referred to as concurrent enrollment, joint enrollment or dual credit, though differences

between these terms sometimes do exist (Karp, Calcagno, Hughes, Jeong & Bailey, 2007; Hughes, Karp, Bunting, & Friedel, 2005; Hughes, Rodriguez, Edwards & Belfield, 2012).

The structure of dual enrollment programs and specifically the organization of dual enrollment classes are diverse and expanding (Karp, Bailey, Hughes & Fermin, 2005). Karp and Hughes (2008) noted that dual enrollment might be taught on a college campus, either in class sections devoted exclusively to high school students or in classes that integrate high school and college students. Additionally, dual enrollment classes may be offered in high schools taught by "a college faculty member or a high school teacher who has the same credentials as a college faculty member and is certified as a college adjunct" (p. 14). Distance learning, including both synchronous and asynchronous online classes, has now also been added to the dual enrollment menu. The Community College Research Center (CCRC) stated that 71% of US high schools offer some form of dual enrollment opportunity to their students, according to the most recent national data available (CCRC, 2012). In addition, dual enrollment programs of one sort or another can now be found in all fifty states (Andrews, 2004).

Dual enrollment provides high school students the ability to earn college credit through the successful completion of college classes, which follow a prescribed syllabus. While not the only program that allows students to earn credit prior to high school graduation, dual enrollment differs from programs such as Advanced Placement (AP) or International Baccalaureate (IB), which require that students demonstrate mastery of content through performance on comprehensive, national exams in order to earn such credit (Karp et al., 2007; Hoffman, 2003; Karp & Hughes, 2008). Other programs and models exist that link high schools students to college, known as secondary-

postsecondary learning options (SPLO), and include Tech Prep, articulated credit, and

early college high schools and middle colleges (Lerner & Brand, 2006). However, many

types of SPLOs are either being phased out, as in the case of Tech Prep and articulated

credit, or often include embedded dual enrollment components, such as the middle

college and early college high school models (Allen, 2010; Lerner & Brand 2006).

      Having only begun to be implemented widespread in the mid-1980s, dual

enrollment programs are relatively young when compared to other SPLOs, including AP,

which began in the early 1950's (American Association of State Colleges and

Universities [AASCU], 2002). However, Baily and Karp (2003) noted that, "by far the

biggest growth in credit-based transition programs has been in the area of dual enrollment

and dual credit" (p. 10). Given the increasing importance of dual enrollment programs

and that dual enrollment has been a vehicle for earning college credit for three decades,

evidence should be available on the outcomes of such programs.

Dual Enrollment Program Benefits

      Some encouraging, albeit preliminary, conclusions have been drawn regarding

beneficial outcomes of dual enrollment programs for students (Allen & Dadgar, 20012;

Hughes et al., 2012; Karp & Hughes, 2008; Andrews, 2004). Specifically, dual

enrollment students have been found to be more likely to graduate from high school,

attend a four-year college, persist in college, accumulate college credits, and enter college

prepared so that they do not need to take remedial classes. (Hughes et al., 2012)

      However, the variations in program attributes in areas such as the target

population, student eligibility criteria, course location, student mix, instructors'

credentials, course content, method of credit earning, program intensity, and funding,

complicate matters (Karp et al., 2004). These variables have limited the ability to generalize the current findings or to make universal claims of dual enrollment program effectiveness.

Generally, the research on dual enrollment outcomes is limited by two factors, according to Karp et al. (2007). The first is that most studies on dual enrollment do not use comprehensive K-16 data sets, and are instead based on narrower participant subsets made up of students from a given state, school division, or program (Swanson, 2008). The second factor is that most studies of dual enrollment outcomes do not use rigorous statistical methods, and are at best quasi-experimental in design. This is largely due to that lack of random selection in placing students into dual enrollment programs or comparison groups. In these cases, the possibility of selection biases is introduced and issues involving the preexisting characteristics of students in the experimental groups are not fully accounted for in the design (Karp et al., 2007). These limitations highlight the need for additional research in the area of dual enrollment program outcomes; particularly studies that can yield more methodologically sound results. Despite these limitations however, the current research does indicate some potential benefits to participation in dual enrollment programs.

In a study on the Concurrent Courses Initiative (CCI) in California for the CCRC, Hughes et al. (2012) looked at the benefits of career-focused dual enrollment and how those benefits could be broadened to impact more students. Their work indicated that short-term outcomes for this dual enrollment initiative include higher high school GPA and high school graduation rates for the CCI participants compared to their district peers. In addition, the CCI students had higher four-year college-going rates, college persistence

and accumulated college credits more quickly and earlier in their college careers than did the comparison group. One outcome that was not apparent, although the project's designers expected it, was an increased overall college going rate for CCI participants. On this metric, students in the peer comparison group attended college at the same rate as those who participated in dual enrollment. Despite this limitation, the authors believed that "the initiative was transformational in setting an expectation for college-going and creating a demand for college participation where one did not exist before" and concluded that the CCI was successful in "strengthening the high school to college transition" (p. 26).

In a quasi-experimental, quantitative study, Allen and Dadgar (2012) examined the effectiveness of *College Now*, a dual enrollment program of The City University of New York (CUNY). Using a large sample of college freshmen who had matriculated to one of the seventeen CUNY institutions within 15 months of graduating from a New York City public high school (n=22,962), they investigated three outcomes: number of credits earned in first semester of college after matriculation, first semester GPA, and retention rate to a third semester within the CUNY system. Allen and Dadgar had a robust data set and attempted to account for the observable differences among students who participated in *College Now* and those that did not (the comparison group) using regression adjusted estimates. They also were able to account for preprogram differences in student academic achievement as well as differences between high schools.

Similar to the findings of Hughes et al. (2012), Allen and Dadgar (2012) concluded that taking at least one class through the *College Now* program had "positive and substantial gains" for students in accumulating first-semester credit and in GPA (p.

15). While they initially found an increase in retention among the *College Now* group, that effect was no longer present when they submitted the initial results to a further difference in difference (DID) statistical approach. Allen and Dadgar conceded that their results "may not be generalizable to…students who do not attend CUNY colleges," as their sample did not include those students who attended a college outside the CUNY system (p. 14). This study accounted for many of the methodological flaws of previous dual enrollment research, but it still fell short of the rigor of a true experimental design and most importantly did not address the question of why *College Now* students realize these benefits.

In a study utilizing a decidedly different approach, Karp (2012) investigated dual enrollment as a college readiness strategy. Her purpose was to understand the underlying mechanism that results in the positive effects for dual enrollment participants that have been identified in the literature (Allen and Dadgar, 2012; Hughes et al., 2012). In semi-structured interviews, participants who were taking dual enrollment courses at their high schools shared their experiences at the beginning, middle and end of their first semester. Karp found that through anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal, dual enrollment students "learn about the role of the college student" and are provided the space to "practice college expectations" (p. 24-25).

The value of this practice derived from the way in which a student experiences dual enrollment. Karp described one student's experience in a dual enrollment program, "he experienced them [college expectations] for himself: he was expected to act as a college student and came to understand the demands placed upon role incumbents" (2012, p. 26). The entire immersive dual enrollment experience, from the course content,

to teacher and peer expectations, to the feedback a student receives from his or her performance, served to define and shape the concept of the college student role. Karp (2012) did assert however that variation among the dual enrollment classes could impact the level to which this type of learning takes place. The more faithfully a dual enrollment course mirrors the dynamics of a college course, the more effective it will be in providing students a forum for developing an authentic set of expectations for college.

The literature on the benefits of dual enrollment programs, though not comprehensive, explains the significant role these programs have begun to play in the education landscape. Even if their fullest potential is not entirely realized in each and every instance, the positive impact these initiatives seem to have on student achievement in high school and later success in college merits attention. In fact, Hoffman, Vargas, and Santos (2008) described how "state policy-makers can use dual enrollment – a rapidly expanding mechanism… – as a valuable part of a comprehensive, statewide effort to expand college opportunity for all" (p. 2). Dual enrollment has emerged as a significant component of many states' education policies, where investment has been and continues to be made into the promise these initiatives hold.

However, critical concerns about how the benefits of early college programs, including dual enrollment, are distributed across groups of students do exist. Research illustrates how opportunities and participation in these programs vary across racial lines. In a study on AP participation within a large school district, Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) found that, "Latina/o students are disproportionately underrepresented in AP enrollment district-wide…and even when Latina/o and African American students attend high schools with high numbers of students enrolled in AP courses, they are not equally

represented in AP enrollment." (p. 216). They referred to the latter structure as "Schools within Schools" (p. 106). Pretlow and Wathington (2014) also found that the participation rates of students who identify as racial minorities in dual enrollment programs in Virginia lag behind their peers. While they did find that there was growth in the percentages of minority students participating in dual enrollment as a sub-group, "the results also reveal that Black and Hispanic seniors were still significantly under-represented and White seniors overrepresented in dual enrollment courses relative to their proportion of high school graduates. While White students made up 66.2% of the 2004 graduating class, they accounted for 81.6% of dual enrollment students" (p. 7). Despite policy changes that have led to the expansion of dual enrollment in Virginia over the last several years, they did not "significantly decrease the participation gap among racial/ethnic groups of students" (p. 7).

The reasons for the differences in participation rates among students of different racial and ethnic groups are diverse and correspond with the myriad reasons for the overall achievement gap clearly defined in the literature. These factors include structural racism, economic injustice, and historic conventions of power. However, the role of the individuals working with students inside their high schools (administrators, teachers, and counselors) has also been identified as contributing factor in student participation in early college programs like dual enrollment.

In describing the system of tracking present in many US high schools, Gillborn (2010) stated, "It has long been known that *minoritized* (especially African American and Latino/a) students tend to be over-represented in the lowest tracks" (p. 232). He went on to cite research that indicated that, "one of the most consistent findings in research on

school-based selection is that when teachers are asked to judge the 'potential', 'attitude'

and/or 'motivation' of their students they tend to place disproportionate numbers of black

students in low ranked groups" (p. 233). Davis, Davis and Mobley (2013) also found that

school counselors exerted significant control in the participation of minority students in

AP courses in their role as gatekeepers. They recommended that, "school counselors

should examine policies, procedures, and systems together with identifying areas in

which school counselors and fellow educators have fallen short of ensuring that no

student or groups of students are marginalized" (p. 7). Counselors and other school

personnel play a vital role in providing access to early college programming for students,

and an especially important role in encouraging students who have historically had more

limited opportunities, including racial minorities and students from low SES

backgrounds, to participate (Camizzi, Clark, Yacco, & Goodman, 2009).

　　　　While dual enrollment offers potential benefits for the students who have access

to it, some research has also indicated that dual enrollment programs can benefit the

institutions that provide them. In a study on the dual enrollment program of Kennesaw

State University (KSU), Kinnick (2012) stated, "KSU's assessments help build a case

that dual enrollment adds to the quality of the institution as a whole in three primary

ways: through recruitment of high-achieving students, through enhancement of the

classroom environment, and through positive impact on the image of the university as a

school of choice" (p. 42). These benefits of administering dual enrollment, along with

potential financial gains, may be even more pronounced for two-year colleges (Mokher

and McClendon, 2009). Even the high schools that offer dual enrollment classes may

realize benefits from hosting these early college programs. In discussing the competition

individual high schools face for resources in a Neo-Liberal climate, Apple (2004) stated

that the schools that can accumulate more "valued commodities" will better position

themselves in this environment" (p. 36). Early college programs like dual enrollment may

yield more positive "public recognition," which could help position a high school's place

in the market.

Despite the positive impact dual enrollment programs may have on the students

that participate in them and the institutions that offer them, it is the state-level benefits

that might help explain the growth of dual enrollment policies across the US. The

positive financial effects dual enrollment can have on the states that offer them is

twofold, helping in the immediate to relive pressures on secondary school and higher

education funding as well as preparing a competitive workforce to bolster the state

economy in the long-term. Hunt and Carroll (2006) in a study on Florida's dual

enrollment initiative summed up the immediate economic benefit:

> Today, legislators see dual enrollment principally as a mechanism to save the
> state money. For example, dual enrollment courses have been used to accelerate
> students' time to degree both in high school and in college, which has the added
> benefit of reducing state education costs… Thus, in addition to freeing up state
> funding for secondary and postsecondary education, dual enrollment courses help
> create space in the state's overpopulated K–12 classrooms and on college
> campuses (p. 42).

Additionally, Boswell (2001) bolstered the second economic benefit stating that

policymakers are also interested in dual enrollment because it helps promote a highly

trained workforce and can prepare workers for high-need areas.

Dual Enrollment Policy

Mokher and McLendon (2009) described the spread of state-level dual enrollment

policies, noting that after California enacted a policy in 1976, "dual enrollment programs

have expanded significantly over the past three decades." That growth has been even more profound and rapid recently. Their research on these policies indicated that, "over the 14-year period between 1976 and 1990, only 17 states (including California) adopted dual enrollment policies" (p. 251). But since 1990, 23 more states have added a dual enrollment program, which amounts to a 35% increase over the previous time period. While all dual enrollment policies involve some connection between secondary and post-secondary education, their exact nature differs.

In a study for the Office of Vocational and Adult Education at the U.S. Department of Education, Karp et al. (2005) examined the dual enrollment policies of each of the 40 states with such programs. They systematically evaluated these policies against a series of metrics that included the level of state oversight, the target population, admission procedures, course delivery, course content, tuition, and funding (p. 4). The resulting matrix also further classified each the policies within each category. This study illustrated the diversity in dual enrollment policy, which has contributed greatly to the structural differences in programs seen across the states and the resulting outcomes therein.

However, even programs within the same state that are authorized and operated under the same state wide dual enrollment policy may vary. "Local interpretations of state policy may lead to programs operating differently than state policy intends" (Karp et al., 2005, p. 2). The lack of consistency in dual enrollment policies has led to a wide variation in program design and execution as well as in the fundamental terminology and definitions used to understand such programs, both among and within nearly all states. This large variation has made research into dual enrollment policy and program outcomes

more difficult. These discrepancies make comparisons at all levels (between program

participants and non-participants, one program to another, one policy to another, etc.)

theoretically less powerful.

Much of the current research into dual enrollment centers on ways in which

statewide policy can be restructured to realize the potential of dual enrollment programs

and maximize the benefits to students. These efforts have produced several

recommendations that would not only serve to improve the programs themselves but also

standardize dual enrollment policy across and even within states. Recommendations for

dual enrollment policy are diverse and include calls to provide consistent and portable

crediting for courses (Hughes et al., 2012), maintain quality and authenticity in course

design and delivery (Hoffman et al., 2008; Hughes et al., 2012; Jobs for the Future [JFF],

2008), and create governance models that are uniform across states and responsive to

program and student needs (Hoffman, 2005; Hoffman et al., 2008). However, the two

most prevalent recommendations in the literature involve expanding access to dual

enrollment for students who have been excluded entirely from such programs or whose

eligibility has been historically limited (Hughes et al., 2012; Karp et al., 2007; Lerner &

Brand, 2005) and eliminating funding models that penalize institutional participation in

favor of ones that incentivize program growth (Hoffman et al., 2008; JFF, 2008; Hughes

et al., 2012; Lieber, 2009).

As Hughes et al. state, "while dual enrollment was previously an option for

higher-achieving students…[it] has come to be seen as a college readiness strategy for a

broader range of students" (2012, p. 39). Therefore they recommended policies in which

"no student was automatically disqualified by grades or test scores" (p. 39). Karp et al.

(2007) also endorsed reconsidering "restrictive eligibility requirements" given their conclusion that in terms of participation in dual enrollment, "both CTE and non-CTE students benefit" and that "the most disadvantaged students (males and low-SES students) benefit more than others" (p. 68). Lerner and Brand (2005) suggested that states use a more comprehensive admissions process for dual enrollment and not rely on single metrics, such as a standardized test scores or high school GPA.

While still advocating that individual states create academic and standards-based eligibility criteria, Jobs for the Future (2008) still recommended that Rhode Island policy should allow for all students to have "the opportunity to take up to four college courses by the end of high school" (p. 19). A call for broader and more inclusive models for dual enrollment is the standard across the recent policy literature. On the most basic level, Hughes et al. recommended that "state policy regarding student eligibility for dual enrollment should clearly reflect the state's goals regarding the target population" (2012, p. 39). The expansion of dual enrollment access will first require a shift in the perception of which students can and should benefit from such programs. The goals and intentions of the state policies for dual enrollment must be updated to reflect this expanded paradigm.

The funding model followed by states can also impact student access to dual enrollment, as well as contribute to the overall effectiveness of these programs in other ways (Golann & Hughes, 2008). Policy recommendations on funding typically center around two issues: financial disincentives for participating secondary and/or post-secondary institutions and affordability for students. Jobs for the Future explicitly stated that, "funding should hold institutions harmless for engaging in dual enrollment and

remove cost barriers for low-income students" (2006, p. 21). Hoffman et al. (2008)

echoed this recommendation and described that, "under harmless funding, both the

college and high school claim FTE and ADA funding for dual-enrollees" (p. 34). This

model ensures that neither institution loses out by surrendering potential revenues when

students participate in these programs. Karp et al., also added that "dual enrollment

courses should be tuition free for low-income students (if not for all students)" so that

states ensure that "tuition does not deter disadvantaged students from enrolling" (2007, p.

69-70).

Mokher and McClendon (2008) in a study on the spread of dual enrollment policy

questioned why some states are more open to adopting innovation in education policy.

They proposed that a willingness to explore new options might rest in the inherent values

of the policy-making stakeholders as reflected in a state's political culture. They referred

to Elazar (1984) who asked, "To what extent is the phenomenon cultural and thus deeply

embedded in the shared understandings, values, attitudes and beliefs of a particular state's

populace (as cited in in Mokher and McLendon, 2008, p. 272). State political cultures

vary and serve as the context to the translation of key values into policy mechanisms

(Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989). The values of the policy-making context may help

dictate why policy innovation occurs in a particular state, but it may also shape policies,

like dual enrollment, as they are created and institutionalized.

Policy Transformation and Evaluation

The literature on the study of public policy is rich, however much of that work has

followed a rational and positivist perspective. These analyses have too often glossed over

important issues involving competing purposes, intents, and experiences that do not

neatly fit a strict rational model (Rein, 1976). The development of symbolic

interactionism, most notably by George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, influenced

branches of social science research and the public policy study to follow by incorporating

social interaction as the key component to understanding social life. According to Blumer

(1969), reality itself is created through the ongoing process of social interaction. The

meanings or understanding of these realities are derived through the social interpretation

of the actors who encounter them. This perspective helped lay the foundation for a more

social understanding of policy.

In 1976, Rein critiqued the reductionist methods of policy analysis and offered a

counter argument for analysis that includes rather than removes the social components of

the largely social process of policy making, evaluation and analysis. Like Blumer, Rein

stressed the importance of social interaction, and stated that, "social phenomena can not

be understood in isolation from the framework of though which organizes evidence,

interprets it, and infers policy decisions which are consistent with it" (1976, p. 15). Rein

described the policy process as one that includes value-laden decisions, and therefore

issues or morality and culture cannot be stripped away from the understanding of the

policy process.

Guba (1985) added to this concept of value-driven policy study. He stated that to

fully understand how effective policy can be made to solve complex issues, the values of

policymakers themselves must first be understood. Guba referred to this as "policy-in-

intention" (p. 11). However, just understanding the values at the state policymaker level

is insufficient for a complete policy analysis. Additionally, Guba suggested that

investigation must be made at the level of policy implementation ("policy-in-

implementation") and the impact on the policy's supposed beneficiaries ("policy-in-experience") must also be considered (1985, p. 11). At all of these stages, socially derived and contextually linked values are key to understanding the complete policy process.

Building on this earlier work, Hall (1997) presented a model for examining policy that is specifically interested in tracing values as intentions as they are created, interpreted, and in turn help shape the policy context for successive layers of the process itself. According to Hall, in fact, policy itself is a processual, ongoing practical accomplishment of the transformation of intentions across spatial and temporal dimensions (e.g., national, state, regional, local levels). Other factors including, the network of actors, their interests and intentions, context and conventions, the mobilization of resources, concepts of power and the linkages between policy sites and phases affect the realization of these intentions. Hall's model of policy as the *transformation of intentions* situates social interaction and negotiation within a larger cultural context and allows for a rich analysis of the entire policy process from policy-making to implementation.

Summary

All the recommendations found in the literature begin with the premise that dual enrollment programs can, and in many cases already are, valuable programs that benefit students. Prior research also framed dual enrollment as important to policy makers, educational institutions and/or the state-level educational bureaucracies. The literature is rich in policy recommendations and offers some convincing findings about dual enrollment benefits as well. However, there has been much less research on the values

and intentions of policymakers who promote the expansion of dual enrollment in the

overall education policy landscape. And virtually no investigation as to whether these

values are apparent in the execution of dual enrollment programs.

The research questions in this study attempt to fill in the gaps of the current

literature by investigating the values and intentions inherent in dual enrollment policy

formation and its implementation.

RQ1. How did the political actors and policy makers in the Commonwealth of
Virginia decide on a dual enrollment policy model, and what factors
influenced the decision?

RQ2. For what purposes, both publicly stated and otherwise, was a dual
enrollment policy adopted in Virginia.

RQ3. How were the initial intentions of the policy makers translated into a policy
action at the state and local school/college level?

RQ4. How do both state level and street level bureaucrats interpret, interact with,
and implement the policy? How does this compare with the intended goals
of the policy, and in what ways do these interactions differ across the state?

RQ5. What have the intended and unintended consequences of the policy been as
implemented and experienced by participants at the community colleges
and secondary levels?

RQ6. Who ultimately benefits from dual enrollment policy *in-experience*, in what
ways, and at whose expense?

Working Hypothesis

This policy study examined how policymakers in Virginia created and supported

a dual enrollment model that relies heavily on conventions. Also, factors including the

state-level and national political landscape, the commonwealth's fiscal health, and the

current trends in state education policies are all contingencies that potentially influenced

the policy decisions surrounding dual enrollment. It was hypothesized that the

policymakers couched all dual enrollment policy action in terms of the public interest and

promoted it as both a private and public good.

Symbolically, investing little for the potential gain dual enrollment can promise, for individuals and the state at large, is win-win proposition for policy makers. While this public intention reflected, as Hall and McGinty (2005) stated, a collective interest, it was predicted that subgroup interests among individual policymakers and factions also impacted the dual enroll policy-making sphere.

At the implementation level, this study attempted to demonstrate that rather than one universal, statewide dual enrollment policy, each college may interact with the state policy so as to effectively develop its own local and specific policy. These college-level policies are manifest in the unique dual enrollment programs offered by the individual colleges. It was also thought that the initial intentions of the policy makers would be less and less apparent as the policy was negotiated and interpreted at each bureaucratic level, from the VCCS, to the college leadership, and down to the program administrators. In some sense, the policy-makers intentions were replaced by the intentions of those more directly involved in the maintenance of local dual enrollment policy and programs.

It was also hypothesized that this local context of policy interaction has as much or more impact on the nature of how the policy itself is negotiated, as did the original policy aims. Given that each college and constituent high school site that was examined had its own unique milieu of social, institutional, and historical forces, each site should have also yielded a unique interpretation of dual enrollment policy and its own strain of dual enrollment program. It was expected that he interpretation of the policy and these resulting programs would prove to be guided by one-part local context (both organizational and personal), and by one-part original intentions of the policy makers. Finally, it was thought that this also led to consequences, potentially both positive and

negative, at the implementation level that might not have been intended or expected by the policy making sphere. These consequences included personal and structural biases within the implementation of the dual enrollment programs that impact groups of students differentially.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Rationale and Paradigm

The ultimate aim of this inquiry was to "generate or inductively develop a theory or patterns of meaning" as they relate to dual enrollment policy as well as the policy elites and street-level implementers who interact with and interpret it. The goal of the research was specifically to "make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world" with the results representing a complex and context specific reality (p. 21). Therefore, an interpretive, constructivist research paradigm was used to frame the study. According to Guba and Lincoln, a paradigm "represents a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts" (1994, p. 107). The paradigm that underpins this research study is social constructivism, which according to Creswell (2007) allows for "multiple and varied meanings" of experiences that are "negotiated socially and historically" (pp. 20-21). Furthermore, the nature of policy itself as "processual, constructed, and emergent" calls for a research paradigm that can allow for multiple, subjective meanings that change across time and location through the policy process (Hall & McGinty, 2005, p. 441).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) described constructivism in terms of how it accounts for certain fundamental and philosophical issues including ontology, epistemology, and

methodology. In the case of ontology, for example, constructivism assumes realities are based on the social experience of individuals and groups and is locally and "specific in nature" (p. 110). Guba and Lincoln described these socially constructed and alterable realties as not more or less true, informed, and/or sophisticated in an absolute sense. In this paradigm, knowledge is "transactional and subjectivist" (1994, p. 111). The epistemological assumption is that knowledge itself is created through the interaction of the researcher and participants rather than existing in any objective manner. The findings do not exist only to be uncovered through research, but rather are created through the research experience itself. Finally, Guba and Lincoln (2005) explained the methodological assumptions of the constructivist paradigm, chief among them the necessity of interaction "between and among investigator and respondents" (p. 111). Without this reciprocal action the development of the very constructions that constitute the ontology could not be formed. The constructions then are interpreted and analyzed through an iterative and dialectical exchange.

Qualitative Research Strategy: Implementation Case Study

To accomplish the goals of this inquiry in answering the research questions, a qualitative research strategy was required. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) described qualitative research as "a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible," as the qualitative researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). The specific qualitative research method that used was the implementation case study (Yin, 1982). The value of understanding the "contextual conditions" of the dual enrollment policy process is one reason that a case study research strategy was followed

(Yin, 2003, p. 13). Case study research, according to Creswell (2007), is a qualitative research strategy "in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a *case*) … over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information" (p. 73). The product of this research approach is a "case *description* and case-based themes," which can involve a single site or program or multiple sites and or programs (Yin, 2003, p. 13).

In discussing the strengths of this approach, Merriam stated that the qualitative case study design "offers a means for investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon" (1988, p. 32). This research design, "anchored in real-life situations, will yield a rich and holistic account of the phenomenon" (Merriam, 1988, p. 32). Yin (2003) echoed this statement describing how a case study design permits researchers to "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). It is exactly the unbounded, iterative relationship between policy as it is inherited by each successive layer of the bureaucracy, and policy as it is interpreted, negotiated, and implemented at those levels, which is at this heart of this multi-level research study. In fact, in the case of dual enrollment, the policy product (a dual enrollment program) exists only within a given context (a state-level bureaucratic office or a community college site). The former cannot be separated from the latter.

This study utilized a multi-level, multiple case study, with the initial study looking at the policy sphere (policy makers and policy elites). The themes generated in this part of the study, particularly as they related to values and policy formation, were

used to inform the second study on implementation that involved two distinct community colleges where dual enrollment programs are offered. The research on the dual enrollment policy sphere was "holistic" in nature, allowing for more universal themes to emerge (Yin, 2003, p. 42). In order to capture the experiences with dual enrollment at the different levels of governance and oversight in the colleges, the level of the study concerned with implementation sites followed, what Yin described as an "embedded" design (2003, p. 42). This design specifically addressed each embedded level of governance and implementation at the colleges as a distinct unit of analysis with the larger case, which allowed for differing intra-case themes and descriptions to arise.

The two levels of inquiry within this overall case study design were distinct but related. The first constituent policy study dealt with the dual enrollment policy sphere made up of policy elites and policymakers who develop the statewide policy. In this holistic portion of the inquiry the unit of analysis was the same as the bounded level itself, namely the dual enrollment policy sphere. The second part of this research, the implementation study, followed a multi-level and multi-case strategy, through which two Virginia community colleges that offer a dual enrollment programs as well as two of their constituent high school sites were studied.

Community colleges in Virginia vary along several metrics including their location, which influences the populations of students served, and in their relative size, usually captured in total student enrollment. However, colleges that serve urban population centers also tend to be larger than those colleges serving a more rural base. This creates three types of community college models in Virginia, the large urban college, the small rural one and the mid-sized suburban college. This distinction also

corresponds to a difference in the levels of operating resources available at each college, with larger schools typically having greater resources from which to operate programs like dual enrollment.

Site and Population

This study was done on the dual enrollment policy process in Virginia both because of my experience working with the implementation of a dual enrollment program in this state and also the convenience of collecting data in the state in which I currently reside.

The population of participants dictated the site for the policy case study. Since the initial case for this study was the policy sphere responsible for both the passage of dual enrollment policy and its administration at the highest level, the physical site for the study was the policy-making centers for the Commonwealth, including the state capitol located in Richmond, Virginia. While this level of the study involved multiple sources of data, the specific population of participants included those directly responsible for the policy decisions that govern dual enrollment in the state.

The second constituent study focused on the implementation of dual enrollment policy included two community college sites as well as two high schools served by each of the two community colleges. These sites served as separate cases and represented two of the three community college models; the smaller rural college, as well as a mid-sized suburban college. The population of participants within each college included those responsible for the administration of dual enrollment programs at the colleges, ranging from upper administrators to program support staff. The two college sites for this study were selected based on the access afforded by them, as some college sites could have

been unwilling to allow any access to their dual enrollment personnel. Likewise, within each college site, two high schools served by each of the colleges were also selected based on access and were also recommended by the colleges as potential sites. The cooperation of the college and high school sites was paramount to the success of this research, and to that end personal and professional relationships with dual enrollment contacts were leveraged to gain access to the sites.

Sampling Plan and Participants

As Patton (2001) stated, "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases…those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (p. 230). In both levels of this case study a purposeful sampling strategy was employed in selecting participants. Given the limited players involved in the policy production and implementation of dual enrollment, focusing on particular individuals or groups of individuals at the key points in the process was needed to yield the richest and most meaningful data. While both case studies used purposeful sampling frameworks, the exact strategies for sampling in each study differed due to the unique contexts in which each portion of the study will take place.

Patton (2001) described stratified purposeful sampling as an approach that looks at nested or stratified units within a larger sample. In the case study on the policy sphere, this technique was utilized, as samples from key strata within the overall policy sphere were represented. This included a sample of state-level education leaders, from the General Assembly, State Council on Higher Education in Virginia (SCHEV), Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) and the VCCS. Specific interview participants

included the Assistant Director of SCHEV, the Vice-Chancellor of the VCCS, The VCCS

Assistant Vice-Chancellor, the VCCS Director of Education, a VCCS workgroup

member, an analyst from the Virginia General Assembly, and the Assistant

Superintendent for Instruction in Virginia. The interviews of participants from these

stratified samples helped to provide the context in which dual enrollment policy is

maintained as well as an understanding of the values implicit in the policy itself.

The two college sites, or cases, for this second level of the study included two of the

prototypical community college models. The first case-site, Oceanside Community

College, is be a smaller institution that serves students in a more rural part of the state,

while the second site, Hillside Community College, is a mid-sized college in a suburban

area. These two types of college sites were selected because of the vital role dual

enrollment play in their operations. While large urban colleges are multi-faceted, with

scores of initiatives and programs, smaller community colleges have fewer of these

programs. In addition, given the small number of large urban colleges in the state, small

rural and mid-sized suburban institutions are much more representative of the community

college system in Virginia as a whole. Within each site there existed multiple units of

analysis that corresponded to the different tiers of governance relating to dual enrollment

policy within each college. The high school sites were selected based on their perceived

willingness to participate and were recommended by the colleges. In addition, high

school administrators and counselors from a total of four high schools (two high schools

served by each of the two colleges) were interviewed. Thus, sampling was done within

the cases. This allowed for the potential of intra- and inter-case themes to emerge in this

multiple, embedded case study. The research questions that I specifically explored in this

part of the research study build from the foundational descriptions generated in the initial

level of the case study, specifically the policy documents themselves.

Within each college and high school there are a limited number of actors who are

responsible for the implementation of educational policies through dedicated

programming. For dual enrollment, each college employs program specialists and

coordinators who oversee daily administration of the program, academic deans and

directors who manage the street-level bureaucrats and who also may play an

administrative role, and finally vice presidents and presidents who set institutional

parameters and goals for program implementation. Additionally, high schools also have

senior administrators who oversee academic programming, at least one point person who

oversees dual enrollment implementation at the school, and guidance counselors who

work directly with students interested in participating in dual enrollment. In order to

understand how dual enrollment policy is translated into a college-wide dual enrollment

program implemented at various high school sites, each of these key players within the

process were included in the study. To this end, a criterion-based sampling method within

each case, or site, was most useful. According to Patton, this approach allows one to

"study all cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance," which in this

example will be the job functions and administrative roles performed by each participant.

This allowed a line of inquiry that only included those "cases that are information rich"

(2001, p. 238).

Data Collection methods

Two main sources of qualitative data were collected and analyzed for this

research study: interviews data and written documents. While these categories of data
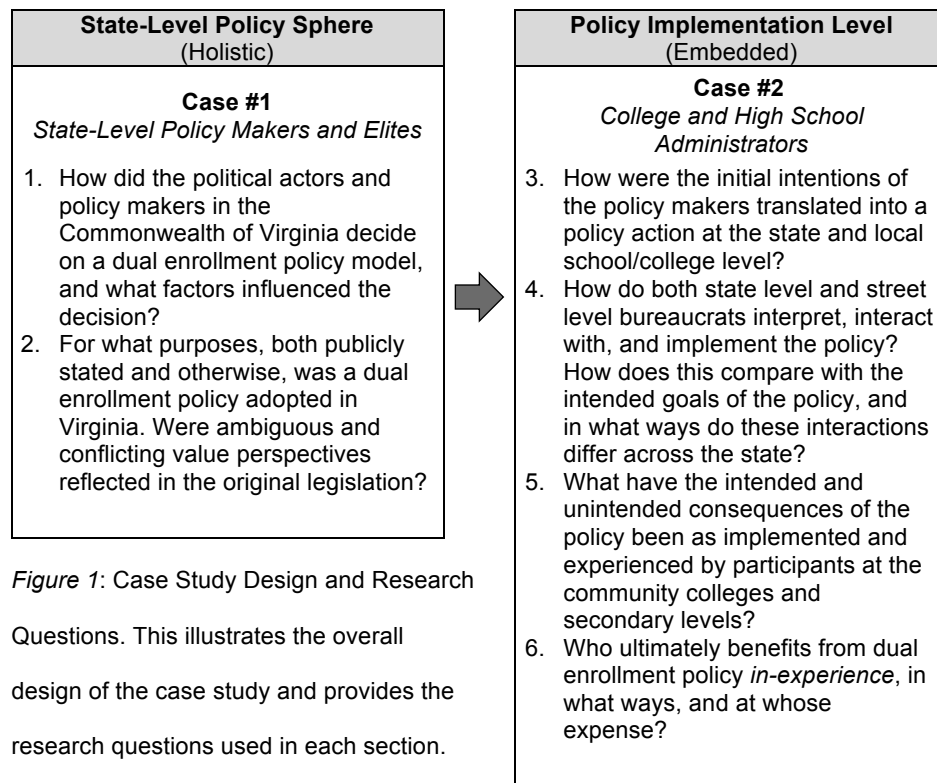
were used in both the policy and implementation studies, the specific sources differed between them given the unique research questions and overall purpose of each.

Interviews. The primary data source for both parts of this study was interviews, which were collected using a semi-structured interview protocol. These interview sessions were scheduled at the convenience of the participants. The interview questions that were used in the policy study stem primarily from the first two research questions and focused on the policy making process and the intentions, values, and conventions that underlie it. The interview questions for the implementation study concentrated on the transformation of policy into program and highlighted the process of negotiation wherein values, conventions, political and bureaucratic power, and the local context all act to shape implementation (Appendix A). I used a face-to-face interview format when available, and relied on telephone or web-based interviews when necessary. All interviews were recorded digitally and fully transcribed using a transcription service. The complete text of each interview was used in the data analysis.

Document data. In the policy making study, documents that pertain to the policy making process were collected and analyzed. This included planning documents, as well as all published, final policy documents, including legislation. For the implementation study, documents such as college-wide policies, dual enrollment handbooks, college catalogs, and marketing materials were collected. The titles of the exact sources of the college-specific documentation were withheld from this study in order to further protect the identity of the participants. In both studies, document analysis was used to generate case themes that were compared and contrasted to the themes developed in the interview

process. In addition, document analysis for the first study (policy sphere) was used to inform the data analysis for the second study (implementation).

All document data from the first level of the study (policy sphere) was analyzed first. Data from all of the available source material, both print and electronic, were compiled. The data collection for the second level of the study (community college/high school sites) followed the same format, beginning with document analysis and then with interviews (Figure 1). This data collection was done simultaneously with the data from the policy sphere, however the analysis of the initial level data yielded case-themes. These preliminary themes informed the analysis of the data from the second level of the study.

State-Level Policy Sphere (Holistic)	Policy Implementation Level (Embedded)
Case #1 *State-Level Policy Makers and Elites*	**Case #2** *College and High School Administrators*
1. How did the political actors and policy makers in the Commonwealth of Virginia decide on a dual enrollment policy model, and what factors influenced the decision? 2. For what purposes, both publicly stated and otherwise, was a dual enrollment policy adopted in Virginia. Were ambiguous and conflicting value perspectives reflected in the original legislation?	3. How were the initial intentions of the policy makers translated into a policy action at the state and local school/college level? 4. How do both state level and street level bureaucrats interpret, interact with, and implement the policy? How does this compare with the intended goals of the policy, and in what ways do these interactions differ across the state? 5. What have the intended and unintended consequences of the policy been as implemented and experienced by participants at the community colleges and secondary levels? 6. Who ultimately benefits from dual enrollment policy *in-experience*, in what ways, and at whose expense?

Figure 1: Case Study Design and Research Questions. This illustrates the overall design of the case study and provides the research questions used in each section.

Data Analysis

Yin (1982) described several exemplary case studies on the implementation of public programs, which were selected based on several criteria, including their relevance and scope. All of these implementation case studies included important aspects in their design that allowed for the maintenance of internal credibility and external validity while effectively chronicling the implementation process in either single or multiple sites and/or phases. Yin detailed the ways in which these exemplary studies handled the analytic process. He stated that analysis "consists of a sifting, sorting, and combinatorial process. Various pieces of evidence are categorized, compared, and contrasted" (p. 51).

Yin maintained that these exemplary implementation studies all contained common elements in their treatment of the data analysis. He described several stages of analysis, including pre-analysis of data, which may actually occur concurrently with the data collection, piecing together of the facts of the implementation process, merging of evidence from various sources, aggregating experiences across sites, testing alternative explanations, and finally explanation construction and testing. This final step allows for, and what Yin maintained is, "the most important analytic challenge," namely "to construct and test an explanation of the implementation experience…" (1982, p. 61). This study followed the stages detailed by Yin, beginning with pre-analysis while including some other analytic tools useful in qualitative case study research. The analysis was sensitized by the Transformation of Policy Intentions framework, as described below.

For analyzing the data collected in this qualitative case study (interview and document data) a hybrid method was used combining some limited aspects of open

coding along with facets of the *constant comparison method*, first proposed by Glaser and

Strauss (1967) and later described by Merriam (1988) and Strauss and Corbin (1990).

There were some limitations to following a strict open coding procedure for this

particular study. Open coding is best suited for open-ended situations when themes or

patterns are induced from qualitative data. While this was slightly more true to form in

the first case study (policy sphere), the data for the second study (implementation)

certainly needed to be analyzed through a lens that incorporated the case themes

generated in the first case level of the study. Miles and Huberman referred to these

preliminary themes as "a priori codes" (1994, p. 61). However, in the single (policy

sphere) and multiple case studies (college and high school implementation sites),

emergent as well as more anticipated themes were anticipated. Therefore, a method of

data analysis that accounted for both was employed.

Rather than coding all the data prior to analysis, Taylor and Bogdan (1984)

described the constant comparison method in which "the researcher simultaneously codes

and analyses data in order to develop concepts." This iterative technique allows for a

continual refinement of the "concepts" through examination of these incidents to

ultimately reveal patterns, which the can be "integrate[ed]… into a coherent explanatory

model" (p. 126). Merriam described this as a process, "whereby the data gradually evolve

into a core of emerging theory" (p.144). This constant comparison technique allowed for

"a presumed set of causal links" regarding the phenomenon that was stipulated (Yin,

2003, p. 120). Once these basic links were established and an emerging theory built, the

framework guided "the further collection of data" (Merriam, 1988, p. 144). This marked

the analytic stage that Yin described as *pre-analysis* (1982), as it "occur[ed] as part of the process of collecting evidence" (p. 51).

This balanced approach to the analysis process allowed developing themes to appear, while simultaneously providing the opportunity to account for existing themes generated from the review of the literature, other portions of this research study, and my own experiences working within the policy implementation sphere (Appendix B). This is what Yin referred to as the "piecing together of evidence" (1982, p.53). In addition, a method that synthesizes both a priori and inductive codes permitted the opportunity to examine these cases in a more continual manner and ultimately yielded a richer understanding of the cases, and a more valid interpretive model. This approach also relied on the merging of evidence from the various data sources, identified by Yin (1982) as another key component of exemplary implementation case study analysis.

The next analytic step was to "aggregate the implementation experiences" within and across each site (Yin, 1982, p. 55). Explanations of the policy implementation experience were developed and documented for each site. These explanations were then compared to one another in order to test their respective validity and to ultimately, as Yin stated, "explain why implementation occurred as it did" (1982, p. 57). The findings were presented as this complete account using a narrative, theme-based approach and followed the framework on policy developed by Hall (1997).

Theoretical Lens

While the stages of data analysis follow the analytic model suggested by Yin (1982), the theoretical lens through which the data was ultimately evaluated, including the codes and themes that emerged, followed the "transformation of intentions" model

introduced by Hall (1997). Hall's transformation of intentions describes policy as "an ongoing practical accomplishment," and also "shows how policy production occurs throughout the entire process and is not limited to either enactment or implementation and evaluation" (p. 463). This holistic lens accounts for the broad and continuous context through which policy is negotiated, including that of "individual and collective activity, symbolic representations of interests, and the interests they [policy actors] have invested in the policy process" (p. 462). Specifically, through this framework, the policy process was analyzed as "the ongoing result of the interplay among the transformation of intentions, conventions, power and linkage enactment" (p. 443). In addition, some elements of critical theory were used to examine the impact of dual enrollment policy on the policy beneficiaries themselves.

According to Apple (2002), critical theory in education is interested in "extending the reality of democracy to all of this society's groups and institutions, including all of its economic, political, and cultural life, eliminating the basic causes of the massive and growing differences in wealth and power, in economic and cultural capital; [and] investigating the ways in which education participates in maintaining these differences or may be employed to alter them" (p. 202). This additional perspective was particularly useful in viewing the impacts, intended and otherwise, of the policy intentions and the dynamics of power on students, especially with regard to issues of socio-economic status.

Intentions and Interests. Hall described intentions through the use of two dichotomies, intentions and interests. He positioned intentions as either one of process, "getting the job done," or content, what is wanted and included in the policy product itself. Interests are aligned by how they can be realized, either through collective effort or

subgroup conflict, resistance, and mobilization (p. 442). The examination of the data

included an analysis of these intentions and interests of all those involved in the dual

enrollment policy process, including individuals and networks of collective actors. These

policy intentions may be explicitly stated, as in the case of mission statements or policy

documents or more implicit in nature, like personal agendas and/or political platforms

and values. How the intentions of the policy makers and implementers impact the dual

enrollment participants, as well as those who are not allowed to participate will be

examined as well.

Conventions. In Hall's framework, conventions are "hedges against

contingency," as they make the coordinated effort of policy-making more efficient by

relying on tried and true means (p. 442). This however, can stifle innovation and

ultimately place unneeded limits on the policy making process and its implementation.

Both policy documents and interviews with policy makers should reveal the role

conventions play in development and maintenance of dual enrollment policy.

Power. According to Hall, power is ability to mobilize resources and marshal

action to achieve intentions. Because dual enrollment policy and implementation occurs

in a highly top-down bureaucracy, understating the de jure power structure between all

levels of the study is vital. The interview data, in particular, was examined for both

explicit and implicit demonstrations of power and influence through the existing

hierarchy of resources and influence that exist between the policy makers and those who

implement policy. However, the analysis also included instances where the street-level

bureaucrats exert their own control over the process, sometimes to further their own aims

and often as a form or resistance to the existing power hierarchy. A more critical analysis

of how these power dynamics affect the beneficiaries of the dual enrollment policy was also included.

Linkages. The nature of the linkages across phases and sites can largely determine the strength to which the original intentions of the policy makers are emphasized or are mitigated. While these inter-site linkages are important, Hall also states that linkages exist within sites, phases, and levels as well. It is the nature of the linkages as a location for "policy activity" that is most useful in this analysis. Namely, how do the "consequences of actions" at each site and level of dual enrollment policy-making and implementation, "become conditions for future sites and phases" (p.442). This study examined these linkages temporally (e.g. phases of policy implementation) and spatially (e.g. levels of governance/implementation).

Validity

While the rigorous coding procedures, pattern matching methods, and theoretical lens helped maintain the internal validity of the findings, triangulation was also used in order to maintain trustworthiness and credibility (Patton, 1999). There were two types of triangulation that were used in this study and that were described by Lincoln and Guba (1985): using multiple sources (participants) and multiple methods of data collection (interviews and document analysis). In addition to the triangulation of sources and methods, validity is strengthened though the use of "member check," sharing the findings with participants in this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 314; Merriam, 1988, p. 169). Each participant in the second level of the study will receive a digital copy of this research study and will be encouraged to provide feedback on the findings. These research findings will also be shared with colleagues who work in community colleges

and interact with dual enrollment in different ways. Merriam described this strategy for maintaining interval validity as "peer examination" (1988, p. 169). Finally, the acknowledgement and understanding of my own researcher's biases, which were extensively stated in the researcher as instrument section, helped confront any threats to the validity from my own experiences and orientations (Merriam, 1988, p. 140).

Ensuring external validity, the ability to apply the findings of one study to other situations, is always a concern in a research study. However, doing so in a study designed specifically to understand in depth a singular phenomenon, in this case the statewide dual enrollment policy in Virginia, presented immediate challenges. Merriam (1988) discussed different philosophies on the role of external validity in qualitative case study research. She presented arguments that range from the conception that generalizability is an inappropriate goal for this type of research altogether to perspectives that reframe external validity in terms of being valid only for those practitioners who read and consume the research. The latter is a more pragmatic approach that differs from the stricter more universal interpretation of generalizability. While limitations to external validity are inherent in this type of research, Merriam suggested methods that can help bolster the generalizability of case study research (p. 177). Many of these techniques were implemented in this study including providing a rich and detailed description of the phenomenon and the context surrounding it so that the reader can more appropriately apply the findings to other situations and using cross-case (site) analysis to establish "abstractions across cases" (p. 154).

Presenting the Findings

Yin described the primary requirement for internal credibility in studies of the implementation of public program to be a "clear factual account of the implementation experience" (1982, p. 63). Therefore, the findings of this study were presented in a narrative that illustrates the entire policy process at all sites through the lens provided by Hall (1997). It traces the collective and individual intentions of stakeholders, in process and content, at all sites and levels, including describing the linkages between the policy levels (actors, sites, and phases). The narrative also explores the power dynamics of the policy context as well as the conventions that help shape both policymaking and implementation. The narrative provides some retrospective, present, and prospective orientations that ultimately answered the research questions, highlighted the consequences of this policy action, both intended and otherwise, and presented potential ramifications resulting from future policy cycles. No names of participants were presented in this study and the professional titles that were used were purposefully obfuscated when possible. In addition, pseudonyms were used for the names of the college and high school sites to further protect the anonymity of the participants and their respective schools.

Researcher as Instrument

Qualitative social science research requires that the researcher be the key instrument of research (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, it was important that I make my own experiences and potential biases known before proceeding to data collection. It was my goal to make any prejudices and inclinations as transparent as possible with the caveat that this catalog of potential predispositions may not be exhaustive.

Currently I serve as the Coordinator for Dual Enrollment and Off-Campus Programs at a midsized, suburban community college in Virginia. In this capacity, I am responsible for overseeing all aspects of the college's dual enrollment program including liaising with our partner high schools and school divisions, recruiting and qualifying potential faculty, orienting dual enrollment students and faculty, organizing dual enrollment offerings, tracking and reporting program data, and managing budgets and other support personnel. As such, I have both a vested interest in the success of dual enrollment at the state-level and at my college. Because of this experience, I also have emic knowledge of dual enrollment as it is currently constructed and implemented at the practitioner's level.

In addition to my role as the campus coordinator of dual enrollment, I am also part of the standing, statewide dual enrollment coordinator's committee. While primarily a body through which dual enrollment information is transmitted and best practices shared, the committee will on occasion make recommendations to VCCS leaders regarding dual enrollment policy and governance. I have also served on an ad hoc committee which helped create a guiding document to assist colleges in implementing the expanded dual enrollment efforts required by Virginia House Bill 1184 (HB 1184). Through both of these opportunities I experienced the level of "policy-in-implementation" described by Guba (1985, p 11). I witnessed firsthand how VCCS leaders interpreted state dual enrollment policy as they attempted to implement various aspects of the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment along with the new HB 1184 legislation.

I was aware of the potential for my current professional responsibilities and committee experiences to influence my perceptions of the dual enrollment policy process

and worked to minimize that pressure. However, I believe that my insider knowledge was an asset for this study, rather than an obstacle. My background helped me shape the direction of inquiry for this study, allowing me to situate the research questions and overall design more appropriately in the overall context of the dual enrollment landscape. In addition, my understanding informed my analysis of the data generated in this research while still allowing me to uncover unanticipated perspectives that may have contrasted with my own experiences.

Researcher Access

Another benefit of my position within the dual enrollment community was access. I gained entry into the sites necessary for this study and to the participants within them with less need for negotiation. Personal relationships with dual enrollment practitioners at colleges around the state and key connections formed within the VCCS hierarchy helped facilitate this access. My street-level knowledge also informed my relationships with participants, particularly those who are responsible for implementing dual enrollment policy. I was also able to provide these study participants with informal formative feedback during the research that may be meaningful to them as practitioners while always striving to minimize any disruption to their own routines.

While gaining access and entry to practitioners and policy elites was ameliorated to a large degree because of my prior and current work in the area, one potential ethical and technical consideration could not be overlooked. This study of the policy process was designed to examine the negotiation of values that occurs at each level implementation while also being sensitive to unexpected consequences that can result from this negotiation. However, this is not a value neutral exercise. This line of inquiry could have

potentially uncovered issues or practices at the street-level that may not have been

anticipated or desired by those in higher levels of the governance structure. This could

have impacted the practitioners of dual enrollment. Policymakers at the state level or

administrators at the college level could use any of the unintended consequences

uncovered in the study, for example, in ways that could negatively impact programs or

the practitioners.

Researcher's Role

It is my hope that the meaningful results this research study yielded will be used

to inform and improve the dual enrollment policy process, which will benefit

practitioners and program participants. However, the outcomes that have been generated

may not necessarily align towards this end. The findings could be used as justifications

by administrators to modify or alter policy implementation in ways that would negatively

impact dual enrollment program delivery at the ground level. Of course, as a practitioner

myself, I would not be immune to such developments. In some ways I was a participant-

observer in this study, which Yin described as a role in which the researcher "may

assume a variety of roles in the case study situation and may actually participate in the

events being studied" (2003, pp. 93-94). While I did not directly study the site in which I

work, I did study a process in which I play a role, albeit only a small one. Therefore,

given the role I play it is important that my biases were addressed.

Naturally, my experience has led me to make certain assumptions about the

outcomes of this research study. Along with the review of the current literature, these

assumptions have helped shape the working hypotheses as well as the methods that were

used in this research study. Yet, through the use of a careful methodology, including as

Marshall and Rossman (2006) described "ethical management of role, access, data collection, storage, and reporting," any potential for adverse reaction to the study should have been lessened (p. 89).

Research Timeline

IRB approval for the study was granted August 19th, 2015. Data collection for this study began immediately afterwards and extended through January 2016. Prior to the start of formal interviews, the collection and analysis of documents took place. Formal interviews took place between October 2015 and January 2016. The analysis of the interview data was ongoing to capture developing themes and helped direct subsequent interviews. Final collection of the data and its subsequent analysis was complete when, as Merriam states (1988), a level of "over-extension" was reached and the "new information being unearthed is far away form the core of any viable categories that have emerged" (p. 126).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction:

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* model, describes policy as an ongoing, processual activity (1997). This process is undertaken by actors who are bounded in their activities by the conditions that exist in both their specific and broad contexts. The entire process is also directed by the intentions and interests of the actors, both individual and collective, the resources available, the power structures involved, and the conventions that are and can be utilized. This process results in direct outcomes but also in contingencies and opportunities that may not be as direct or anticipated. These are then linked to successes levels and sites of the policy process. The data was analyzed through this lens and the dual enrollment policy process was uncovered and described in relation to these key components.

While two principal cases are included in the study, the dual enrollment policy sphere and the implementation sites, three levels of the policy process are presented in the findings. The implementation sites are divided into two constituent levels, the community colleges that offer dual enrollment programs and the high school sites at which they are implemented, in order to highlight the process more clearly. In this chapter, the dual enrollment policy process is traced through these policy levels along

with the linkages that connect them. The conditions are presented for each level, followed

by a description of the processes involved that highlight Hall's categories. Outcomes for

the processes at each level are described, and in the cases of the policy sphere and

colleges, become conditions for the level below (see Figure 2). Finally the consequences

of the process are offered for both the policy-making and implementation levels that

elucidate the story of the transformation of intentions for dual enrollment policy in
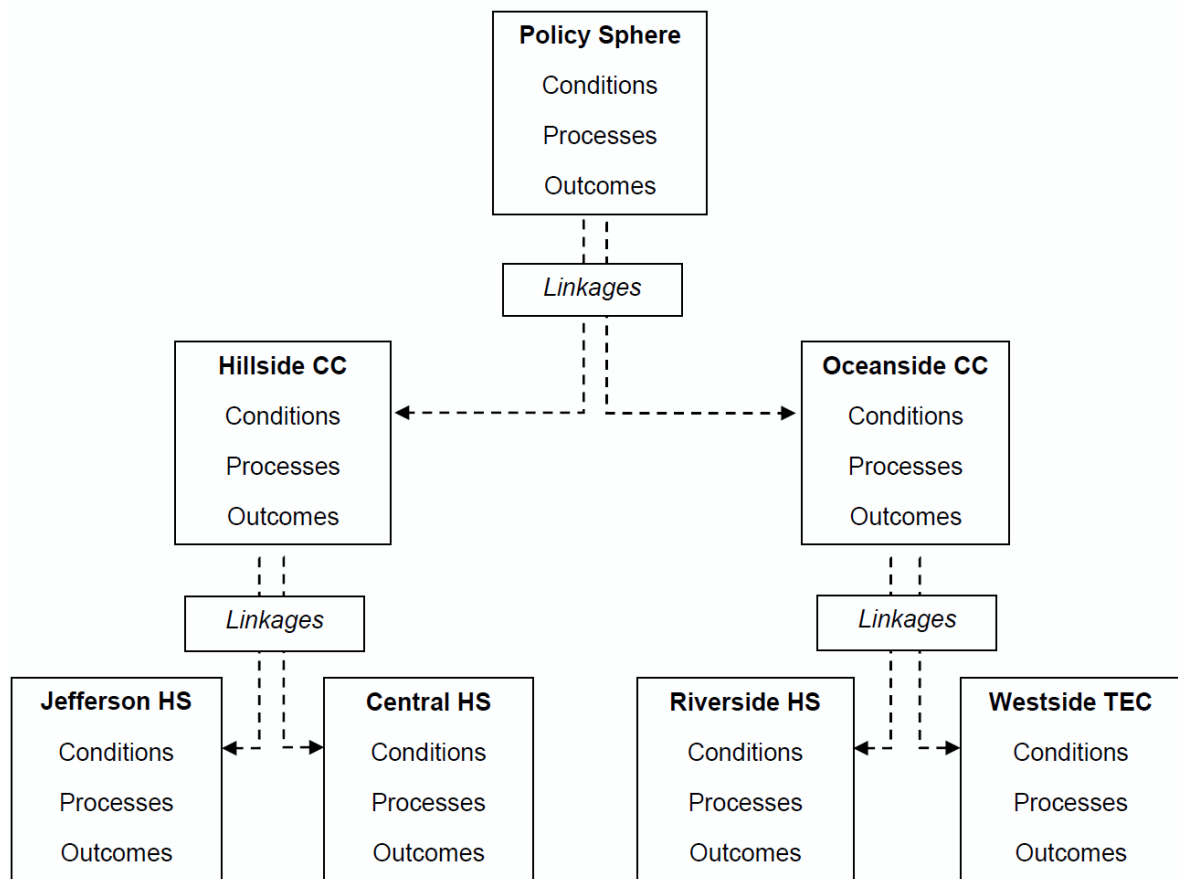
Virginia.

Figure 2. The Framework for the Findings. This figure is based on Hall's Transformation of

Intentions model (1997).

This multi-level, multi-site case study tells the story of the creation of the Virginia dual enrollment policy and its original intentions as well as the process through which the policy was transmitted to and interpreted by policy actors at subsequent levels of the policy system. In the first section, the story of the policy's creation is detailed. It is a story of policy actors engaging in a process conditioned by certain factors that resulted in the statewide dual enrollment policy.

Dual Enrollment Policy in Virginia

There is no single, state wide dual enrollment policy in Virginia. Instead, several policies or guiding documents from various agencies govern how dual enrollment operates across the state. The first formal state-level document that guided dual enrollment was the *Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment*, which was created and approved by the Virginia Secretary of Education, the Superintendent for Public Instruction and the Chancellor of the Community College System in 1988. While not a true policy document, the plan broadly outlined and introduced dual enrollment, positioning it within the educational structure in the state. In a review of the history of dual enrollment in Virginia, Catron (2001) noted:

> The *Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment* outlines basic parameters for dual enrollment program offerings but does not serve as an official policy; instead, the VCCS delegates authority for the implementation of the plan to each of its twenty-three community colleges. This allows each community college to structure its own program to meet the needs of its constituency.

Therefore, rather than a true policy born of a direct legislative action, dual enrollment was created largely as a policy intention. It filled a space in the educational bureaucracy

of the state that was bounded by the policies that govern the agencies involved, such as the VCCS, but was not directly mandated by the Virginia General Assembly.

The Story of Dual Enrollment in Virginia

The story of dual enrollment policy in Virginia begins with the policy actors who were constrained in what they did by conditions that framed their actions. The policy actors in Virginia were constrained by factors that ranged from the current political landscape of the state to the states own history of higher education. The policymakers also had to deal with the legacy of dual enrollment in the state itself as they worked to maintain and update dual enrollment policy. Meanwhile, those tasked with implementing policy also had to deal with their own conditions as they interpreted these statewide policies, developed local policies and guidelines that both aligned with and diverged from the statewide mandates, and finally implemented dual enrollment programs at their colleges and high schools. The conditions that were faced by these actors were the result of the context of their own sites as well as the consequences of the action at the policy making level.

At both the policy-making and implementation levels, the actors employed various interests to promote their intentions for the policy. These intentions were often congruent across levels and sites, but there were also intentions for dual enrollment expressed by the actors that were conflicting or at the very least ambiguous. These policy intentions served the interests of the individual actors and subgroups as well as more collective values. They were negotiated and interpreted within the levels, but also between levels as the intentions of policymakers were expressed in policy action and linked to the implementation sites.

The actors in the policy sphere and in the implementation sites marshaled the resources that were available to them, used conventions that were familiar, leveraged their own power over the process and in relationships with other actors, and developed contingencies to produce consequences and outcomes that became dual enrollment in Virginia. The actors across the levels engaged in a process that resulted in the shaping of the policy that infused intentions of the policy sphere and implementation sites and reflected certain transformations that displayed some agreement and some ambiguities.

While actors at each of the levels experienced the transformations of intentions, the policy process began at the policy-making level and was then linked to the implementation sites. The actors at the policy level developed policy actions that were then transmitted to the colleges. The actors at the community college and high school sites engaged with that policy. They were working under their own specific conditions, as well as conditions that were passed on to them as outcomes of the policy sphere, which shaped their process of interpretation. These networks of collective actors had their own intentions and attempted to realize them through interests. Under those conditions they engaged in a process where they used their power and resources and contingencies to interpret and recreate a policy in implementation.

The specifics of this story of the transformation of intentions, including the conditions, actors, intentions and interests, conventions, resources, power, contingencies and resulting outcomes and consequences is presented. It is organized by level and site to better illuminate the particular contexts of each, beginning with the state-level policy sphere and concluding with the implementation sites.

The State-level Policy Sphere

The findings from the policy sphere interviews are presented using the categories from Hall's Transformation of Intentions (1997) model (see Table 1). The presentation begins with an overview of the conditions and the network of collective actions for the entire policy-making case. Then the findings from each of the policy-making units are presented, by examining the interests, intentions, resources, power, contingencies, and opportunities described therein. Finally, the outcomes for this portion of the policy process are presented.

Table 1

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories: VA Policy Sphere

Categories	Findings
Conditions	History of higher education in VA Nature of the VCCS/college relationships Lack of federal student aid for dual enrollment Multiple agencies that oversee portions of dual enrollment
Network of Collective Actions	Governor's Office: Governor, Secretary of Education, etc. Virginia General Assembly: Members and support staff SCHEV: Director, Assistant Director, etc. VDOE: State Superintendent, Asst. Superintendent, etc. VCCS: Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor & staff SACSCOC
Task	Create, review, and update policies that impact dual enrollment in VA
Interests/ Intentions	Access to and affordability of education (GA, SCHEV, VCCS) College credits and increased/accelerated completion (GA, SCHEV, VCCS) Workforce development (GA) More understandable funding model (GA, VCCS) Community colleges as DE provider (SCHEV, VCCS) Student Success (SCHEV, VCCS) Increase the rigor of high school (VDOE) Increase choices in high schools (VDOE, VCCS) No mixed dual enrollment classes (VCCS) Cost-saving to the state (VCCS) Aligning dual enrollment into pathways (VCCS) Recruitment tool for community colleges (VCCS) Supporting college finances (VCCS)
Conventions	State higher education funding based on FTEs College service regions The "pushing down" of college Use of policy workgroups SACS guidelines College presidents autonomy

Resources/ Power	Availability of Data (GA)
	Code-based polices (SCHEV)
	Resources for running dual enrollment at the colleges (SCHEV)
	Membership of *Governing Principles* workgroup (VCCS)
	Lack of knowledge of dual enrollment by GA (VCCS)
	Four-year institutions' influence of dual enrollment (VCCS)
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Funding models based on local resources (GA
	Need for robust data and evaluation of dual enrollment (GA
	Roland College offering dual enrollment (GA)
	SACSCOC faculty qualifications as a barrier (VDOE)
	Student demand as the measure of program success (VDOE)
	Dual enrollment as college recruitment tool (VCCS)
	Dual enrollment as a FTE booster for colleges (VCCS)
	Finances as an obstacle to student participation (VCCS)
	Admission requirements as a participation hurdle (VCCS)
	Increased collaboration between CCs & divisions (VCCS)
	Potential for limited federal aid for dual enrollment (VCCS)
Consequences	Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy
	Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies
	Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding
	Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures

Note. This table includes data generated from the dual enrollment Policy Sphere: *VA General Assembly (GA), SCHEV, VDOE, and VCCS*.

Actors and Conditions: Policy Sphere

Actors. The dual enrollment policy sphere in Virginia consists of the state's executive and legislative bodies along with several agencies that are part of the larger state governmental complex. Each of these units serves to produce and maintain policies, guidelines, and procedures that govern dual enrollment in some or many ways. In addition, other educational entities both within Virginia and outside also influence dual enrollment, albeit less directly. This creates a system whereby multiple players produce and interact with dual enrollment policies and affect the ways in which dual enrollment is implemented, funded, and governed. Rather than a single statewide dual enrollment policy then, the nature of this policy sphere in Virginia has resulted in, what is in effect, multiple dual enrollment policies. The policy-making stratum is composed of a network

of actors whose work is bounded by the general context and specific conditions of the

larger educational, financial, and political landscape.

Conditions. One condition faced by the policy sphere in Virginia is the history of

higher education in the state. Three aspects of this history stand out in terms of their

effects on dual enrollment, the decentralized nature of higher education, the role that

four-year colleges and universities have had with respect to the transfer of credits, and the

nature of the state wide community college system (VCCS).

The Director of Academic Affairs for the State Council of Higher Education for

Virginia (SCHEV) directly oversees its policies related to dual enrollment. He stated that

one of the major factors that has shaped dual enrollment is the "relatively decentralized"

nature of Virginia's system of higher education. Institutions themselves are often

empowered or at least left to develop and implement policy on a more local level through

institution-to-institution relationships. In the case of HB 1184, for example, the General

Assembly did not empower SCHEV or even the VCCS to develop agreements to allow

high schools to develop degree pathways. Rather, as the director noted, "It [the General

Assembly] tells school districts to do it with community colleges. I think that aspect is

just part of the tradition in Virginia of trying to keep things at an institutional relationship

level as much as possible." The Analyst for the Virginia House Appropriations

Committee agreed with this notion. He stated, "We [Virginia] have a very decentralized

structure…I would say, the history of Virginia government in relation to higher education

has been somewhat laissez-faire."

This decentralization has also led to some autonomy for the four-year colleges

and universities in the state to implement their own policies and procedures around the

acceptance of transfer credit. At the heart of dual enrollment is the opportunity for

students to earn college credit while still in high school. This credit, which is granted by

the participating community college, becomes part of a student's permanent college

record. Students, however, may choose to use that credit at other colleges and

universities, and in these cases they must request that the credits earned at the community

college through dual enrollment be accepted at these other colleges and universities. It is

at this point when the institutions can exert specific influence over dual enrollment.

By not accepting dual enrollment credit, or only accepting it under specific

circumstances, four-year intuitions can shape dual enrollment course offerings, the

benefits of dual enrollment programs, as well as student interest in those programs. If

credits cannot be transferred, a major benefit of dual enrollment programs is lost. The

Vice Chancellor of the VCCS articulated this issue, "There are some universities who are

reluctant to accept dual enrolled transfer credit… they'll take a course from the college

from a transfer student who attends the college itself, but they won't take the same course

that was taken by a student dual enrolled." The Vice Chancellor went on to add that this

condition has "become part of the fabric of education in Virginia, so I don't see it going

away or anything like that."

While much of the higher education landscape in Virginia is decentralized,

particularly with respect to the four-year institutions, community colleges in the state are

organized under a single system. The Virginia Community College System (VCCS)

consists of 23 community colleges across the state, with each college having its own,

non-overlapping service region. Within its region, a community college is given the right

to develop and implement programming, recruit students, and develop relationships with

business and other community institutions all without any direct competition from other

community colleges (www.vccs.edu). The ability to offer academic programming extends

to dual enrollment programs. SCHEV empowers each community college to be the local

provider of dual enrollment. The SCHEV academic director described the piece of code

that established this arrangement stating, "no four-year institution can offer similar

programming to what the community colleges offer within the community college's

district [service region]."

Therefore, community colleges have been the provider of dual enrollment as well

as the conduit through which dual enrollment policy is actualized. However, this is

complicated by the system in which all the colleges are organized. The historical

interplay between the VCCS leadership and central office and the individual colleges and

their administrations has shaped the context through which dual enrollment policies have

been established and executed. For most of its early life, dual enrollment had been largely

left to the oversight of the individual colleges (Catron, 2001). However, more recently

there has been a shift towards more centralization and standardization by the VCCS itself

on issues like dual enrollment delivery and funding. In discussing the new dual

enrollment pathways established in HB 1184, the House Analysts described, "In recent

years, there have been a couple different efforts to try to standardize things like this." The

VCCS Director of Education also echoed this sentiment. When discussing the new, dual

enrollment funding model, he noted that it was developed out of a concern for a lack of

standardized funding and reimbursement rates across the twenty-three colleges. "We

came up with a financial model that kind of mapped out some standardization but

allowing enough flexibility."

Another condition that influences the dual enrollment policy process in Virginia also relates to funding. The federal government provides higher education funding in a number of ways, including directly to college students through the Federal Student Aid program. Students taking classes at a college can be eligible for federal aid to help defray the costs of attendance. However, students who are still in high school are not eligible to receive these benefits even if they would otherwise qualify. This affects how dual enrollment programs can be implemented. The federal government however is currently looking at an experiment in which restrictions on federal aid for dual enrollment students would be lifted in specifically chosen sites. The Vice Chancellor noted how this could benefit "the [dual enrollment] students who are coming to the college, especially low income populations." Until such funding is made available to dual enrollment students, the lack of federal aid will continue to play a large role in how these programs are organized and who can participate in them.

The final condition that shapes the context of the policy sphere is the multiple policies that govern dual enrollment in Virginia (see Figure 3). When viewed as a whole, the statewide policy can be seen as "scattered" and/or "fragmented", as was stated by the House Appropriations Committee Analyst. However, as the Assistant Vice Chancellor of the VCCS noted, "Currently, there are actually three different policies I would say around dual enrollment." In her estimation, these are state policies included in the Code of Virginia, VDOE policies around dual enrollment and K12, and the policies of the VCCS itself.

In addition to these state-based dual enrollment policies however, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges (SACSCOC) also has

standards and policies that affect dual enrollment implementation, including academic integrity and faculty qualifications. As the accreditation body for colleges and universities in the region that include Virginia, SACSCOC can effectively dictate standards that must be adhered to by its member colleges, including the community colleges offering dual enrollment. In discussing the development of the new dual enrollment policy for the VCCS, a workgroup member stated, "SACS is looking and they are dining institutions at this point…and we actually had a conversation with a SACS vice-president for an hour and a half talking about these issues [related to academic integrity]." In addition, numerous participants from the policy sphere mentioned the role of the SACS faculty qualifications in the development of dual enrollment policy and its implementation. "I think probably the thing that limits dual enrollment most [in the state] is the… [SACSCOC] qualifications for the teachers," remarked the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction in Virginia.

The conditions present in Virginia, the history of higher education, lack of federal aid for dual enrollment students, and the multiplicity of dual enrollment policy itself, frame the dual enrollment policy process. The actors who are included in this process must act within the boundaries these conditions set forth. This network of collective activity in the policy sphere is diverse and includes representatives from several government and non-governmental agencies. The list of actors includes the office of the Governor of Virginia, the Virginia General Assembly, SCHEV, the VCCS, VDOE, and SACS, along with the four-year colleges and universities in the state. These actors represent different intentions and interests for dual enrollment have different access to resources, utilize power in the policy process to varying degrees and in different manners.

Their interactions among themselves, within the context and conditions of the policy landscape, lead to different contingencies and opportunities. Ultimately all these factors contribute to the outcomes that is the dual enrollment policy process and the conditions for its implementation.

Chronology of Significant Events in Dual Enrollment Policy In Virginia										
	1988[1]	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
VA Plan for Dual Enrollment (revised 1998 & 2008)	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Virginia House Bill 1184									▓	▓
SACSCOC Dual Enrollment Interest									▓	▓
SCHEV Policy on Dual Enrollment[2]									▓	▓
Updated DE Contract with Financial Model										▓
Dual Enrollment Admissions Requirements										▓
Governing Principles Document										▓

[1]No significant policy developments in the history of Dual Enrollment took place between 1988 and 1998.

[2]Pieces of the Code of Virginia cited in the SCHEV Policy for Dual Enrollment extend back to the founding of the VCCS in 1966.

Figure 3: Chronology of Dual Enrollment. This illustrates the important pieces of dual enrollment policy and implementation guidelines that were initiated from 1988-present.

Processes: Policy Sphere

The process of policy transformation at the state policy level is shaped not only by the conditions faced by the actors involved but also by their intentions and interests, the power and resources they can marshal, and the contingencies, often unintended, that are used in and arise through their interactions. The processes of the policy sphere are

illustrated in this study in two ways, through the policy documents that have been created and in the continued work being done by the actors at the various agencies that oversee and create dual enrollment policy. This work is captured by the interview responses given by the policy elites. Firstly, the policy documents are presented and analyzed, followed by findings from the policy makers themselves.

Policy Review. There are several policy documents that govern aspects of dual enrollment in Virginia. In many way these documents form the historical foundation for dual enrollment (see Figure 3). They have both helped shape the development of dual enrollment policy and continue to direct the implementation of dual enrollment programs. However, these policy documents also illustrate the policy process that occurred in the policy sphere. The nature of these documents is mirrored in the nature of the growth of dual enrolment in the state itself, starting with diffuse and limited policies becoming more robust, centralized and standardized through time. The review that follows will examine the policy documents from this evolutionary perspective. This review of findings will describe the key elements of the policy documents and will describe these elements through the Transformation of Intentions lens. An understanding of the policy documents is largely an understanding of the history of dual enrollment in Virginia itself. This foundation is vital for examining the current policy process.

Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment. The first *Virginia Plan* was created in 1988 and marked beginning of dual enrollment in Virginia**.** This document and its subsequent revisions served as the primary implementation and governance document for dual enrollment for over 25 years. In March 2008, the leaders from the Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) and the Virginia Community College System (VCCS) along with the

Virginia Secretary of Education ratified the most current update to the Virginia Plan for

Dual Enrollment (VA Plan). The three-page plan broadly outlines the nature of dual

enrollment in Virginia, how it is constructed, whom it serves, and how it is generally

implemented. While not a true policy document or implementation guide, the VA Plan

does attempt to provide a board framework that encapsulates some of the intentions of the

policy makers, linkages between the levels of the education bureaucracy, and the overall

context in which such a policy exists and is implemented. In fact, the document itself

describes the purpose of the plan as giving a "state wide framework for dual enrollment

arrangements between the public schools and community colleges" (2008, p.1).

The VA Plan opens with a definition, "dual enrollment allows high schools

students to meet the requirements for high school graduation while simultaneously

earning college credit" (2008, p. 1). It then presents a major intention of the policy, "that

dual enrollment is a vehicle for increasing post-secondary participation rates" (p.1).

While not explicit, it can be assumed that the participation cited is that which occurs after

a high school student graduates and not the participation in dual enrollment (post-

secondary coursework) itself. The first purpose of dual enrollment described in the

document, therefore is that students who participate will be more likely to go to college

after they graduate from high school. The plan then goes on to provide some of the

mechanics of dual enrollment programs, including the way in which dual enrollment

students can take courses, in "regularly scheduled college credit courses" (p. 1) along

with traditional students at a college facility, in specially designed college courses offered

in the high schools, and courses offered at the college but restricted to high school

students only. The selection of the courses to be offered through dual enrollment "shall

be determined through mutual consent of the participating public school and the

community college" (p. 1).

After providing an introduction to and definition of dual enrollment, the VA Plan

outlines some of the particulars of the dual enrollment policy and provides guidelines on

its implementation. First, the plan describes the purpose of dual enrollment, which is in

addition to the intention described in the introduction. "The purpose of [dual enrollment]

is to provide a wider range of course options for high school students in academic,

career/occupational-technical subject areas where appropriate." The plan also promotes

"rigorous educational pursuits" and "lifelong learning" (p. 1). The purpose section

concludes by presenting the benefit that dual enrollment has to the state itself, namely to

avoid "the unnecessary duplication of facilities and equipment when students receive

credit" for high school and college credentials simultaneously (p. 1). Essentially, the state

can save money when a student takes a course once and receives dual credit for it rather

than having to subsidize the course for high school credit and then again for post-

secondary credit.

The remaining sections of the VA Plan focus on the implementation and

maintenance of local dual enrollment programs. The second section, *Collaboration

Between Community Colleges and Public School Divisions*, describes how dual

enrollment is a collaborative partnership between these two local entities. The authority

for dual enrollment programs seems to be shared, however the community colleges are

charged with identifying a program coordinator who is tasked with working with all

related stakeholders and facilitating the logistics of the local program delivery. The third

and fourth sections, *Student Eligibility* and *Admissions Requirements* both describe which

students can participate in dual enrollment. According to the VA Plan dual enrollment is specifically designed for high school juniors and seniors (although underclassmen can participate in certain circumstances) who are "prepared for the demands of college-level coursework and can benefit from [it]" and who meet the college "placement criteria" (p. 2). All students participating in dual enrollment must also have the permission of both the high school principal and the college itself.

After describing who is eligible for dual enrollment, the VA Plan turns to the courses that students can take through dual enrollment. The *Compliance with Accreditation Standards*, *Credit Awarded,* and *Selection of Faculty* sections all detail how the courses offered through dual enrollment meet the same standards as the traditional courses offered at the college and follow all the guidelines spelled out by the accrediting agency, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), including the qualifications of faculty. The faculty section presents a financial arrangement whereby the college can reimburse the high school for the tuition and fees associated with the dual enrollment courses if the school division provides the compensation for the faculty. Financial considerations, including the benefit provided to the state itself, are an important feature of the VA Plan.

Both community colleges and public schools receive funding from the state based on the number of students they serve. The *Tuition and Fees* section does not describe the actual costs of the program to colleges or school divisions, but rather describes an arrangement with the state whereby "neither the public school nor the community college shall be penalized in state appropriations it receives for developing and implementing the dual enrollment arrangement" (p. 2). Therefore, a community college can continue to

collect the Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) student credit and the high school the Average

Daily Membership (ADM) state funding for students who participate in dual enrollment.

These students are considered to belong to both institutions for the purposes of funding

rather than one at the expense of the other. In return, the VA Plan encourages the schools

and colleges to offer the dual enrollment courses at "no tuition cost to [students] of their

families" (p. 2).

   In a nod to educational accountability, the final section of the VA Plan outlines

the methods that will be used to assess and evaluate both "faculty effectiveness and

student success" (p. 3). The formal assessment plan should align with the SACS

standards and include student and faculty evaluations. The evaluations should follow the

college guidelines established for all college courses, particularly the method adopted for

evaluating all adjunct faculty. In addition, the plan mentions the responsibility the college

has in ensuring that dual enrollment classes are "equivalent to other instruction offered by

the college, specifically in terms of course objectives, …syllabi, level and rigor of

content, evaluation of students, [and] textbooks" (p. 3).

   The Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment highlights some of the key linkages

between the state education hierarchies. While the state retains control over the policy

itself, the constituent public school divisions and community colleges retain some of the

power in the implementation of the programs. The plan itself serves to link both

educational entities by engaging them in these collaborative partnerships, without much

oversight. In order to ensure the success of these partnerships, the plan allows the schools

and colleges to retain their funding while still recommending arrangements that allow

dual enrollment to be accessible to students. The plan also makes it clear that the

intention of the policy makers was to provide a system that could benefit students as well as the state itself. Finally, the plan also describes how the dual enrollment system fits into the larger educational context in terms of course delivery, accreditation, faculty qualifications and student eligibility.

While this plan does provide a basic framework for dual enrollment in Virginia, it fails to comprehensively address all the issues with policy and implementation. First, the plan allows for state to retain some authority over the dual enrollment arrangements, but fall short of establishing a clear chain of command. Second, the plan attempts to place dual enrollment within the existing education infrastructure without comment on whether or not this is the most efficient setup. Third, there is a decided lack of detail in the plan itself. As the VA plan was the sole document guiding the development of dual enrollment partnerships and the implementation of the individual programs, this is an important exclusion. For example, the plan does not elaborate on the benefits of dual enrollment short of a few mentions, does not address private schools and dual enrollment, nor does it expressly limit dual enrollment to partnerships with community colleges only.

Virginia Community College System Policy Manual. The Virginia Community College System (VCCS) maintain a comprehensive policy manual that is part of the larger Code of Virginia (§§ 23-16). This manual covers all aspects of the establishment and operations of the VCCS and the constituent colleges and includes sections governing human resources, educational programs, planning and institutional effectiveness, and physical facilities. While these policies govern the operations of all community colleges, including educational programs in general, there is little mention specifically about dual enrollment programs or students.

Section 4.0, *Administration and Finance (General Fiscal Affairs)*, of the manual describes the tuition policy for community colleges in addition to other fiscal issues. In section 4.3.0.1, *Waived Tuition – Students in Certain Dual Enrollment Courses*, the policy manual outlines an exception to the out-of-state tuition rate for students participating in dual enrollment. This section dictates that "tuition shall be charged at the Virginia in-state rate for any high school or magnet school [dual enrollment] student, not otherwise qualified for in-state tuition." Allowing dual enrollment students to be charged at the lower in-state rate eases the pressures that colleges and high schools would have in attempting to offer dual enrolment at no charge to students. This aligns with the intentions outlined in the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment.

The VCCS Policy Manual also provides a statewide standard *for Dual Enrollment Student Admissions* (6.0.1.1). This section provides testing criteria that must be met in order for a high school student to enroll in any dual enrollment course. There are two sets of admissions criteria, one for courses that are designed to be a part of a transferrable associate degree program, such as math, English, science, and social sciences, and another for courses that are designed for use in career and technical education (CTE) programs, like building trades, culinary arts, or police science. The criteria are all minimum scores from different standardized assessments, including the community college's own Virginia Placement Test (VPT), SAT, PSAT, ACT, and the Virginia Standards of Learning (SOL). The purpose of this section is to ensure that students "demonstrate college readiness" before enrolling in college-level dual enrollment coursework. It also mandates parental permission for all students who wish to take these courses.

This policy also aligns with the VA Plan in that it promotes student success, a goal described in the assessment section of the plan. Ensuring students are capable of succeeding in college courses is important, especially given the fact that the grades earned in dual enrollment are part of a student's permanent college record. Therefore, the ramifications of poor performance in dual enrollment coursework can be far-reaching and long lasting. However, the policy only requires students to meet metrics on standardized tests, which may not be the best barometer to gauge their future success in college-level courses. In addition, this section of the policy manual was only added in 2014. Before that tie, there was no statewide policy governing the admissions of dual enrollment students other than a reference to students being college ready.

House Bill 1184. On April 18, 2012, the Virginia General Assembly passed House Bill (HB1184), "An Act to amend and reenact §§ 22.1-253.13:1, 22.1-253.13:9, and 23-9.2:3.02 of the Code of Virginia, relating to public education; dual enrollment for high school students." (p. 1). This bill covers many aspects of both secondary and post-secondary education, including the linkages between the secondary divisions, community colleges and four-year institutions. The major contribution to dual enrollment policy in this bill was a mandate for VCCS colleges to work with secondary schools divisions to develop pathways to allow students to earn college credentials while still in college. It reads:

> Each institution within the Virginia Community College System shall develop agreements for postsecondary degree attainment with the public high schools in the school divisions that they serve, specifying the options for students to complete an associate's degree or a one-year Uniform Certificate of General Studies concurrent with a high school diploma. Such agreements shall specify the credit available for dual enrollment courses and Advanced Placement courses with qualifying exam scores of three or higher (p. 5).

This new program builds on the existing dual enrollment model by formalizing a process to offer college credential options for high school students. These pathways leverage dual enrollment courses along with Advanced Placement (AP) credit to allow students to meet the degree and certificate requirements "concurrent with a high school diploma" (p. 3).

This bill also mandated that "students and parents" be notified "of the availability of dual enrollment and advanced placement classes…, the qualifications for enrolling…, and availability of financial assistance" (p. 3). While not explicit, the bill seems to require that the secondary schools be responsible for disseminating this information. In addition, high schools must make students and parents aware of the agreements that have been developed between the division and community college establishing the pathways for earning a college credential. HB1184 required that these formal pathways be "submitted by the institutions to the Chancellor of the VCCS and the Superintendent of Public Instruction by April 15, 2013" (p. 5).

In addition to establishing the college credential pathways for high school students and mandating the notification of parents and students about these options, the HB 1184 legislation requires that the credits earned by those students who complete these pathways, be transferrable to other colleges and universities. "Credits earned by high school students who earn a transfer associate degree from a Virginia community college while completing high school shall be transferrable to the four-year public institution of higher education to which they have been admitted" (p. 4). This provision ensures that the credential pathways, specifically those that earn high school students an associate's degree, are viable and useful for the students who complete them. Students who complete

the degree can apply those credits directly towards a bachelor's degree program at all public colleges and universities in the state.

HB 1184 builds on the foundation laid by the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment by establishing formal pathways for students to not only earn college credit while in high school, but also a college credential as well. It enhances the partnerships between the secondary school divisions and the community colleges by mandating a collaborative approach to designing these credential pathways. It also links more closely this ongoing work between the high school and community college with the four-year public institutions by mandating the transfer of applicable credit. The intentions of the legislation appear to enhance the position of dual enrollment within the educational landscape of the Commonwealth as well as compel increased cooperation among these different educational entities. The bill also briefly mentions the financial implications of these dual enrollment opportunities to students and parents, which echoes the financial considerations and recommendations in the VA Plan. The bill however stops short or requiring student participation in these pathways nor does it provide much detail on management of these credential opportunities.

Dual Enrollment Contract. Whereas the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment provides little oversight on the management of dual enrollment programs, the Dual Enrollment Contract (DE Contract), signed by each community college and the participating secondary school divisions annually, provides additional guidelines and protocols for implementing and maintaining dual enrollment. As the name would suggest, the DE Contract lists the responsibilities of all parties in the delivery of dual enrollment. It opens by providing a description of which classes will be offered for the

upcoming academic year, the responsibility the college has for enrolling students in those

classes, and the right of the school division to cancel or add classes before the census date

for the college semester.

The DE Contract refers to the VA Plan in first section, *Tuition & Fees*, citing the

recommendation to make dual enrollment opportunities available to student at "no cost to

them or their parents" (p. 1). It then provides a mechanism for collecting tuition and fees

from either the schools or parents, if tuition will be charged. The contract then deals with

textbooks. Stating that the college maintains the right to choose the textbooks used in

dual enrollment classes and allows the school and or college to indicate who is

responsible for covering the costs of these textbooks, schools or students. In the third

section, the contract explicitly refers to an attachment to the contract that outlines any

"additional fees or reimbursements for other costs and services" that might be applicable

and mutually agreed upon. This attachment, the *Reimbursement Rate Appendix*, is an

important piece of both the DE Contract itself and in the financing of dual enrollment in

general and therefore will be discussed separately.

Issues related to faculty are the focus of the next section of the DE Contract. The

selection and supervision of dual enrollment faculty is responsibility of the college

according to the contract. However, high schools may recommend potential faculty

members. Faculty must either be employed directly by the college or by the school

division, but in all cases these faculty must meet the minimum qualifications set forth by

the SACS Commission on Colleges (SACSCOC). If the dual enrollment faculty member

is employed by the school division, the college may reimburse the division for the

services of that instructor, "in lieu of direct compensation to the faculty member" (p. 2).

If the faculty member is a college employee, he or she will be directly compensated by the college following the faculty pay scale. Therefore, this contract allows high school instructors, who meet SACSCOC qualifications, to teach dual enrollment courses as part of their normal teaching load at the high school. This arrangement can save the school and/or student money in that tuition collected by the college for the dual enrollment courses can be reimbursed to the school for services rendered. Finally, faculty are subject to all the policies and regulations of the college, can take advantage of professional development opportunities as adjunct college faculty, and are evaluated using the same system as faculty on campus.

The next section of the DE Contract deals exclusively with dual enrollment students, particularly their selection and eligibility. As is listed in other dual enrollment documents, the contract requires that all participating student have the permission of their parent or guardian as well as the high school principal. Students must also meet all admission and course placement requirements including, "the application for admission to the college, transcript request forms, and the completion of satisfactory scores on the college's placement test" (p. 3). All dual enrollment students must all abide by the policies in the VCCS Policy Manual. No mention is made here to any specific rights of dual enrollment students, including access to student support services.

The responsibilities of the college and school division make up the next two sections of the contract. College responsibilities include providing progress reports to the schools on dual enrollment students, which should include the final college grade for the course that becomes part of the students' permanent college record. Colleges must also keep records on dual enrollment students and send college transcripts out on their behalf

when requested. Finally, the college must ensure that the minimum number of instructional hours required by SACSCOC is met for each dual enrollment course. According to the contract, the participating high schools are required to verify enrollment rosters for each section and ensure instructors within the high school submit grades properly.

After outlining the responsibilities of the partnering entities, the DE Contract moves to the awarding of credit and credential. In terms of course credit, students should be awarded both college and high school credit upon the successful completion of the dual enrollment course according to the contract (p. 4). This dual credit can be applied to both the high school graduation requirements as well as a college credential. The language in the *Award of Credential* section closely mirrors the HB1184 legislation requiring colleges and school divisions to establish pathways for students to earn college credentials concurrent with a high school diploma. The only addition to the contract is mention of an attachment that outlines the pathway developed and agreed to by the division and community college. This section was added to the standard DE Contract following the ratification of the HB 1184 legislation.

The next section discusses dual enrollment course standards. The VA Plan is cited is the language describing the important role of assessment in dual enrollment. It maintains, "The College has the responsibility to ensure that all dual enrollment courses taught are equivalent to other instruction offered by the college" (p. 5). This equivalency in instruction is demonstrated through "course objectives, components of the syllabi, level and rigor, evaluation of students, textbooks, student outcomes and assessment of the faculty" (p. 5). This statement mirrors a portion of the assessment section of the VA Plan.

This section on courses describes a mechanism for modifying on-campus policies. Given that many dual enrollment courses are offered within the high school itself, certain modifications form the campus polices might be necessary including but not limited to the academic calendar. Finally this section gives the college the right to "advise the students, parents, and School System that the student does not have the sufficient skills or abilities to continue in the courses selected" (p. 5). This allows the college to intervene in those cases in which dual enrollment students are not performing well in their coursework, mitigating the damages done to the student's permanent college record and increasing overall student success in the program.

Transferability is the title of the next section of the DE Contract. The contract makes mention of "academic courses," which are intended to transfer to other post-secondary institutions with a grade of "C" or above. However, "no guarantee can be made to students regarding transferability to all college and universities" (p. 5). According to the contract, dual enrollment courses offered in occupational/technical areas are not expressly designed for transfer to other institutions. They are intended for use in applicable college programs designed to prepare students for direct entry into the workforce. The contract states, "the [high] School should advise students to consult with transfer institutions in order to determine if their courses will be accepted for transfer" (p. 5). While academic dual enrollment courses are designed to provide students with credit they can use at others colleges, no promise is made that it will in fact be possible to do so.

The final sections of the contract are short clauses that specify some required elements for such a legalistic document that governs a collaborative program, including enrolling non-dual enrollment students at the college, providing liability coverage,

terminating the contract with notice, and preventing discrimination. The president of the community college and the superintendent of the school division in which the dual enrollment program takes place sign off on the completed DE Contract.

The Dual Enrollment Contract fills in many of the gaps left by the Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment, HB 1184 and the VCCS Policy Manual. For practitioners, the contract delineates responsibilities and provides for mechanisms to coordinate the delivery of the program itself. However, the contract still lacks detailed information on issues ranging from student support services for dual enrollment, to effective instructional delivery, and a more thorough explanation and/or acknowledgement of the purposes and intentions of the statewide dual enrollment policy.

VCCS Dual Enrollment Financial Model. For the 2015-2016 academic year, the VCCS implemented a new financial model for dual enrollment for all its constituent colleges. This model specifically addressed the rate at which colleges can reimburse high schools for dual enrollment, in those cases where the class is offered in the high school and the instructor is a school employee. Previously, the college decided on the rate of reimbursement and this was agreed to by the partnering school divisions. The model begins by setting some conditions and providing a baseline reimbursement rate. "In exchange for the School/System promoting dual enrollment opportunities to its students, courses taught at the high school by a credentialed high school instructor, will be reimbursed 60% of the mandatory tuition" (p. 1). The model then provides a menu of options that can raise that base rate all the way to a full 100% reimbursement.

The options presented in this appendix range from activities the high school can engage in to bolster dual enrollment, financial contributions the school can make, and

services the school can provide to its dual enrollment students. The college and high

school work together to identify the options that do or could apply. In all these cases, the

options reduce the burden on the college, which would then allow the college to

reimburse the high schools more of the tuition it collects from the dual enrollment

courses offered in the high school. Some examples of these options include the schools

providing professional development that includes the college faculty, school divisions

providing textbooks for all students in dual enrollment courses, and schools offering

financial support to add personnel or additional hours for a college-employed, high

school-based career coach.

     The purpose of the VCCS Financial Model was to standardize the process by

which a college decides on a reimbursement rate, while also providing the justification

for that rate. By setting a baseline rate of 60%, the model aligns with the intentions

spelled out in the Virginia Plan, which recommends colleges make dual enrollment as

affordable for students as possible. However, it also recognizes that there may be

financial strains put on colleges in the delivery of dual enrollment that might make it

difficult for them to reimburse at a higher rate. The options it provides can help offset

those costs faced by the college by spreading out the responsibility of delivering the

services.

     SCHEV Policy on the offering of "Dual Enrollment." In October, 2013, the

State Council for Higher Education for Virginia (SCHEV) released a policy document on

dual enrollment courses in "public school districts by four-year and two-year institutions

of higher education" (p. 1). The policy outlined in this document provides oversight

regarding the delivery of dual enrollment, most specifically a protocol governing how

and which institutions of higher education can offer dual enrollment to high school

students in Virginia. The policy opens with a broad definition of dual enrollment, as

"coursework taken by high school students under the aegis of an agreement… wherein a

student takes coursework that (i) both counts towards high school graduation

requirements and (ii) is designed to result in earned college credits" (p. 1).

The policy then provides examples from the Code of Virginia along with

commentary that outline the foundation of the SCHEV dual enrollment policy. Firstly, a

portion of the code that bars other instructions of higher education from offering courses

"similar to those offered by a comprehensive community college, except as authorized by

SCHEV" is presented (§23-221). In the commentary that follows, the SCEHV policy

describes that while courses offered by four-year colleges and universities on campus are

not subject to this policy, dual enrollment courses offered in high schools is subject. The

policy then states another portion of the code (22.1-253.13:1 D.10) that "suggests a

default assumption that community colleges are the primary dual enrollment providers in

public school districts" (p. 2). Given this interpretation of the code, SCHEV declares that

community colleges should be considered the default providers of dual enrollment.

However, there are circumstances when four-year institutions and Roland College, a two-

year college not associated with the VCCS, may offer dual enrollment in high schools.

SCHEV provides some conditions under which these offerings would be allowed,

including if the courses are part of a four-year degree pathway or if they align with the

specialized mission of an individual high school.

The SCHEV dual enrollment policy then provides a protocol for four-year

colleges and universities to follow if they are considering offering dual enrollment. The

steps include providing notice to the local community college and seeking mutual agreement over the scope of the potential dual enrollment offerings. The agreement should be "embodied in writing and signed by the president of each institution" (p. 3). Any subsequent changes to the scope of the coursework should also follow these same steps. However, there may be cases when the two parties are not able to come to an agreement regarding dual enrollment offerings. In these cases SCHEV will serve as the arbiter, per the Code of Virginia (§23-221). The SCHEV Director of Academic Affairs will collect the relevant data from both parties as well as solicit input from the high school or school district. SCHEV will then render a decision, weighing factors such as efficiency, appropriateness, and special circumstances.

The SCHEV Dual Enrollment Policy fills in gaps left by other dual enrollment policy by addressing the issues around the role of higher education institutions in administering coursework in high schools. The SCHEV policy brings together disparate parts of the Code of Virginia along with its own policies to provide a clear protocol for offering dual enrollment in Virginia. It clearly places community colleges in the primary position for delivery of these programs by essentially instituting a non-complete clause for all four-year institutions and by extension, though not stated as clearly, Roland College.

Governing Principles for Dual Enrollment. On August 3, 2015 the final approval was given for a "new statewide framework for successful, qualify dual enrollment partnerships between public schools and community college" (p. 1). The purpose of the Governing Principles between Virginia's Public Schools and the Virginia Community College System is to "encourage rigorous educational pursuits; promote a wider range of

course options for high school students; and advance access to and success in higher education." In addition the Principles state that through the simultaneous process of earning college and high school credit, "time is saved and the duplication of facilities and equipment is avoided…which have a positive impact on the Commonwealth of Virginia" (p. 1).

The *Governing Principles for Dual Enrollment between Virginia's Public Schools and the Virginia Community College System* builds on the previous Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment, addressing many of the details absent in the former policy document including comprehensive protocols for program implementation and a fleshed rationale for a state wide framework. Like its predecessor, the *Principles* was developed and approved jointly by the VCCS and Virginia Department of Enrollment (VDOE). It also aligns with the related policies issued by SCHEV, including recognizing the community colleges as the primary delivery agent of dual enrollment, the VDOE, the SACSCOC, the accreditation body for colleges and universities in Virginia and across the Southeast, and the Code of Virginia. The document serves as a new foundation for the somewhat disparate policies and protocols that had regulated dual enrollment, and in some cases have continued to govern it.

The *Governing Principles* document is much more thorough than the document it replaces. The introduction of the *Principles* details the benefits of dual enrollment for students, alluding to research into the area, although not directly citing it. The benefits mentioned include, exposing high school students to rigorous coursework and preparing them for college, increasing student motivation and engagement, and "promoting a smoother college transition and increased chances of long-term academic success" (p. 1).

Additionally the *Governing Principles* state "students who have participated in a dual enrollment program have higher high school graduation and college enrollment rates. When in college, these students have higher persistence and retention rates as well as higher GPAs" (p. 1). Finally, the plan describes the cost-savings students can realize by participating in dual enrollment. The Principles, like its predecessor, also prominently states the benefit that dual enrollment can provide to the state itself, namely that "time is saved and the duplication of facilities and equipment is avoided, both of which have a positive economic impact" (p.1).

In addition to the benefits of dual enrollment, the *Principles* details how this new policy document fits in with the other policies that govern dual enrollment by SCHEV, VCOE, and SACSCOC. The *Governing Principles* serves to unite these diverse policies and provide a more complete policy document than was the *Virginia Plan*. Additionally, this document defines dual enrollment in a very complete manner, discussing the modes of delivery, purposes for participation, and options for the pursuit of degree pathways in transfer of CTE. It also mentions the partnerships between the secondary and post-secondary institutions that make dual enrollment and the degree pathways possible. It states that parties representing both sets of institutions, the VCCS and VDOE, must be included in the pathways process annually. "All such agreements, the plans for implementation, and the specific dual enrollment options and pathways provided to students shall comply with these *Governing Principles* and, as dictated by the Code of Virginia, be submitted by the institutions to the Chancellor of the Virginia Community College System and the Superintendent of Public Instruction annually" (p. 2).

The next section of the Governing Principles provides the dual enrollment "student eligibility and admissions requirements" (p. 2). This section expands on what is only briefly mentioned in the *Virginia Plan.* The requirements include that students may only participate in dual enrollment in those circumstances when they receive: principal permission, college admissions and acceptance, and college credit for the courses. In addition, dual enrollment students should be juniors or seniors, must meet the appropriate minimum scores on standardized tests, and must be "registered by the end of the add/drop period established for each course" (p. 3). The last requirement is a new addition to the dual enrollment policy of the VCCS and helps to keep dual enrollment in line with other courses offered by the college and approved by SACSCOC.

The dual enrollment faculty selection process, faculty responsibilities, and curriculum standards are the next sections of the *Principles*. In order to be eligible to teach dual enrollment courses, an instructor must meet the same qualifications that SASCOC requires for all college faculty. The exact qualifications depend on the type of course being taught as dual enrollment. For classes that are part of a transferrable degree program, like mathematics, science, and English, SACSCOC requires that instructors "have earned a doctorate or master's degree in the teaching discipline or master's degree with a minimum of 18 graduate semester hours in the teaching discipline" (p. 3). The SACS qualifications for faculty for non-transfer courses, including those that are part of a certificate program in CTE, require less advanced academic preparation. In terms of faculty responsibilities and curriculum standards, dual enrollment classes must meet the same standards as all other college courses offered on campus or at on off-campus site. For example, all dual enrollment faculty members must submit approved syllabi and

adhere to all the other college course requirements. The courses themselves must also be equivalent to the "pedagogical, theoretical, and philosophical orientation of the community college department and contain the same student learning outcomes, components of the syllabi, level and rigor of content, assessment and evaluation of student learning outcomes, and instructional effectiveness" (p. 4).

The next section of the Governing Principles highlights the methods and importance of evaluation. This evaluation includes "student learning outcomes, program learning outcomes, instructional effectiveness, and longitudinal outcomes" (p. 4). The process of evaluation should be coordinated by the community college and implemented with support for the secondary school partners. The procedures for measuring student learning and instructional effectiveness should be done in the same manner for dual enrollment as it is for all other college courses. Finally, the document notes that the evaluation process should be ongoing with a goal of continuous improvement. "In order to ensure the quality and effectiveness of the dual enrollment program, the community college will specify and evaluate dual enrollment programmatic outcomes and identify changes intended to result in continuous improvement" (p. 4).

Financial issues are the final topic included in the *Governing Principles*. This section begins with a policy intention, namely that "Public school divisions and community colleges should provide the opportunity for students to participate in dual enrollment at little or no cost to them or their families" (p. 5). This goal must be achieved however despite the fact that "Virginia Community College System (VCCS) policy requires that full tuition and fees be paid to community colleges for each student in every dual enrollment course" (p. 5). Colleges can reimburse high schools for their contribution

to dual enrollment, so colleges and schools must work together cooperatively to ensure

that students can realize this intention of no-cost dual enrollment. The VCCS Financial

Model for Dual Enrollment discussed previously, outlines ways in which this partnership

can take place.

In addition to making dual enrollment affordable for Virginia's students, the

policy document also notes that colleges of high schools who participate dual enrollment

should not incur a financial penalty. The *Governing Principles* states:

> Neither the school division nor the community college will be penalized in its
> state appropriation for implementing dual enrollment programs. Public schools
> shall receive average daily membership (ADM) credit for their students
> participating in these programs, and the community college shall receive full-time
> equivalent (FTE) credits for high school students participating in dual enrollment.

Therefore, students are afforded a great value through dual enrollment, but the

institutions involved still have their valuable state funding preserved. Although colleges

and school divisions may need to devote resources to implement dual enrollment, the

brunt of costs associated with the program are born by the state itself. This serves to

benefit the subgroup interests of the community colleges and high schools.

Interview Findings. The investigation of the policy documents created by the

policy sphere highlights some of the critical pieces of the policy process in Hall's

Transformation of Intentions model (1997), including setting the stage for the continued

work of the policy makers. This continued work is demonstrated through the responses

that were given by the actors in the policy sphere. These responses help elucidate the

policy process that takes place at this level and provides insight into the current state of

dual enrollment policy.

General Assembly. The General Assembly is the bicameral legislature for

Virginia consisting of House of Delegates and a Senate. Like all legislative bodies, the

General Assembly members are elected representatives who are tasked with creating

laws, which are enacted in the Code of Virginia, as well as a biennial state budget. In

both of these capacities the General Assembly can influence the educational landscape of

the state in general and can exert specific control over educational initiatives and

programs at both the secondary and post-secondary levels, including educational

legislation like HB 1184. While the elected members are ultimately responsible for the

products of the General Assembly, much of the work required for legislative action,

including research and analysis, is done by staff working for individual members as well

as standing committees. The House Appropriations Committee employs staff experts and

analysts and is involved with nearly all the state legislation that has a significant fiscal

impact. The findings below come from the interview of an analyst from this House

committee.

Intentions and Interests. According to the House Appropriations Committee

Analyst, dual enrollment policy in Virginia is inherent in the community colleges'

"mission to deliver education." The General Assembly has "tried to promote innovative

ways to deliver education to as many Virginians as possible and to try to make pathways

for students that create some affordability," and in this way dual enrollment policy serves

the collective intentions of the members. Additionally, he discussed the role of state

funding as a part of the dual enrollment policy. "Theoretically, the only state support [for

dual enrollment] that would come to the college [from the state] would be from the

recognition of the student FTEs that are generated by the program, so every student that's

dual enrolled…will generate a full time equivalent student and over the years we have funded [that] enrollment." Therefore, dual enrollment represents an innovative initiative that aligns with the intentions of the General Assembly members, access and affordability, and also fits the convention of state higher education funding (FTEs).

The intentions of the policy makers in the General Assembly include access to education and affordability for it. When discussing these two intentions, the analyst explained that these are "probably the two major principles, I think, that the House members have looked to higher education and have operated towards, providing the broadest access to students at the most affordable costs." Dual enrollment therefore is important in that it serves as a vehicle for promoting both of these stated intentions. "It doesn't get more affordable than the community colleges right now. It is a no frills education. Plus, on the education side, it's a cheaper alternative." He also stressed, "Anything which promotes those two principles are of major interest to the members."

However these content intentions are not the only ones discussed by the analyst. A move towards accountability through greater centralization and an increase in degree attainment and employability are also mentioned. In discussing the evolution of the transfer process, the analyst compares the ongoing standardization of dual enrollment, particularly with regards to HB 1184, to this previous consolidation. "Part of this was, again, needing to be much more transparent, much more information from the student's perspective as a consumer of this. I think that there are some other ideas that have been circulating in trying, again, to bring some standardization across the system so that a student knows going in and doesn't have to necessarily have an expert with them." Additionally, dual enrollment serves to improve educational outcomes in ways that will

lead to more graduates and better-trained employees. "When you graduate high school you're starting, kind of, at zero, [with dual enrollment] you might be...very close to an associate's degree and be able to move on much quicker. The whole notion is to get a degree and then be able to get employed and go forward from there. That's the general principle. It's not really intricate."

These intentions have been represented by largely collective interests, which as Hall (1997) explained are built upon "group consensus and coordinated action" (p. 1). However, the analyst notes that there are more individual legislators who are becoming interested in examining the statewide dual enrollment policy. There is "now, great interest on the part of members in understanding what is going on." Specifically, one member has become concerned with the way in which the individual community colleges determine the reimbursement rates for and thus the costs of their dual enrollment programs. The analyst noted, "One of my colleagues…has a delegate who's interested in, sort of, looking at this dual enrollment program. The funding itself, for the program, I believe just gets generated from the agreements that each college has with their schools and how much money that the school might provide on behalf of the student, [and] whatever the student brings to the table." This signals a possible shift to more subgroup interests in the policy making around dual enrollment. Individual members have now become attuned to dual enrollment and their individual intentions may now be realized through increased individual interests.

Resources and Power. While the intentions and interests of the General Assembly are fundamental to understanding the policy process, the findings from the analyst interview also indicated issues related to the role of resources and power in the policy

making of dual enrollment. In describing the development of dual enrollment policy, the

analyst remarked that the strong personalities of the players most involved in the

development of the first higher education policies played a great role in the process.

These individuals wielded power over the development of structures and systems that

would later shape dual enrolment. "You also have some strong personalities back in those

days. He [the SCHEV Director] and then some presidents each driving teams, but,

basically, the General Assembly and governors tended to be very hands-off."

 In addition to the power of these individual actors, the analyst describes how the

advent of widely available information and data has influenced the development and

maintenance of dual enrollment policy:

> There's much more information available to individuals than there was. If you
> wanted information about higher education back in the day, you maybe had the
> right journal or you were the right circles, but today's day and age, with the ability
> to search topics at the snap of a finger or at the touch of a keyboard, information
> is much more available and much more information and ideas are circulating.

In these cases, the information itself becomes a resource that once restricted to the few is

now accessible to all. This includes the individual members of the General Assembly

who can now access higher education data directly and with much more ease. "As

members begin to delve into topics ... If this [dual enrollment] becomes a topic of

discussion, and it very well may because I have a couple of delegates who are interested,

and that tends to spur some greater investigation." With access to this resource

lawmakers are beginning to examine issues like dual enrollment policy in new ways,

shaping the future of the policy process.

 Conventions. The policy making that has happened around dual enrollment,

particularly with the most recent HB 1184 legislation, has been done through the use of

conventions, like the use of service regions to demark the zones in which community

colleges can offer dual enrollment. In addition, through the policy process some

contingencies have manifested. The analyst described a funding system largely dependent

on local community college and school division resources, rather than a uniform

statewide policy. He noted, "just by happenstance of where lines are drawn as to what

high school that you happen to be in, ... One high school was paying, maybe, your full

freight to go there [take dual enrollment at a community college] and the other one is

requiring you to pay the full amount." This difference in funding can affect students

differentially. "Depending upon where those places [high school] are, that [the funding

model] may create some burdens for some students and maybe they don't pursue it [dual

enrollment]."

     SCHEV. According to their website (SCHEV.edu), the State Council of Higher

Education for Virginia (SCHEV) is charged with several critical duties related to higher

education:

> SCHEV makes higher education public policy recommendations to the Governor
> and General Assembly, SCHEV administers a variety of educational programs,
> SCHEV serves as a catalyst to promote greater access, quality, affordability, and
> accountability throughout the system, and SCHEV helps policymakers, college
> administrators, and other concerned leaders work cooperatively and
> constructively to advance educational excellence.

All of these responsibilities are demonstrated in the ways in which SCHEV has been

involved with dual enrollment policy. The SCHEV Director of Academic Affairs

(SCHEV DAA) is tasked with overseeing much of the work that SCHEV has done and

continues to do with dual enrollment. In fact, he created the current SCHEV policy on

dual enrollment. The findings that follow are based on the interview responses of the

SCHEV DAA.

Intentions and Interests. One important aspect of the SCHEV dual enrollment policy is that it "says essentially no four year institution can offer similar programming to what community colleges offer within the community college's district," stated the DAA. This allows the community colleges then to be the providers of dual enrollment in their service regions. This does prevent high school students form going to a college or university campus and take classes, but "the idea is that they can't do it at a site off of their own campus [like a high school] in the community college's district without being approved to do so by SCHEV." This illustrates the SCHEV and General Assembly's policy intention to place community colleges at the center of dual enrollment delivery. It also highlights SCHEV's power in its role as mediator when conflicts about dual enrollment arise between different layers of the higher education bureaucracy.

With community colleges as the purveyors of dual enrollment, the SCHEV DAA noted other intentions that are illustrated through the SCHEV policies that are incorporated in the code of Virginia and the policy process that gave rise to them. Like the House Appropriations Analyst, the DAA stated, "the governmental and political entities operating out of Richmond [the state capital] have a lot of interest in affordability for students, access to education and access to our institutions for Virginia. Those are big priority, political priorities. Both parties in the General Assembly, in the Governor's Office." These intentions are manifest in the HB 1184 legislation, which bolsters existing dual enrollment. "Political entities view dual enrollment as a very attractive way of getting more Virginians into and successful in post-secondary education at our public institutions." However, the DAA also noted a convention at play with the establishment

of dual enrollment policy, namely the concept of increasing high school rigor in whatever ways possible, including pushing down college into secondary schools.

The SCHEV DAA also described a personal interest he holds with regard to dual enrollment policy. "Very simply I hope that it will achieve student success." He declared that the idea of success differs from student to student depending on their individual goals. "We have these educational opportunities [like dual enrollment] that are often serving multiple purposes…Hopefully it [dual enrollment] would translate into better completion rates and better overall payment levels for the state." These interests have largely been incorporated into policy through coalition building and consensus (collective interests) because so many in the political sphere seem to value them.

Resources and Power. While the SCHEV DAA discussed at length the intentions of the policy sphere, he also mentioned issues related to power and resources in the dual enrolment policy process. One particularly important aspect of this process is that dual enrollment policy is code-based, in so far as the SCHEV portions of the policy. This means that the General Assembly, along with and in response to SCHEVs advocacy and recommendations, has the power to set the parameters of dual enrollment in the state by adding to or altering the Code of Virginia. This was the case with HB 1184, remarked the DAA. "That's [HB 1184] one thing that is driving dual enrollment. That's a code based policy."

In addition, the resources for running dual enrollment at the college level differ among the schools and greatly affect the implantation of dual enrollment policy, particularly with regard to student access and participation. "Each [dual enrollment]

arrangement has to be done based on the particular situation of the school and the college

doing the dual enrollment. Some school districts have money in their budgets to pay for

it. Some don't. Some colleges when they offer it, offer it to the schools for free. Some

don't," says the DAA. He also notes that if the General Assembly had devised a funding

mechanism for dual enrollment during the policy process it may have been able to make

the program truly cost-free for students. Instead, dual enrollment funding relies on the

resources available in the localities.

   Contingencies. Finally, through the policy process articulated by the SCHEV

DAA, two important contingencies are also noted, the role of Roland College and the

need for robust dual enrollment data. Roland College is a two-year college that is not part

of the VCCS. Therefore it is not bound to a particular service region and is allowed to

operate in a largely independent fashion. Over the past few years, Roland has begun to

aggressively offer dual enrollment to high schools across the state. Which has become,

according to the DAA, "something of a thorn in the side of community colleges" as they

"drum up school district interest in their dual enrollment offerings." While community

colleges have carved out the space as the primary providers of dual enrollment statewide,

Roland has been able to continue to compete with them because of their unique situation,

not a four-year college university and not truly a community college. They have been

able to take advantage of vague language in the dual enrollment policy that does not

expressly forbid them from offering dual enrollment in regions already served by

community colleges.

   SCHEV has reiterated that based on the spirit of the code, Roland college is

subject to the same restrictions to offer dual enrollment that four-year colleges and

universities in the state face. So far though Roland has used this "technical feature" or

lack of specificity to justify its pursuit of dual enrollment partnerships across the state. It

is possible, however, that Roland will soon be given the official license it needs to

continue this approach through action on its behalf by the General Assembly. "There is

some support in the General Assembly for giving Roland College a wider field. I

wouldn't be surprised if something is done in this next General Assembly session that

puts them on the same footing as the community colleges. Or at least an attempt to do it."

What is now a contingency of the process could become an outcome of it as the policy

sphere further refines the dual enrollment policy.

The second contingency described by the SCHEV DAA is the lack of rigorous

data on the success of dual enrollment in Virginia. This is of course exacerbated by the

myriad stated goals of the policy, access, affordability, efficiency, degree completion, and

others. "Frankly we have not developed yet highly vigorous ways of measuring whether

those precise things [expected dual enrollment outcomes] are happening." Therefore, "we

don't know rigorously at this point that it's [dual enrollment] working in the way that it's

intended." The lack of data not only includes the beneficial outcomes that students can

expect, but also extends to the purported benefits of dual enrollment for other

stakeholders. This includes the benefits to the state: "pushing down into lower cost

venues some of the college instruction so it would achieve a higher completion

entertainment rates as a result," the colleges: "receiving students who are better prepared

and better able to complete in a timely way," and the high schools: by "making their

academic environments more serious." The DAA was unsure whether anyone in the

policy sphere knows "to what degree we are succeeding on each of those things."

VDOE. The Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) oversees public primary and secondary education in the state. "The mission of the Department of Education is to lead and facilitate the development and implementation of a quality public education system that meets the needs of students and assists them in becoming educated, productive, and responsible citizens" (doe.virginia.gov). The Superintendent for Public Instruction leads the VDOE. Reporting to the State Superintendent is an Assistant Superintendent who oversees all the academics in the K12 system. The Assistant Superintendent (AS) was interviewed and the findings that follow stem from his responses.

The VDOE plays a role in dual enrollment policy, as the implementation of dual enrollment programs largely occurs within secondary schools. However, the AS stated that, "mostly the dual enrollment policy that's out there now was the latest agreement was created by the VCCS." The VDOE did take part in the process of updating the most current dual enrollment policy document, but their role was more to "review and provide feedback." The VCCS led the process of developing the new Governing Principles document, and according to the AS "We [the VDOE] were more of an advisory board."

Intentions and Interests. Despite their more limited role it the dual enrollment policy process, the AS did share some of the intentions of the policy from the VDOE's perspective. He notes that the intention of dual enrollment policy is largely to serve two purposes, increase academic rigor in the high school and provide an opportunity for students to earn college credit. Regarding this first intention, he stated, "Number one it provides rigor, college rigor…We serve a spectrum of students along the way, but for some students…they're ready for a more rigorous type experience. That's one purpose is

to provide that college level rigor course for a student in a high school setting." Earning

college credits is also a valuable intention of dual enrollment policy. Allowing graduating

high school students to "enter college and enter not as a freshman," but rather with

advanced standing gives them a distinct advantage.

    While the AS specifically identified these policy intentions, he also noted that

dual enrollment helps the high schools expand their offerings, which gives students

greater choices in creating an educational pathway. He also stated that dual enrollment

programs helps students by allowing them to acclimate to "college life or to college rigor

and what college courses will look like…they knew what to expect." Finally, dual

enrollment "certainly benefits the students from a financial aspect." By earning credit in

high school, more students might be willing to complete degrees and certificates at the

community colleges as well. This would benefit students, but "those are benefits to the

colleges as well." These benefits underline intentions that the VDOE has for dual

enrollment policy in the state.

    Contingencies. In addition to highlighting some of the intentions of the dual

enrollment policy and the benefits it can provide to students, high schools, and

community colleges, the VDOE AS also specified two contingencies that have

manifested through the policy process. The first is the role of faculty qualifications in

limiting dual enrollment. "I think probably the thing that limits dual enrollment the most

is the - And I'm not saying it's good or bad, but what limits it is the qualifications for the

teachers." The qualifications that SACS has for college faculty differs from what the

VDOE and the state requires for secondary teachers. In order to teach dual enrollment, an

instructor needs to meet both sets of requirements. The AS remarked that finding high

school teachers who meet the SACS qualifications, particularly the graduate coursework

needed for teaching transfer track courses, is challenging. "Some of those probable high

school teachers, who are licensed to teach high school, don't have that many [content

specific graduate] courses."

Measuring the success of dual enrollment solely as a function of student demand

is the second contingency described by the AS. When asked about whether or not dual

enrollment is working, he remarked, "I think it's working from the fact just look at the

number of students who are participating. I think that helps on that." He closed with the

statement, "I think for the number of kids to be able to earn college credits is huge,

because that would be evidence that it's working." It seems that the growth of dual

enrollment itself has served to justify its own existence and is being used by members of

the policy sphere, at least in this case, as an objective measure of the policy's success

statewide.

   Governing Principles Workgroup. Perhaps no other example better highlights

how the *Transformation of Intentions* explains dual enrollment policy than the process

that took place in creating the *Governing Principles*. These findings highlight the

emergent policy process directed by the actors in the workgroup and shaped by strong

issues of interests and the mobilization of power.

   The *Governing Principles for Dual Enrollment between Virginia's Public Schools*

and the Virginia Community College System is the VCCS policy document for dual

enrollment. As has been previously discussed, this policy document is an update to the

Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment, which had been last updated in 2008. The workgroup

that was convened to create the *Governing Principles* completed its work in 2015 and

was made up of VCCS and VDOE leaders along with representatives of the community

colleges and the high school principals association. One member was a Vice President of

Instruction and Student Services (VP) at a mid-sized community college. This member

played leadership role in the workgroup and the findings that follow are from his

interview responses.

      In discussing the makeup of the workgroup the VP noted, "It was mainly a work

group…it was heavily VCCS people, yet we wanted some folks that represented

others…Fourteen people were there, but heavily VCCS, one principal, the rest were

VCCS folks and then two [from the K12] System [VDOE]." The VP was to participate in

an equal capacity as other members of the group, but was ultimately asked to serve as the

de facto group leader. With lots of new personnel in the academic department of the

VCCS, the VP recalled, "the Vice Chancellor looked at me and said, 'Can you do this?'

and 'Can you lead this charge and get this done.'" Along with the Vice Chancellor and

VCCS Director of Education, the VP helped the workgroup meet its deadlines, craft the

language for the new policy document and settle disagreements over the policy itself. The

use of a workgroup itself is a reliance on a convention. The VP stated, "The committees,

they [the VCCS] like to have vice-presidents, down to worker bees, if you will." The use

of committees with representatives from different stakeholder groups is a commonly used

tool by the VCCS.

      The task of the workgroup was to update the existing policy on dual enrollment,

the *Virginia Plan*, within a timeline given to them by the VCCS leadership. Rather than

starting with a blank slate, the workgroup "looked at the document itself, and we [the

workgroup] looked and said, 'Okay, what's the next steps? What needs to be changed, what doesn't?'" This effort was bolstered by input from other dual enrollment stakeholders. "We had some stakeholders out there that had given us some input, and then basically we divided our work." The existing dual enrollment policies therefore, were a condition of the policy action the workgroup undertook. The previous document shaped the direction of the process for the development of the new policy. Another convention that greatly affected the policy process was the SACS rules and guidelines that have been previously mentioned.

Intentions and Interests. During this policy process, several interests were expressed by subgroups of stakeholders. The first and most important was related to the issue of "mixed classes." Mixed classes are those that are offered in high schools and contain both dual-enrolled and non-dual enrolled students. Several stakeholders maintained an interest to be allowed to offer mixed classes. A subgroup consisting of some of the community college presidents, who were made aware of this issue by members of the workgroup, and the members representing the VDOE and high school principals pushed for language that would support this content intention and allow mixed classes. One aspect of this intention was the maintenance of existing funding streams at the community colleges. Many of supporter of mixed classes believed that if they were prohibited by the new dual enrollment policy, colleges would be forced to abandon much of their current dual enrollment offerings in high schools, particularly in CTE areas. This would result in a loss of FTE and state funding for the colleges, fewer dual enrollment choices in high schools, and additionally restrictions on scheduling dual enrollment classes within the high schools.

This pro-mixed class group was opposed by a subgroup made up of the VCCS leadership and other community college representatives who advocated against mixed classes on the basis that they violated the SACS guidelines related to academic integrity. "Not only did that [mixed classes] split K12 and especially principals and the VCCS in general, it split colleges amongst the VCCS. It split presidents amongst the VCCS," noted the VP. The VP described the opinion of the group opposed to mixed classes, of which he was a member. "'We're going to say no on mixed classes, because it's an academic integrity, and you can be found in violation or in non-compliance with accrediting standards,' so we were very firm about that, and we got push-back, a lot of push-back." The salient concern about mixed classes was that if the entire class was not made up of college-level students, the course could not be taught at a college-level and therefore would not meet the academic requirements for SACSCOC. The VP added, "How can you have students in a college level course, teaching at a college level, that aren't college ready?"

Resources and Power. The conflict over mixed classes was resolved only when the VCCS leadership took it upon itself to declare that the policy would in fact contain language that would largely prohibit mixed classes. "We didn't use the committee much. In those conflicts, we worked as a team, Vice Chancellor, myself and the Director of Education, and we came up with that, and we would let the committee know." This was accomplished because of the power the VCCS held over the process, including the membership of the workgroup. These leaders were also able to leverage the SACSCOC standards as a justification that could not easily be disputed. The reaction to this decisions by the group pushing for mixed classes was very resistant. "The guy representing the

Secondary School Principals was: 'I can't believe this. This is a shock. We didn't know this was coming; we don't have enough representation on this. I'm going to get it out today.'"

Eventually, a small concession was made to allow community colleges to offer mixed classes only with a justification and the written approval of the college president. Mixed classes would be prohibited except under these strict circumstances. "We said, 'No mixed classes, but president, if you decide you would like to do that, you have discretion to do that,' because we know at the end of the day, the SACS accreditation issue is our main issue. It's institutional." Language was added to the policy document to this affect and this contingency appeased pre-mixed class group enough from them to continue on with the process. Placing the onus of the decision to offer mixed classes back on the individual college presidents is a convention used in other VCCS policies and also fits the mold of decentralized higher education discussed previously.

The policy process that gave rise to the *Governing Principles* highlights the standardization of dual enrollment that is taking place in Virginia. The document itself provides many more implementation guidelines than did the policy it replaces. These guidelines represent the policy intentions of the VCCS itself, SCHEV, and even SACSCOC. In discussing the mixed class issue, the VP noted that, "clearly, these are clear and present issues…we're going to say no mixed classes, to protect as best we can, the institutions." The VCCS had crafted policy that would in some ways protect the institutions from themselves, ensuring they would remain in compliance with SACSCOC standards. "Knowing that at the end of the day, you need to do what you need to do, but academic integrity standards [of SACSCOC] would say no mixed classes."

VCCS. The VCCS has an interesting and vital role in the policy process of dual enrollment. It acts both as a policy making body and as a conduit through which policy from the General Assembly and SCHEV is translated and ultimately passed on to the individual colleges. However, because of the role the VCCS has had in the formation of recent dual enrollment policy, including the *Governing Principles*, it has been treated as a component of the overall policy sphere for this study**.**

While each community college in the VCCS is led by its own executive officer (president), the VCCS itself has its own leadership structure. The system has a Chancellor who oversees all aspects of the system including goal and agenda setting, policy development, budgeting, and personnel, including the hiring of college presidents. Reporting directly to the Chancellor is a Vice Chancellor who is tasked with all issues related to academics and research in the VCCS, including dual enrollment. There are two other VCCS administrators who directly oversee issues related to dual enrollment, an Assistant Vice Chancellor and the Director of Education, the latter of whom reports to the former. The findings for the VCCS are taken from interviews of the Vice Chancellor (VC), Assistant Vice Chancellor (AVC), and Director of Education (DE).

According to the VC, "the dual enrollment policy speaks to, at a high level, the quality and integrity of dual enrollment programs in VCCS." This is captured in the new *Governing Principles* document, which includes provisions regarding the qualifications of instructors, the maintenance of academic integrity in dual enrollment courses, and guidelines regarding implementation of programs. "The student, at the end of the dual enrollment class, earns college credit. There's a college transcript generated…The policy also covers, at a high level, requirements for program evaluation and for the college's

oversight and administration of the program, because at the end of the day, it is a college course. It's a college program. It's not a high school program. It's not a high school course," stated the VC. The AVC expands on this definition of dual enrollment policy by explaining that there are policies from multiple state entities that relate in some way to dual enrollment, including SCHEV, the VCCS, and VDOE. She added, "There's kind of three types of policy I would say, but they all overlap strongly and are pretty much in agreement around dual enrollment."

Intentions and Interests. Inherent in the statewide dual enrollment policy, and largely encapsulated in the VCCS *Governing Principles* document, are intentions regarding the content of the policy itself. The three VCCS leaders described some of the intentions that helped shape the policy process. "Dual enrollment is supposed to benefit the student because it accelerates their progress into and through higher ed. But it also should be a benefit to the state. The state is paying twice for these kids- paying for them to be in high school and paying for them to be in college." The VC illustrates a key intention of the policy, to save both students the state money by streamlining and accelerating college completion. Another provision that helps to promote this intention is the move to require dual enrollment students "to be in program pathways." The VC explained that to truly accelerate a student's progress through higher education, the college credit they earn needs to be directed towards an outcome, "because I don't think it does students any benefit just to take random college classes that don't add up to something."

Dual enrollment can not only accelerate a student through the process of earning college credit and ultimately a college credential, but the process itself represents a good

value for the students who participate. Community Colleges in Virginia offer college

credit more affordable rates than any other instructions of higher education. This alone

could save students money that earn credit through dual enrollment and then apply that

credit towards a degree or credential at the community college itself or at a higher priced

college or university. However, dual enrollment is almost always offered at a reduced

rate to students, increasing the value afforded to students even more. Benefits certainly

extend to those students who "take dual enrollment courses…[and] don't have to pay as

much college tuition as those families that elect not to have their students go through dual

enrollment courses" stated the DE. This sentiment was echoed by the VC, "It's a good

opportunity, it's a good value," and the AVC, "it gives them [students] a cheaper option

to get general education requirements." Financial savings for the state and student,

realized through accelerated progress and more affordable tuition, demonstrate a clear

intention on the part of the policy makers. The wide agreement over this value signals

that it was manifested in the dual enrollment policy through collective interests.

Another intention of this dual enrollment policy, according to the VCCS

leadership, centers on college attendance and student success. According to the DE, 'it

[dual enrollment] provides students with the opportunity to really get college ready."

While these students are already technically college students when they take dual

enrollment classes, there is an emphasis on dual enrollment as a preparation for attending

a college or university after high school graduation. This preparation is not just academic.

"There are certainly some high school students who would never step foot on a

community college campus were it not for dual enrollment", remarked the VC. "They

[the dual enrollment students] suddenly saw themselves as college students, when before

they thought that they were not college worthy, or that was not something they'd ever do. To me, that's the real value of dual enrollment." Through dual enrollment, students get to transform their concepts about what it is to be a college student and rehearse this new role.

In addition to intentions like value and college readiness, the VCCS leaders identify some other benefits of dual enrollment that underlie potential policy interests. According to the VCCS DE, one such interest is for dual enrollment to act as a vehicle for "change and empowerment among our students." He also stated, in terms of what dual enrollment should provide, "I would say among other things fairness, fairness for our students that we're providing students with the opportunities to take dual enrollment." The intention for dual enrollment as a social empowerment agent is powerful interest, although it is unclear whether this interest is collective or individually held.

Another potential intention apparent in the policy is to improve the K12 experience for students. For example, dual enrollment can help high schools deliver expensive Career and Technical Education (CTE) opportunities. "Some of our school districts lack career-technical programs, or just don't have money. So the local community college actually does a better job of educating the [CTE] students…. So I think it's also an opportunity for [offering] the CTE," noted the AVC. In addition, she explained that these opportunities can also help cash-strapped school divisions. "It's kind of better to partner at the regional level on higher expense, mostly CTE programs. So I think that's also been a trend that we're seeing. One, it's a sharing of resources." Whether this is an intention of the policy makers or an unanticipated contingency of the policy process, it is clear that the effects of dual enrollment are broad.

Contingencies. While it is clear that preparing students for college and increasing the number who attend is an interest that has shaped and also been supported by the dual enrollment policy process, it illustrates an interesting contingency. The VC noted, "We did look at the statistics in terms of how many dual enrolled students continue on into community colleges after they graduate from high school and it's a very, very small percentage. We're trying to work with our presidents and with dual enrollment coordinators and vice presidents- we're trying to talk about what are the strategies for helping to recruit those students." Dual enrollment has been seen as a potential recruitment tool for the community colleges, which overall have seen a recent decline in attendance. While certainly in keeping with the intention to increase college-going rates among high school graduates, dual enrollment as a recruitment tool also serves the subgroups interests of the community colleges themselves.

A related contingency that has arisen from the policy and practice of dual enrollment concerns the role that dual enrollment plays in the finances of the community colleges that offer it. The AVC described this contingency:

> So the community college, we benefit [from dual enrollment] because definitely when we're based on full time equivalencies [FTEs] with our base accuracy, we're based off how many students are sitting in seats at the beginning of the year. So when we expand dual enrollment it's a huge financial benefit to our agency. Some of our community colleges have 70 percent of their enrollment is actually dual enrollment. You think about their budgets' based off how many students they have, and then count dual enrollment students, there's a huge economic increase, financial increase for them.

Dual enrollment has become a way for colleges to maintain or even increase total FTE, and thus state funding. This was explained by the DE, "It continues to be a big growth area for us. As our enrollments are pretty flat, dual enrollment continues to help us deal with the flat lining that's occurred at our colleges due to fewer high school students

graduating from high school and that sort of thing." Dual enrollment continues to be a

hedge against the decline of more traditional enrollment at the community college. While

providing dual enrollment certainly requires the colleges to devote specific financial

resources, dual enrollment may be helping to support other programming offered by the

college. This funding contingency highlights a potential subgroup interest, namely the

ability to use dual enrollment to bolster the financial standing of the community colleges

in general.

While dual enrollment can help institutions stretch limited financial resources,

funding issues do illustrate another contingency of the dual enrollment policy process.

Not all students want to participate in dual enrollment can do so. While dual enrollment is

a bargain compared to other post-secondary options to earn college credit, it may still be

too costly for low-income students. The VC mentioned, that while dual enrollment

offered at the high school can often be done at little to no cost to the student. "If the [dual

enrollment] student comes to the college campus, that all goes out the window.

Somebody has to pay the tuition for the student. That's a state board policy." The funding

model created by the VCCS covers only those classes offered at the high school, and

even in those cases does not mandate dual enrollment be

"free" for students. As described by the VC however, no such policy extends to the

funding of classes offered on college campuses.

In addition to funding, the dual enrollment admissions requirements can also

prevent would-be students from accessing the program. Most of the admissions

requirements rely on students meeting minimum thresholds on standardized tests,

including the VCCS's own placement test, the VPT. The AVC cited the placement test

policy as an overall limitation to dual enrollment. For example, she stated, "If a student wanted to take a biology course that's not related to math and English they still have to take the math and English placement test. That's kind of an internal policy we have." However, the VCCS is looking to potentially broaden the ways in which a student can meet the admissions requirements. "We are looking at multi-measures," the AVC noted, "I think we're gonna move down the multi-measures. It could be an SOL… could it be a placement test, could it be GPA, could it be teacher recommendations for the student? I think it would open up more opportunities for students and I still think they could be successful in our dual enrollment courses."

Measuring the success of dual enrollment as a direct function of the student demand for dual enrollment classes is another contingency described by the VCCS leadership. When asked about whether dual enrollment was working in Virginia, both the AVC and DE began by touting the increased demand for dual enrollment among students. "I would say dual enrollment is in my opinion is working because it continues to be a big growth area for us [the VCCS]," stated the DE while the AVC added, "I think dual enrollment is working, obviously, because we really increased our dual enrollment rate over the last couple of years." While increased demand could certainly signal a successful program, it might not speak to the success of all facets of this broad policy.

Opportunities. In addition to contingencies, some opportunities have been born through the policy process, including the opportunity for increased partnerships and the potential for federal student aid for dual enrollment students. Dual enrollment policy, particularly the HB 1184 legislation, requires school divisions to work directly with community colleges to develop pathways for students. Sometimes these discussions can

lead to more robust partnerships than would have been formed otherwise. The VC described an example of one such partnership, "One of our community colleges is actually working on a partnership with one of its local school divisions, which is actually very, very disadvantaged population of students, very low-income students. They're going to bus the students from the high school over to the college when they're juniors and seniors so they can get the college experience. These are kids who would never, ever, ever think about going to college." In addition, the VC also described a new experiment being offered by the Federal Student Aid office.

The US Department of Education is conducting an experiment at a number of sites across the country wherein they will suspend the rules preventing current high school students from being eligible to receive Pell Grant funds, assuming they should demonstrate the requisite financial need. This would allow dual enrollment students that qualify the opportunity to use Pell funds to offset the costs of dual enrollment classes, including those taken at a college campus. Students would still be held to all the other Pell requirements including meeting Satisfactory Academic Progress (SAP) and being enrolled in a program of study. This would mean dual enrolled students would need to be officially in a program of study at the community college in order to be eligible. "The pathways and then figuring out tuition assistance for those students to actually come to the college campus would make it [dual enrollment] a much more meaningful and transformational experience," stated the VC in regards to this potential opportunity. While it is not clear whether the experiment will lead to a full-scale change in the Federal Aid guidelines, it is a promising step in filling in the gaps of the existing dual enrollment funding structure to better support dual enrollment students.

Conventions. In addition to the intentions of the policy, and the contingencies and opportunities that developed as a result of the process, the VCCS leaders spoke about the policy process itself. The VC described the process that gave rise to the new Governing Principles document. "We used a collaborative policy development process, which is the way it should be, which includes a lot of input from the colleges." This committee or workgroup also had representatives from other stakeholder groups, as described previously. "We tried to make it as mixed and balanced as we could. When you bring all those people to the table and invite them to have input into the process, it becomes the collective. That's what we ended up with is a collective vision of what dual enrollment should be in Virginia."

Resources and Power. While there were many representatives at the table, the accounts provided by the VP who served on the workgroup highlighted the power structure of this collaborative process. It seems clear that given the colleges' interests in the dual enrollment policy product and the authority given to the colleges by SCHEV and the General Assembly to deliver dual enrollment programs, the VCCS had and exerted much more power over the policy process than did any other groups represented. The DE described another issue with this policy process. "Our process for updating our policy is somewhat cumbersome in that it doesn't sort of allow the same type of level of change as what you would have for instance if our policy was built into our policy mandate."

The VCCS leaders discussed several other issues related to power. One such issue is the role the federal government has over dual enrollment funding through the regulations on student aid. However given the initiatives that are underway, this could ultimately result in changes to the Pell guidelines that would benefit dual enrollment

students. A second issue is the lack of knowledge some of the members of the General

Assembly have regarding dual enrollment despite the power they wield over dual

enrollment policy. One of the VCCS leaders stated that in relation to other states

legislatures, "Our legislators really don't know anything about dual enrollment." A third

and final issue discussed by the VCCS was the power that four-year colleges and

universities had over dual enrollment policy and implementation. Through their control

over the transfer of credits, the four-year instructions can strongly influence dual

enrollment policy and practice.

Consequences: Policy Sphere

The process at the policy sphere level resulted in consequences, as the policy

intentions of the actors were negotiated and transformed. These consequences also helped

constrain the policy action at the linkages and implementation sites. Four consequences

manifested from the action of the policy sphere.

The Changing Nature of Dual Enrollment Policies. The first consequence of

the process was the move to a more centralized and standardized dual enrollment policy

in Virginia. While dual enrollment has been part of the educational landscape in the state

since 1998, it was not until the approval of the *Governing Principles* that there was any

document that both outlined the statewide policies that govern dual enrollment and

included guidelines for the practice of dual enrollment and the implementation of

individual dual enrollment programs. In doing so, the *Principles* standardized aspects of

dual enrollment practice that had previously been unregulated by the VCCS or other state

entities or purposely left to the discretion of the individual community colleges and their

leaders. While already underway, this move towards centralized control will continue as

members of the General Assembly become more interested in dual enrollment policy and more active in its oversight. This centralization stands in contrast to the history of dual enrollment in Virginia, as an initiative largely regulated by the institutions that offer it.

Despite the ongoing evolution of the statewide policy from fractured to standardized, the current educational landscape in Virginia still includes overlapping policies from multiple agencies all that govern aspects of dual enrollment. It is important to note that the colleges and high schools that have implemented dual enrollment have had to navigate this complex network. While the *Governing Principles* did bring many of these policies under one umbrella, it mainly serves to organize them not reduce them. The diverse dual enrollment policies act both as a condition for the policy process at the policy-making level and as a consequence of the policy action.

Dual Enrollment Funding. Another consequence of this policy process is the community college's reliance on dual enrollment for funding. As described by numerous policy sphere actors, dual enrollment contributes to the overall FTE that the colleges generate. In turn, this FTE directly impacts the amount of funding each college is allotted by the state. As the student enrollment of more traditional sectors of community college fluctuates, and most recently has declined, dual enrollment provides an important mechanism for colleges to maintain funding levels or at least mitigate what could be a precipitous decline in state appropriations.

Need for Robust Data. Finally, the findings generated by the policy sphere indicated that the evaluation of the success of the statewide dual enrollment policy has been lacking. Despite the standardization of the policy itself, dual enrollment program

outcomes for students, high schools, community colleges, and the state in general are

largely unknown. The diverse values inherent in and formed through the dual enrollment

policy process and the range of actors responsible for them complicate the efforts to

understand how the policy itself is working. As the SCHEV Director of Academic Affairs

stated, "We have not measured that rigorously yet." Despite this lack of data, dual

enrollment policy has recently expanded, through the HB 1184 legislation, and continues

to be heralded by policy leaders as an innovative and successful program.

Linkages: Policy to Practice

Given the diverse actors and sites involved, there are many points at which this

dual enrollment policy process is linked within the policy sphere itself. Important

linkages exist in time and place between the General Assembly and SCHEV, SCHEV and

the VCCS, and the VCCS and the VDOE. At each of these points conflicts arise,

compromises and alliances are made, intentions and interests jostle, and interactions

occur that impact the policy process. Some of these interactions can be viewed directly,

like in the workgroup that created the *Governing Principles* and the SCHEV policies that

directly cite and are in accordance with the Code of Virginia. However, the dynamic

interplay that occurs at these linkages is not always evident. On some instances its effects

can only be seen in the policy process itself, including manifest in the policy product it

yields.

While these intra-case linkages shape policy, the linkages between the policy

sphere and the policy implementation sites also impact the process. There are formal

pathways in which the policy sphere links with the colleges that implement dual

enrollment. These include the VCCS policy manual, the SACSCOC accreditation

process, as well as the standing committees, workgroups, and meetings that the VCCS holds annually. The VCCS represents the major conduit through which policy information gets transmitted to the individual colleges. Informally, conversations take place between the VCCS and college leaders and staff in meetings, conferences, and even over the phone and by email. These conversations are also a means by which the VCCS can interact with the colleges on policy issues. In addition, representatives from colleges themselves interact over the policy process, particularly regarding the ways in which one college or another is implementing the policy mandates.

Finally, some representatives from the implementation site will also serve on committees that assist the policy elites in drafting new policies or modifying existing ones. The *Governing Principles* workgroup is one such example. These linkages are not just channels for transmitting unidirectional policy from policy sphere to implementation sites, but also serve as a point at which policy itself can be adapted as these actors interact with it.

Implementation Level: Colleges

Conditions and Actors: Colleges

At these implementation sites, dual enrollment policy is translated and transformed into practice. Organizational leaders, mid-level administrators, and street-level staff all interact with dual enrollment policy and must negotiate the context of their own institutions as well as the policy mandates as they are communicated. However, the policy mandates are themselves affected by this context, including the intentions and interests of the institutions and actors, the available resources, the power dynamic, and the conventions that are utilized. The nature of the policy process at the implementation

sites is framed by the conditions that are present, conditions that are a result of both the consequences of the actions of the policy sphere and the local context of the institutions themselves.

The actors at these implementation sites range from college presidents to high school counselors. They each face unique circumstances that shape their experience with the dual enrollment policy and affect the ways in which dual enrollment is executed. The governance structure in these sites also plays an important role in the implementation of dual enrollment. The power given to college presidents, for example, differs from what is allowed by high school principals. While dual enrollment is a partnership between the community colleges and high schools, these institutions do have different organizational structures, state oversight, and institutional needs. The VDOE exercises control over the secondary divisions, while the VCCS is the state agency that oversees the community colleges. These systems have their own unique histories and deal with policy in different ways.

The policy process that occurs at the highest levels of state government results in a number of consequences, in addition to the finalized policy products themselves. As previously described, these consequences include the centralization of the current dual enrollment policy, the legacy of disparate policies related to dual enrollment, the reliance of dual enrollment for the funding of community colleges, and the lack of data and measures on the success of dual enrollment policy and programs. All of these outcomes act as conditions for the process that takes place at the community colleges.

In addition, some of the conditions faced at the implementation level are similar to those faced by the policy sphere. While these conditions set the parameters of the work

of the policy elites, they can also affect the policy process at the implementation sites. These include, the power of four-year colleges and universities in influencing dual enrollment through their control of the transfer process and the division of the VCCS into service regions served by one community college and the multiple statewide dual enrollment policies that exist. Together all of these conditions serve to lay the foundation for the policy process that follows. The actors at the implementation sites must take into account these conditions in their interaction with and implementation of the policy.

Processes: Colleges

   Oceanview Community College. Oceanview Community College (OCC) is a small to mid-sized VCCS institution located in and serving a mostly rural region of Virginia. In fact, according to its president, "We're the only bricks and mortar institution of higher education in a region the size of the state of Delaware." Like most of its VCCS counterparts, OCC has seen a slight decline in overall enrollment in the past few years. However, OCC has a very robust and growing dual enrollment program that accounts for almost 50% of the total FTEs generated by the college. OCC has a president who is the executive officer for the college and a vice president (VP) who oversees academic and student affairs. In addition, the college employs a dual enrollment coordinator (DEC) and a dual enrollment liaison, both of whom are tasked specifically to the oversight and daily operations of the large dual enrollment program. The findings that follow were generated through the interview of these college representatives (see Table 2).

Table 2

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories: Oceanside CC

Categories	Findings
Conditions	Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures Rural service region and limited resources Robust dual enrollment program
Network of Collective Actions	OCC President, Vice President, Dual Enrollment Coordinator, Dual Enrollment Liaison
Task	Implement a policy-based dual enrollment program
Interests/ Intentions	Provide access, opportunities and pathways in rural region Economic driver; students and the region Prepare academically and socially for college Promoting CTE opportunities and pathways Workforce development in CTE
Conventions	Service regions SACS guidelines
Resources/ Power	VCCS and SACS increased involvement in dual enrollment Finances of high school divisions Qualified dual enrollment instructors as a resource Demand on college resources: funds and personnel
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Dual enrollment demand as program success Increased secondary/post-secondary partnerships Move towards dual enrollment pathways School counselors and scheduling impacts AP competition with dual enrollment Dual enrollment as professional development for teachers VPT as a barrier to student participation Positive impact of dual enrollment on college FTE Community college as a conduit for statewide policy
Consequences	Robust dual enrollment and early college program that balances college needs with policy mandates

Note. Implementation site data generated from Oceanside Community College (OCC).

Intentions and Interests. The leaders of Oceanside Community College (OCC) are

tasked with implementing a dual enrollment program that meets the needs of the college,

the partnering school divisions, and the requirements set out in the Code of Virginia and

in the policies of SCHEV, VCCS, VDOE, and SACSCOC. In doing so they contend with

the conditions that are passed down from the policy sphere and those that are unique to

their sites. These actors have their own intentions that influence not only the process of

implementing the policy but in the continued shaping of the policy itself. Like in the

policy sphere, these intentions are realized through group and subgroup interests.

Therefore, the policy that ultimately leads to a program is not just passed down from the

state policy elites, but rather it continues to be shaped through the interactions at the

implementation sites themselves.

One of the first intentions for dual enrollment described by the president of OCC

is to help the college provide opportunities and pathways in their rural community. She

stated:

> We have a large rural population here with small school systems, fourteen of them
> actually. They're not able to on their own come up a load of advanced standing
> opportunities for students. So we provide a huge service in offering the dual
> enrollment courses. And we also are very observant about having them build
> toward pathways…and we just couldn't do that in the school system with their
> resources alone. We think it's a huge service in a rural area.

Serving this rural community means providing access to higher education for residents.

Dual enrollment helps to accomplish goal, as the president described, "Its access. The

first and most important touch to seeing the cycle of college going in a region like this. It

[dual enrollment] gets them started on a pathway." The DEC agreed that dual enrollment

provides "first and foremost, access to students." Dual enrollment is an entry point for

rural students to begin a pathway towards a higher education degree or credential. This

intention is also related to the goal of dual enrollment as an economic driver for the

students that participate and the communities from which they come.

The OCC president stated that inherent in the complex mission of the college

itself is to be an "economic driver." Dual enrollment serves as a student's first experience

with higher education and can begin a process of economic mobility. The VP noted,

"where dual enrollment it's impact-now we haven't examined this for our service region-but nationally where it is having the biggest impact is with lower income students and minorities." Students who attend college and graduate will be able to realize more economic opportunities than those who do not. "We do see that in our service region that taking a dual enrollment course broadens students' horizons. We see students going to the four years that wouldn't have thought of going to a four-year college. So we're very proud that we offer that opportunity," related the VP. Many of these low-income students are also potentially first generation college students. The OCC dual enrollment liaison detailed this issue in describing the benefits of dual enrollment. "A lot of students I work with are first generation would probably not otherwise even thought of college if it wasn't for the dual enrollment even in our tech centers." Dual enrollment provides an opportunity for students to begin a journey towards economic empowerment through participation in higher education.

In addition to improving the economic status of students and communities, other intentions for dual enrollment were indicated. One intention is to help students prepare academically and socially to transition to college after high school. The DEC noted:

> I truly think it's about the experience... knowing what a college course is like, being able to follow a syllabus, understanding about deadlines. Better to find that out while you're in high school…So I think that it is meeting the goals of the students who make that transition into college: make it a smoother one for them.

Dual enrollment allows high school students the opportunity to experience college rigor and expectations in a more supportive and familiar environment. This in turn helps them acclimate when they do matriculate to a college or university after high school graduation.

While dual enrollment serves students who plan to attend college it also benefits students who are pursuing CTE pathways. "One of the benefits on the CTE side...the more career studies certificates and certifications that we are able to put in schools, particularly the technical centers, equips students that want to go straight to the work force," remarked the liaison. He provided an example, "One of our technical schools we offer five career studies certificates in one technical school. Those students are in programs like HVAC that are in demand and are getting certifications and career studies certificates. So I think we are producing students that are ready to go to work. As a community we are hopefully producing students that are ready to go on to college and to be a productive member of the community." The DEC echoed the importance of dual enrollment for CTE students. She stated that one purpose of dual enrollment, in relation to HB 1184, is to "offer options to high school students now. Not only for just dual enrollment course work, but also for degree completion, to expose them to career pathways and those degree completions I should say are in transfer degrees as well as certificates, career study certificates." Dual enrollment is intended to serve students who will matriculate to colleges and universities after high school, utilizing the credits they have earned through dual enrollment, and also those students who receive credentials and certificates that would allow them to find more immediate, gainful employment.

Resources and Power. In addition to the intentions that help shape this policy process, issues of resources and power also impact the nature of dual enrollment at OCC. One such issue is the expanded role of the VCCS and SACSCOC in dual enrollment policy and the power they have over its implementation. This is clearly articulated by the VP, when she described her role in the implementation of dual enrollment:

> My role as the chief academic officer is to be accountable for everything that goes on with my level and below. All the way down to selecting the faculty, making sure that all the Virginia Community College systems policies and procedures are adhered to as well as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

One of the primary duties of the highest-ranking academic officer at the college is to ensure the dual enrollment program aligns with the standards of these two institutions. After listing a number of VCCS protocols for dual enrollment, the president cited the VCCS dual enrollment policy from which they originate. "We have the governing principles. And that was just approved by our president and the state board of Virginia for community colleges." In describing her role in the process, the DEC also stated "I'm responsible for ensuring that dual enrollment is done in the best and the right way, and to make sure that we are following staff requirements, first and foremost, the SACS guidelines and also the college guidelines, as well." This level of authority wielded by the VCCS and SACS over dual enrollment implementation is relatively new. As centralization and standardization have taken place, a power differential between the policy sphere and the colleges that implement dual enrollment has grown.

This power dynamic was mentioned several times by the OCC administrators and in many ways influenced the implementation of dual enrollment more than any other. However, resource allocation has also affected dual enrollment implementation. Three particular examples of these resource issues are the lack of financial capital in rural school divisions, qualified dual enrollment instructors as a limited resource, and the growing demand dual enrollment has placed on college resources and personnel. In reference to the lack of money available in the school divisions served by OCC, the VP explained:

> We're in a rural area. Not all of our high schools-in fact most of them don't offer chemistry if you can believe that. Most of them don't offer physics. There's one science course. Many of our high schools can't offer calculus. Or if they do they offer only the first part of it. They don't offer a statistics class. They can't offer lots of other enriching courses-computer courses-additional foreign language courses. For a share of services we can offer a student that lives out here in the country the opportunity to take Japanese and Chinese or Arabic. It's just a wonderful thing.

The needs of the local school divisions necessitate a strong partnership with the community college in order to bolster the opportunities for students. The lack of finances also impacts the school division's ability to hire and retain qualified dual enrollment instructors.

In describing the limitations of the OCC dual enrollment program, the DEC stated "Well, (we are) always limited by who has faculty to teach at the college level at the high school. Usually that's the first limitation." The VP also expressed this resource limitation, "In small school systems we sometimes disappoint because we can't credential the faculty for it… There's so few teachers and if you don't have a Masters-prepared instructor, that's tough." SACSCOC standards dictate the qualifications needed for dual enrollment instructors. Finding high school teachers who are qualified to teach dual enrollment, especially in the transfer areas, is a major limiting factor, particularly in small rural school divisions. Having qualified faculty is a resource upon which dual enrollment relies. Even in situations where a school does have a qualified teacher, it can be difficult to retain and/or replace them. The liaison noted, "Well I think the limitations that most people see are, to grow your program you have to have [faculty] credentials. Then of course if the teacher leaves and you can't find a suitable replacement."

The final resource issue outlined by the OCC representatives is the burden dual enrollment places on the college's own financial resources, particularly in terms of

personnel. When asked about program limitations, the VP declared, "There's probably a couple but one is that it's labor intensive for a huge service region when you want to do it well. We have a coordinator and a whole department that does nothing but dual enrollment and [HB1184] pathways." The size of the service region served by OCC puts additional strain on these resources. According to the DEC:

> Sometimes the sheer [size of the] service region can be a limitation, but luckily we have a full time recruiter at the program now… I would say that could be a limitation in a lot of places, students not being able to get the advising they need. But, I will say here I feel like it's happening because he's always out and about. Overall, I know for dual enrollment that's not always the case because not all schools have those resources to have somebody devoted to recruitment and advising.

The resources needed for the college to implement such a robust dual enrollment program have expanded, not only because student enrollment in the program has increased at OCC but also because the duties required have also increased. With more oversight from the General Assembly, VCCS and SACSCOC, dual enrollment staff have seen an increase in the work necessary to ensure all that all the standards from these agencies, as well as from the college itself, are met. Advising, career guidance, and other student support is now mandatory to make dual enrollment work.

Contingencies and Opportunities. Through the dual enrollment process at OCC, a number of contingencies and opportunities have been created. Some of these contingencies mirror what was developed in the policy sphere, including viewing dual enrollment demand as an analog for program success, dual enrollment as a means of developing secondary/post-secondary partnerships, and a move towards pathways for dual enrollment students. However, some unique contingencies also manifested. One such contingency is the role of school counselors and scheduling on dual enrollment.

Students, who wish to take dual enrollment that is offered in their high school, must find a way to fit the classes into their schedules. "There's only so many offerings that you can have in a school without students having conflicts in their schedule. Students have to, sometimes, make a choice of one course over another. Sometimes that may not end up being dual enrollment, just conflicts in students," remarked the DEC. The act of scheduling is also impacted by the workload of the high school counselors. With too few resources to have enough counselors to serve all the students at the level they would prefer, high schools are forced to burden the ones they do have. Both the president and the liaison mentioned this contingency when discussing aspects of dual enrollment implementation in the high schools.

Another contingency of dual enrollment policy implementation at OCC revolves around the offering of Advanced Placement courses (AP) versus dual enrollment. In many high schools dual enrollment classes compete with AP classes for student enrollment. Counselors often play a role in steering students in one direction or another. For years, AP was often recommended for students who were planning on going to college out of state. The thinking was that AP credit, if earned by students, would be more applicable at those colleges or universities than would dual enrollment transfer credit. If students were staying in Virginia, then dual enrollment would be a very viable option. However, the liaison noted, "that seems to be not true anymore." The DEC captured this issue:

> I think around here, there are students [that] have opportunities for AP and dual enrollment, but in other service regions, there seem to be…I don't want to say mentality but an AP [mentality]. It was really hard sometimes to encourage schools to consider dual enrollment. Either over AP or in addition to AP, but again sometimes, [it is about] how does it fit into their plans and their goals as well.

Despite the appeal of AP, most of the high schools in the OCC service region support their students taking dual enrollment courses. This contingency however, still impacts the perception of dual enrollment in the high schools.

Some other contingencies that have appeared as a result of the policy process include dual enrollment as a valuable professional development opportunity for the instructors who teach it, the role of placement testing, especially the VPT, as a barrier to participation in dual enrollment, the positive impact dual enrollment can have on four-year college an university enrollment, and finally the community college as a conduit through which locally-based, and efficient delivery of policy can be made. All of these contingencies are important and mostly unintended consequences of the policy process. They are formed through the policy process, but also impact the manner in which dual enrollment is implemented at the college and partnering high schools.

Hillside Community College. Hillside Community College (HCC) is a mid-sized institution serving a diverse region that includes suburban and rural areas, along with a few small urban pockets. In fall 2015, the dual enrollment program at HCC accounted for approximately 10% of the total FTEs generated by the college. This makes it a relatively small program in relation to the overall size of the college and in comparison to the dual enrollment program at other VCCS schools. The administrators who oversee dual enrollment at HCC include a vice president for academics and student services (VP), a dean of students, and a dual enrollment coordinator (DEC). The findings from HCC were taken from interviews of these three administrators (see Table 3).

Table 3

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories: Hillside CC

Categories	Findings
Conditions	Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy
	Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies
	Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding
	Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures
	Diverse service region and limited resources
	Neighboring community colleges
Network of Collective Actions	HCC Vice President, Dean of Students, Dual Enrollment Coordinator
Task	Implement a policy-based dual enrollment program
Interests/ Intentions	Reduce cost burden on students
	Increase college-going and accelerate completion
	Provide rigor for high school students
	Expand dual enrollment pathways for college and career
	Economic driver; students and the region
Conventions	Service regions
	SACS guidelines
Resources/ Power	Resources needed for student participation
	Power of four-year colleges over dual enrollment
	Demand on college resources: funds and personnel
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Conflict between AP and dual enrollment
	Dual enrollment as a college recruitment strategy
	Dual enrollment as professional development for teachers
	Need for evaluation metric for dual enrollment
	VPT as a barrier to student participation
	School divisions as consumers of dual enrollment programs
	Dual enrollment as a student services program
	Diversity of dual enrollment programs at high schools
Consequences	Growing dual enrollment program that balances college and local needs with policy mandates; Small early college program

Note. Implementation site data generated from Hillside Community College (HCC).

Conditions. Like with the leaders of OCC, the HCC leadership must also deal

with the conditions as they are transmitted from the consequences of the policy sphere.

Likewise there are conditions that are unique to the context of HCC as well. Some of

these particular conditions include the level of interest in dual enrollment on the part of

the school divisions in the HCC service region, the dual enrollment programs of the

neighboring community colleges, the demographics of the HCC service region itself, and

the history of dual enrollment in the college and region. All of the conditions act to define parameters of the policy action that follows, including program implementation.

Intentions and Interests. The HCC administrators identified several intentions for dual enrollment policy and their dual enrollment program. The OCC leadership also described many of these intentions. Reducing the cost burden on students and the state, increasing college-going and completion, providing more rigor for participating students, expanding dual enrollment pathways, and delivering an economic boost to the community are all intentions outlined by HCC. These help shape the policy implementation process at HCC and give insight into the values that underpin it.

In reference to the success of the dual enrollment program, the VP noted, "It's working in that when students do have these credits, they are reducing costs when they get to the 4-year university because they don't have to take as many credits for a bachelor's degree." Students can take dual enrollment credit at a reduced rate that can allow them a significant cost saving over paying the tuition and fees for those credits at a four-year college or university. The dean also added that, "They're [dual enrollment students] going to be educated at a less cost to the state than they would be if they…took all of their classes at a four year state college. To start with, that would be one goal." By providing students the opportunity to earn high school and college credit simultaneously, dual enrollment can deliver a cost savings to individuals and the state as well. In addition to this financial intention, several other intentions were also laid out.

A goal of dual enrollment is to increase the number of high school students that attend college after graduation, and accelerate the time to degree for students that do attend. "It [dual enrollment] is working in that increasingly we are having more students

who are getting college degrees that would not have ... college degrees or college credit

who would not have had those degrees or credits in prior years," stated the VP. When

students do choose to attend college, the credits they earn not only save them money, but

time as well. Students also have the flexibility to create a college plan that allows them

more options than they would have without dual enrollment credit. The dean described

the situation of a former dual enrollment student, "He only took a couple [of dual

enrollment classes], but that was very helpful to him when he transferred to just have that

little bit of wiggle room when he transferred to have a couple of dual enrollment classes.

He had room to take a minor and didn't have to take an overload of classes to do it."

Another intention that underlies the HCC dual enrollment program is to provide

high school students with the opportunity to take more rigorous classes. All the HCC

representatives mentioned this intention. A goal of dual enrollment "is preparing students

for university experience by introducing them to college rigor as early as they can do it"

stated the VP. The dean also noted a purpose of dual enrollment in, "offering

opportunities to those students who need advanced opportunities and that qualify for

college-level work while they're still in high school." Finally the DEC added, "they're

[dual enrollment students] getting the academic rigor of a college course, so to that I

think I we're being effective here." Adding rigor to the high school curriculum is

particularly important in the senior year. The dean remarked:

> The benefits to the high school are it's another option for the high schools to offer
> the students…sometimes they really are not able to offer a lot of options for
> particularly the senior year. Dual enrollment is a very good option for senior year.
> They…get some college classes along with finishing those last few classes they
> need to graduate from high school.

In providing rigorous opportunities to high school students, dual enrollment can positively impact high-achieving students who are ready to be challenged, particularly in their senior year.

Expanding college and career pathways and providing benefits to the local economy are the final two intentions described by the HCC leadership. The VP noted that the newer dual enrollment arrangements between HCC and the school division all include early college pathways, as required by HB1184. "That pathway could be a series of courses, or the pathway could be an early college program in which students can participate within 2 years to get their high school diploma, as well as the associate degree…All of the counties have a pathway, which is the primary goal of the recent change to dual enrollment." Offering students tangible pathways more closely aligns dual enrollment with college completion. And while college completion is important, CTE dual enrollment also benefits students and the community. As the DEC described, "we're taking these students from a local level, getting them those certifications, getting them the trade skills that are necessary for local manufacturing and local industry, and helping the local economy as well, so I think for all parties involved it's a win/win."

Resources and Power. Issues of resources and power have also been shaped by and helped shape the dual enrollment process at HCC. The administrators identified three of these issues, the resources needed to maintain dual enrollment, including CTE, the resources needed for students to participate in the program, and the power that four-years have had over dual enrollment programs. The first of these resource concerns impacts not only HCC but also the high schools in which dual enrollment is offered as well.

The dual enrollment program at HCC requires a strong commitment of financial and personnel resources. In response to the funding the college currently receives for dual enrollment through FTE, the VP stated:

> It doesn't give us a huge increase in funding, however. We're getting to the point where we're going to have to look at the financial costs to offering dual enrollment especially since the push is to have discounted tuition or to have no tuition at all charged for dual enrollment. The finances are a bit questionable at the moment.

The DEC also echoed this notion. When describing the limitations to dual enrollment he noted, "The biggest limitation is staffing. I'm it." The DEC is being pulled in more directions, particularly with the advent of early college pathways. The duties have expanded but the personnel dedicated to the oversight of the program has not. However, offering a dual enrollment program does not just impact college resources.

High school resources can also be stretched through the implementation of a dual enrollment program. One issue is that schools need to provide specific equipment in order to offer some dual enrollment classes, like those in CTE areas and laboratory sciences. In addition, the dean added the challenge of providing "infrastructure for the computers, offering Blackboard, having the technology to go with the classes so that we can make sure that they are comparable." These resources are particularly vital in rural areas. Having enough qualified faculty is another important resource needed by high schools that offer dual enrollment. The DEC declared:

> I think one of the obstacles that we face routinely here in working with the local high schools is that they just don't have enough faculty that are credentialed to teach at the college level. At this point I think some of my position will become working with the high schools trying to help them find alternative funding to go and get some teachers credentialed.

Colleges and high schools must have the resources necessary to offer dual enrollment. However, students themselves must have the resources to participate.

"Even when we make the early college program available, it may be a handful of students who can really afford to come," remarked the VP when discussing the resources students need to participate in dual enrollment and early college pathways. While dual enrollment is often offered at a reduced rate in the high schools, students who take classes on campus must often pay the entire tuition rate. This limits who can participate. The VP also explained that sometimes additional funding streams need to be explored to help reduce the burden on students. "We have to depend on wealthy donors. For instance, in _____, we have an early college program, but that was provided by a donor in the community, and it is a 5-year program. When that funding ends in 5 years, the program may go away unless funding comes from somewhere."

Contingencies. Through the policy process at HCC, several contingencies arose. The conflict between AP and dual enrollment, dual enrollment as an outreach strategy for community colleges, dual enrollment as a professional development opportunity for instructors, the lack of data and metrics on program success, and the VPT as a barrier to student participation, are all contingencies that have also been observed at the policy level and at other implementation sites. However, there were some unique, unintended circumstances that were observed by the HCC administrators.

The role of the school divisions as consumer or customer for the dual enrollment services offered by the colleges is one such contingency. The dean described as exchange she had with school division representatives. "We just recently had a meeting with all the school superintendents and pretty much asked that question to all the school

superintendents… 'Is it [dual enrollment] working? If it's not, what do we need to do?'

While dual enrollment is described as a partnership by the policy sphere and in policy

documents, HCC has a more complex view of this relationship. In this example, the

colleges provide something of value to the high schools in return for student enrollment

in the program, which brings more FTE funding to the college. This contingency stresses

the important role that high schools and school divisions have in the implementation of

dual enrollment.

Another contingency identified involves the way dual enrollment is positioned

within the organizational structure of HCC. Rather than residing in an academic division,

dual enrollment falls under the auspices of the student services division and is managed

by the HCC Dean of Students. The dean stressed, "Just this past year, they moved the

dual enrollment program, or at least the dual enrollment coordinator, reporting to Student

Development. Although the classes themselves that were reported are still under

instruction technically. The dual enrollment coordinator is in Student Development." By

organizing dual enrollment in this way, HCC stresses the importance of student support

services in the delivery of dual enrollment.

The diversity of high school dual enrollment programs and the experiences of the

students who participate in them is the final contingency that was explored by the leaders

of the HCC dual enrollment program. The dean described a landscape in which each high

school has developed its own unique dual enrollment program based on its own resources

and needs. She stated:

> We're trying to give opportunities. It's individualized for each high school. Most
> of the time, we're really just trying to see what the needs are of the students at the
> high school and fill in that gap. It's different in every high school; what they want
> and what's available in that high school. Some high schools have very

sophisticated current technical programs already. Some have nothing. They're asking for different things at the high school.

While HCC maintains a single college-wide dual enrollment program, it consists of a diverse collection of high school programs. These specialized programs exist within the context of each high school environment, serving students in different ways.

Outcomes: Colleges

Oceanside Community College. The dual enrollment policy process at Oceanside Community College has led to a robust dual enrollment program that accounts for a major portion of the college's academic offerings. This has made the college reliant on dual enrollment and the FTEs it generates. Given the importance of dual enrollment, the Oceanview administrators work diligently to ensure that the policy mandates of the VCCS and SACSCOC are reflected in their program. The consequences for not doing so would be great. OCC had recently undergone a SACS accreditation visit that looked at their dual enrollment program, underlining the importance of following all required guidelines.

Despite the relatively large number of FTE, and thus funding, generated by dual enrollment, the college does struggle with the resource demands of running such a large-scale program. However, OCC does dedicate several of its personnel to work directly with the dual enrollment program, including liaising with the high school partners in the region. This stands in contrast to many other colleges, which often commit only one person to oversee dual enrollment.

The dual enrollment program has allowed the college to reinforce its role as a locally based delivery system for social programming in the rural area they serve. The OCC administrators see themselves as a resource for a local community that lacks

resources, particularly in the area of higher education and workforce and economic development. The dual enrollment programs help to serve this mission by providing students with pathways both for college degrees and also workforce credentials and preparation. The college relies on dual enrollment and its leaders believe that it is a key component of the overall mission of the college. Despite this however, there is a lack of a data on the program's overall success and quality. Like other sites, the success of dual enrollment at OCC has been anecdotally measured by the demand that students have for the program and the number of students who receive degrees and other credentials.

Hillside Community College. The dual enrollment program at HCC accounts for a much smaller percentage of the overall college's FTE, than at OCC. Accordingly, the college directs far fewer resources to operating the program at the college level. With only one dedicated dual enrollment employee, the potential for the program seems limited. However, the dual enrollment does act as a recruitment vehicle that bolsters the enrollment of high school graduates. Additionally, the scope of the program is largely restricted to academic, transfer offerings. The lack of CTE dual enrollment is due to the nature of the college itself, as an institution with a strong history of transfer, and the demands of the high schools served by HCC.

Early college pathways are growing at HCC and are quickly becoming the focus of the dual enrollment program. Following the mandates of HB 1184, these pathways have been developed and are now being promoted in the partnering schools. However, participation in these programs is negatively impacted by the resources required of the students. Funding is an obstacle to dual enrollment participation at HCC, given the nature of the funding agreements they have in place with the high schools. The have had to rely

on donors, for example, in order to reduce the costs of their existing early college programs. Without these donors, the programs would falter. In addition to just purely monetary considerations, students are also required to travel to the HCC campus for early college. Students who attend schools that are far from the campus or those without transportation, either personal or provided by the high school, cannot take advantage of these programs.

Linkages: Implementation Sites

Just as formal linkages exist between the policy sphere and the community colleges, so too are there established connections between the colleges that provide dual enrollment and the high schools sites in which the programs are actually implemented. The linkages help transmit information in both directions, but also serve as place both in time and space in which policy is interpreted and shaped. Each college employs at least one coordinator whose job it is to work with the high schools and school divisions to provide support and oversight for dual enrollment. These coordinators communicate the VCCS and college policies to the high schools, including the SACSCOC guidelines for academic integrity and faculty qualifications. They ensure that high school students who participate in dual enrollment meet the admissions requirements. The may work with schools to create new dual enrollment offerings and pathways, help promote the dual enrollment program to prospective students, and even identify and/or recruit dual enrollment instructors. In each of these duties, the coordinator can provide the high school leadership with the college expectations and requirements for the program. In addition they can communicate concerns and issues from the high schools to the college administration.

In addition, linkages exist between the leadership of the schools division and community college. For example, the VP at Hillside Community College noted that her role in overseeing dual enrollment included liaising with the school divisions superintendents to negotiate on new early college programs or changes to the dual enrollment contracts. When connections are made at the highest administrative levels of the college and schools, there are also intra-institutional linkages in place to help facilitate communication and interaction with those who are working directly with programs and students, like principals and school counselors. With the advent of early college programs, linkages have been formed between the schools and other college offices and support resources as well. Advising, learning support, and library services personnel work with high schools to ensure dual enrollment students access all the services available to them. They may attend meetings or trainings that can provide avenues for communication. These linkages can also be important places within which these actors interact with policy.

While linkages exist between the implementation authority and the implementation sites, the nature of the loose relationship between the colleges and highs schools can impact these linkages. Community colleges and school divisions work as partners to provide dual enrollment to students. Although the power to offer dual enrollment to students rests with the colleges, they have no real authority over the secondary schools in which the programs must be implemented. The high schools' participation in dual enrollment is largely voluntary, although if they do wish to participate they must do so under the guidelines spelled out by the colleges. This lack of authority allows for more interplay between the parties and makes the linkages more

complex. For example, either institution could theoretically decide not to offer or implement dual enrollment, although both are encouraged to do so by financial and community pressures. This differs from the linkages that exist between the policy sphere and the colleges, as the policy agencies do have more direct authority over the community colleges.

Implementation Sites: High Schools

Conditions and Actors: OCC High Schools

The policy processes at the policy sphere and the community college levels bring about outcomes that act as conditions for the next policy level, the high school sites. At the policy level, these consequences include the centralization of dual enrollment policy, the varied nature of statewide policies in Virginia, the role of dual enrollment in overall college funding, and the lack of rigorous metrics on the success of dual enrollment policy. The college processes have also yielded outcomes that act as conditions on the processes that take place at the high school implementation sites. Dual enrollment as a community service and economic engine, the role of CTE in dual enrollment, the growth of dual enrollment pathways, and the college of the program guidelines are some of these conditions. In addition, each high school site also has a unique context that creates conditions specific to those sites. The individual actors at these sites must content with the many layers of conditions that shape the nature of the implementation process.

Westside Tech. The Westside Technical Education Center (Westside Tech) is a public, regional high school that provides technical education and training for students from a five-county region. The school also offers dual enrollment in partnership with Oceanside Community College. Westside Tech does not have their own school

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counselors, but rather students are supported by the counselors at their base schools. Westside Tech is run by a director who oversees all aspects of the school, including being tasked to implement the dual enrollment program. The findings that follow are the result of data generated through an interview of the director (see Table 4).

Table 4

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories: Westside Tech & Riverside HS

Categories	Findings
Conditions	Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures College dual enrollment policies & procedures
Network of Collective Actions	Westside Director, RHS Principal, RHS counselor
Task	Implement a dual enrollment program that meets OCC requirements and high school needs
Interests/ Intentions	Making the program accessible to all who qualify (WT, RHS) Increasing high school rigor (WT, RHS) Workforce development (WT) Increase college-going and accelerate completion (WT, RHS) Providing cost savings to students (WT, RHS) Increasing high school students' opportunities (WT) Expanding college pathways (RHS)
Conventions	High school scheduling process College application process: rigorous course of study
Resources/ Power	High school resources needed for dual enrollment (WT, RHS) Qualified dual enrollment faculty as a resource (WT, RHS) Power of four-years over dual enrollment (RHS)
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Transferability of dual enrollment credit (WT) Increasing partnerships between OCC and schools (WT) "Dual enrollment not necessary at tech schools" (WT) VPT as a barrier to student participation (WT, RHS VPT prep as college readiness and preparation (WT) Benefits of weighted GPA for dual enrollment (RHS) SACS requirements as a hiring factor (WT, RHS) Program as a professional development opportunity (WT, RHS) Diversity of dual enrollment student experiences (RHS)
Consequences	Maintaining and growing robust dual enrollment programs that follow college guidelines and places the immediate needs of the high school and students first; Rural schools valuing the role of dual enrollment programs (complete buy-in).

Note. Oceanside Community College (OCC) high school dual enrollment implementation site data generated from Westside Tech (WT) and Riverside High School (RHS).

Riverside High School. Riverside High School (RHS) is a small, rural comprehensive high school serving less than 300 students in grades 9-12. RHS is located in the OCC service region and has a very robust dual enrollment program with a broad array of offerings. Roughly 10% of the graduating seniors from RHS also earn an associate's degree through an early college program with OCC. Nearly all the dual enrollment that students take is offered at RHS. Given its size, RHS only employs one school counselor. Both this counselor and the school's principal, who has been in his position for over 17 years, were interviewed, and the findings that follow were taken from that data (see Table 4).

Processes: OCC High Schools

Westside Technical Education Center: *Intentions and Interests.* Two aspects of the dual enrollment program at Westside Tech cited by the director indicate some underlying intentions in the implementation of dual enrollment. The first issue is access, namely making dual enrollment accessible to all students who qualify. He noted, "Any 11th grade or 12th grade student may enroll in our program. In some cases, a 10th grader may participate. All students must meet the VCCS requirements by taking…and passing [the VPT] at the required level for the particular course of interest." Allowing all qualified students to take dual enrollment promotes the intention of student access to higher education while addressing potential barriers to participation, including the opinions and recommendations of counselors.

A second intention described by the director is the role of dual enrollment in increasing the options and rigor of high school offerings. Dual enrollment can allow high schools to offer rigorous classes that it might not be able to otherwise, classes that allow students to earn college credits. In quoting some of the promotional material Westside Tech provides students on dual enrollment, the director stated that through dual enrollment "students are introduced to the rigor of college courses."

In addition to these intentions, the director also provided a number of other benefits that students can realize by participating in dual enrollment at Westside Tech. Some of these benefits align with the intentions and interests of the policy sphere, while others parallel the contingencies of the policy process. The director listed the following benefits.

- Students receive college credit while in high school providing an opportunity to reduce costs related to higher education.
- Some dual enrollment credits are transferable to other colleges and institutions.
- Students gain early exposure to college expectations, which helps with the transition from high school to college (lessens the skills and abilities gap).
- Students build their personal portfolio for college and work.
- Students gain practical experience (through project-based learning) that can be applied to the workplace or college academics.
- Students have the opportunity to take coursework in their area of career interest leading to a higher level of student motivation.
- School faculty have the opportunity to collaborate with other college faculty resulting in shared resources that will ultimately benefit the students.
- Students have the opportunity to earn College Career Study Certificates prior to high school graduation.

The policy intentions embodied in these benefits include value for students, college preparation, credential attainment, and workforce development. Additionally, the issue of transferability of dual enrollment credit and furthering secondary/post-secondary partnerships align with contingencies of the process at the level of the policy makers.

Contingencies. Contingencies have also developed through the process of implementing dual enrollment policy at Westside Tech. One such contingency is the perception of dual enrollment within a technical high school. The director described the issue; "Dual enrollment in our case has come under scrutiny since it is still associated with former 'vo-tech' offerings that existed for students identified as potential drop-outs." The merits of dual enrollment are overshadowed by the misperception of technical training, particularly at the local level. "While most educators and industry leaders would see the benefits of offering a rigorous program that provides students with a high level of training and preparation, selling this idea is another story," quoted the director. Local leaders will often question why dual enrollment is necessary for students getting technical training, when industry credentials might suffice. In response to this critical climate, the director responded that "dual enrollment courses and CTE courses that are not dual enrollment must co-exist in regional CTE centers (serving rural communities) if adequate and sustaining enrollment is to be maintained." At Westside Tech, students can earn "high school credits, college credits, and industry credentials."

Another contingency referenced by the director is the role of placement testing in the dual enrollment environment. In order to participate in dual enrollment, students must meet admission requirements, and this is often done through the VPT placement tests. The director described the role of the VPT at schools like Westside Tech.

> While dual enrollment uses a measure (VPT) to provide a selection process or filter by which we ensure proper student selection and student success in the various programs, it also serves to limit enrollment especially in small rural communities where the overall population of students is low.

This is further exacerbated by the competition dual enrollment faces from AP. The VPT or other standardized tests are required for admission into dual enrollment programs, but

not for AP classes. The director has noticed this AP/dual enrollment competition increasing. Despite the negative impact the VPT can have on dual enrollment participation, the director described a potential opportunity that the VPT can present.

The dual enrollment admissions requirements are designed to ensure that students are college-ready, academically prepared for the rigors of college coursework. When students prepare for the VPT, they are also honing the skills necessary to be college-ready. "We have worked with OCC to provide: earlier testing opportunities, greater opportunities to participate in remediation, and opportunities to participate in practice tests," remarked the director. All of these initiatives help students prepare for the VPT tests but also prepare for college in general.

Riverside High School: *Intentions and Interests.* The principal described several intentions for dual enrollment at RHS, including saving money for students, promoting college pathways, and lowering the time to degree for participants. These intentions were realized as benefits for students through the implementation of dual enrollment in the high school. These three particular intentions for implementation also align with initial intentions present in the policy sphere.

Helping students save money is a major objective of the dual enrollment program at RHS. "One [goal of dual enrollment] is to provide an opportunity where a student can financially leverage the cost of college by obtaining as many of the required classes while in the [high school] building, prior to spending ten times that amount in a four-year setting" describe the principal. By offering an early college pathway at the high school, students can realize even more costs savings. Students who complete the early college pathway will receive a transferrable associate's degree from OCC, so that when they

matriculate to a four-year college or university they will have already completed two full years' worth of required credits. The principal anticipates that the percentage of students who take advantage of an early college pathway will grow from the current 10% to over 15% of all graduates in the near future. These pathways are bolstered by the dual enrollment offerings at the high school.

While RHS offers a wide variety of dual enrollment courses, they are thoughtfully chosen. Students can utilize the dual enrollment classes they take prescribed college pathways, either by aligning their classes with the requirements of four-year degree programs or by completing an entire early college degree. The principal described this thinking.

> First and foremost it's what we do offer as dual enrollment? It's not just a smorgasbord, going out and picking anything we could. We've got to be systematic about what classes do we want to add to our offerings that will get the biggest bang for the buck.

The intention of RHS is to offer dual enrollment students pathways rather than just a random assortment of dual enrollment credit. This makes the courses the students take more meaningful and also helps students save even more money, accelerating their time to degree.

Another intention for dual enrollment expressed by the principal is to provide increased rigor at the high school. In fact, this he stated that this is in fact the primary purpose for the dual enrollment program at RHS. "The goal for us is that we want our students to have the most rigorous high school experience that they can." By leveraging a host of dual enrollment offerings RHS can offer high school students college classes. These rigorous offerings not only help the high school expand the choices for their most high-achieving students, but the principal noted that "80% of our students who obtain at

least one DE credit before they graduate." Dual enrollment provides rigor for nearly all RHS students.

Access to the dual enrollment program is something that is important to the RHS administrators. According to the principal, dual enrollment classes are open to all students who meet the admissions requirements. However, he noted somewhat sarcastically, "There's one other requirement that would be fair to acknowledge and that's that there is cost involved." RHS charges students only five dollars per credit hour. This is obviously much less than the approximately $150.00 per credit hour charged by OCC, and all other VCC schools, for their matriculated students.

Contingencies. Through the dual enrollment process at RHS, several contingencies developed. These contingencies are largely unintended consequences of the policy process that have been noted by the administrators. These include the VPT test as a mitigating factor in dual enrollment participation, dual enrollment as a mechanism to boost high school GPA, SACS qualifications as a hiring requirement, dual enrollment as a professional development opportunity for teachers, and the differential nature of the benefits of dual enrollment to students. Several of these contingencies (the VPT test, the role of SACS qualifications, and professional development) were seen at Westside Tech as well.

Common among many high schools offering dual enrollment, students at RHS receive weighted credit for the dual enrollment grades they earn. For example, a student who earns a grade of A in a dual enrollment course would receive 5 grade points, rather than the typical 4 grade points that would be earned in a non-dual enrollment class. This opportunity entices the high-achieving, competitive students, sometime to the detriment

of other classes offered at the high school. The principle described this unintended

contingency:

> We give weighted grading to DE classes. Our students are unbelievably hungry for weighted classes. It does make other classes in the building which are not weighted on the elective side much more difficult to entice students to move towards. The competitive nature of DE is real and it really does control student movement in our system.

The opportunity to earn the weighted GPA points also extends to the dual enrollment

CTE offerings at RHS. This helps the school maintain such a high level of dual

enrollment participation across the board.

The final contingency described by the principal is the differential nature of the

benefits realized by students in the program. After describing a number of these dual

enrollment benefits, the principal stated, "I've had the opportunity to talk to countless

kids and its [dual enrollment] something different for nearly every one of them." The

diverse possibilities of the program, due to the numerous intentions of the policy, account

for the variety of positive impacts students experience from dual enrollment.

Outcomes: OCC High Schools

Westside Tech. The dual enrollment program at Westside Tech is an integral part

of vision of the high school. It fits in the Director's goal of offering his students the

opportunity to earn high school credits, college credits, and industry certifications and

credentials. As a regional technical education center and Governor's STEM academy,

Westside serves students from a large area and attempts to provide them all with a

modern technical education, something that differs from the outdated conceptions of

vocational training. Meeting the needs of students in this way requires innovative

programming, which includes CTE dual enrollment. Despite the intention of making this

educational opportunity available for all students, the dual enrollment admissions guidelines have prevented some students from accessing the program.

The focus of the dual enrollment program at Westside Tech is to provide students with opportunities. The regulations imposed on the school by the statewide dual enrollment policies and the OCC protocols and procedures can stand in opposition to the intentions of the high school leaders. The high school has been forced to balance its needs and the needs of the students with the regulations and strictures passed down from higher levels of the bureaucratic structure. Despite this struggle, Westside Tech has been able to offer a program that appears to align with the intentions of the policy sphere and the local needs. The program has some procedures in place for measuring the success of dual enrollment and offers the program at essentially no cost to the students themselves. It seems as though the rural students served by Westside Tech and its dual enrollment benefit greatly for an enrichment that would be difficult to replicate otherwise.

Riverside High School. RHS has a thriving dual enrollment and early college program, with over 80% of seniors leaving with at least some college credit and 10% of all students receiving an associate's degree upon high school graduation. The small school also makes dual enrollment open to all students who qualify, although not all RHS students will meet the dual enrollment admissions requirements. The cost to participate in the program is also so negligible ($5/credit hour) that student financial means are not a barrier to enrollment. Like at Westside tech, the leaders at Riverside also see dual enrollment as a valuable opportunity for all students, one that allows them to experience college rigor and allows them to build success. Although, they did not speak much about

the college policies surrounding dual enrollment, they alluded to some of the more tangible guidelines, like placement testing.

When discussing the success of the overall program, the RHS principal and counselor cited numerous stories of individual students who had remarked positively about their personal experiences. While not a rigorous metric, these anecdotes highlighted the value the program can have for students and underlined the intentions the RHS leaders have for it. The dual enrollment program at Riverside High School is therefore an invaluable initiative that meets the individual needs of the students and fits with the values of the school and its leadership.

Conditions and Actors: HCC High Schools

As previously stated, the policy implementation process at the high schools is constrained by conditions that are passed down from the policy sphere and college levels and that are unique to the sites themselves. Additionally, the actors at the high schools sites help shape this process as they interact with the policy.

Central High School. Central High School (CHS) is a mid-sized high school, with approximately 1,500 students, located in a mostly rural part if Virginia. The high school serves students from the entire county in which it is located. While CHS is in the HCC service region, it is not close in distance to any HCC campus. Central High School has a counselor who oversees the school's dual enrollment, and is tasked with supporting students in the application, placement testing and enrollment processes. This counselor and the principal of the school were interviewed, and their responses dictated these findings (see Table 5).

Table 5

Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories: Central HS and Jefferson HS

Categories	Findings
Conditions	Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures College dual enrollment policies & procedures
Network of Collective Actions	CHS Principal, CHS counselor, JHS principal, JHS dual enrollment counselor, JHS counselor
Task	Implement a dual enrollment program that meets HCC requirements and high school needs
Interests/ Intentions	Increasing high school rigor (CHS) Providing cost savings to students (JHS) Increasing high school students' opportunities (JHS) Reducing load for students who attend college (CHS, JHS) Opening dual enrollment to all qualified students (CHS) Bolstering the senior year of high school (CHS) Expanding the program to match that of other schools (CHS)
Conventions	High school scheduling process College application process: rigorous course of study
Resources/ Power	Finances needed for student participation (CHS, JHS) High school resources need to offer dual enrollment (CHS) Qualified dual enrollment faculty as a resource (CHS, JHS) Power of four-years over dual enrollment (JHS)
Contingencies/ Opportunities	Faculty from the college who don't *fit* the high school (CHS) Scheduling challenges of dual enrollment (JHS) VPT as a barrier to student participation (JHS) Benefits of weighted GPA for dual enrollment (JHS) Elevated status of dual enrollment (JHS)
Consequences	Growing dual enrollment programs that attempt to follow college guidelines but places the immediate needs of the high school and students first; Limited knowledge on the aims and values of the dual enrollment; policies themselves

Note. Hillside Community College (OCC) high school dual enrollment implementation site data generated from Central High School (CHS) and Jefferson High School (JHS).

Jefferson High School. Jefferson High School (JHS) is the sole high school in a rural Virginia county and serves approximately 600 total students in grades 9-12. This small high school is also located in the HCC service region, although it is nearly a 30-

minute drive to the closest HCC satellite campus. The principal has been at JHS for only

two years, but the high school employs two counselors, included a dedicated dual

enrollment counselor (DEC), who have been there much longer. The findings that follow

come from the interviews of these three JHS administrators, the principal, and two

counselors (see Table 5).

Processes: HCC High Schools

   Central High School: *Intentions and Interests***.** The principal and counselor

from CHS described several intentions for dual enrollment at their school. These

intentions match some of what was expressed by the actors at other implementation sites

and in the policy sphere. Increasing high school rigor, reducing the course load for dual

enrollment students who matriculate to a college or university, trying on the role of

college student, opening dual enrollment to all student who qualify, and bolstering the

senior year of high school for high-achieving students were all intentions expressed by

the principal of CHS. All of these intentions relate specifically to the benefits students

can realize by participating in the program. In addition to these policy and program

intentions, the principal stated an overarching intention for the entire program.

   Expanding the program to match or exceed what other area high schools offer is

an intention for dual enrollment at CHS. The principal described, "Definitely something

[dual enrollment] you want to see expanding. You try and make it at least comparable to

some of the other high schools in the area and it's something that's a benefit to our

students so we certainly want to see those opportunities expand." This intention for the

program itself, stems from the belief that dual enrollment offers the benefits it promises

to students. It also acknowledges a sort of arms race between high school in trying to offer the robust programs and class offerings possible to their students.

In addition to the intentions of dual enrollment, the administrators noted several ways in which resources impact dual enrollment at CHS. Perhaps the most important issue regarding resources has to do with the financial responsibilities that students who want to participate in dual enrollment must face. The counselor compared the HCC funding model for dual enrollment to another nearby community college, noting that while this other college has "has nice arrangements where some of their students can take dual enrollment classes online or at the school. They get a cut in their tuition. Hillside does not do that." She also described the early college pathway made available to CHS students. "They're [HCC] not making it easy. The students have to drive to Hillside. They have to pay full tuition. It's not been a very appealing thing." The finances of individual students can determine their participation in dual enrollment. To help alleviate some of that burden, CHS offset some of the costs of the dual enrollment classes offered at the high school. "We help them pay for part of it. We don't pay all of it like some of the schools, but we help them pay for part of the tuition."

Resources and Power. Another issue has to do with the resources required by the high school to offer dual enrollment to students. One aspect of this challenge has to do with offering the VPT placement testing on campus, so that students need not travel to HCC in order to take it. The CHS counselor is a test administrator for the VPT and can give potential student the test at CHS. However, the time it takes to plan for and administer the test to the necessary students can be a burden on her already limited time. In addition, qualified dual enrollment instructors are a limited resource. Although dual

enrollment instructors tend to be "stronger teachers," according to the principal, they are

difficult to find and often retain. The counselor lamented, "The limitation [of dual

enrollment at CHS] basically is that I don't have certified staff to do any more than what

we do."

When high schools do not have certified instructors, colleges like HCC can send

their own faculty to teach dual enrollment at the high school. While this can help make

up for a lack in resources, it also illustrates a contingency of the dual enrollment process

at CHS. The principal described some of the issues about having faculty come from the

college:

> A lot of times you're not hiring those teachers. They're college employees and
> there needs to be a connection on what the college schedule is and what the high
> school schedule... sometimes those things are different and that can cause a
> problem. You have different breaks. You know college professors have a slightly
> different expectation scale than our high school teachers.

This contingency is born from the lack of SACSCOC qualified instructors that are

employed by high schools, particularly in rural school divisions that lack sufficient

funding and resources.

Jefferson High School: *Intentions and Interests.* As was seen as many of the

other implementation sites, increasing student opportunities, accelerating a student's time

to degree, and providing student with cost-savings are all intentions of dual enrollment at

JHS. The principal noted, "I would just say my goal [for dual enrollment], my goal is to

provide opportunities." The opportunities afforded students by participating in dual

enrollment underlie these intentions. To illustrate these intentions in action, the principal

described the experience of a recent JHS graduate:

> I talked to a young lady who graduated last year. She took AP courses, she took
> some DE courses as well and she did a lot of online stuff too…She literally ...

> Where'd she go? She went to Alabama, I believe. At any rate, she ... What did she say? I almost want to say in the 30s, 30 some credits that she had walking into college. I mean, that's pretty amazing.

This student was able to accelerate her progress towards her bachelor's degree, and save time and money in the process.

Resources and Power. The issues of resources and power that impact dual enrollment policy and implementation at JHS also align with what was found at other sites. These include the power of four-year colleges over dual enrollment, the lack of qualified dual enrollment faculty, and the resources required for student participation in the program. Regarding the last issue, the DEC added, "it will come down to money. Sometimes our students won't take the classes because they feel their parents still can't afford to pay, but its [dual enrollment] open to everybody." While the school division covers some of the tuition costs charged by HCC, dual enrollment students at JHS must have some financial resources of their own in order to participate. Similarly the counselor stated, "In our community, students have to pay for a portion of it [dual enrollment]. We do have some tuition assistance. I always worry about that small group that won't even come in and ask." She summarized this issue with student resources and the potential negative impacts it can have. "Who are we missing…which could make the difference between them going on to college or not going to college.

Scheduling challenges, the VPT as a barrier to student participation, and the benefits of weighted GPA credit for dual enrollment, are some of the contingencies noted by the JHS administrators. These findings were also observed at other high school sites. However some unique contingencies of the dual enrollment process at JHS were also described. This includes, the elevated status of dual enrollment in the high school.

Contingencies. Declared the counselor, "we just treat it [dual enrollment] as our most rigorous classes." In many high schools, the status of dual enrollment often places it behind AP in the minds of high-achieving students are their parents. At JHS, however, this is not the case. The principal remarked, "What has been happening over the last few years is Jefferson has moved away from AP and more towards the dual enrollment side. If you look at our numbers, our dual enrollment numbers have increased significantly, and our AP numbers though, dropped." The impetus behind this shift is a combination of the needs of the students and the desires of the greater community. The principal shared:

> I think that's because of the community push as a big piece of it. I think that the community values or sees a value in it [dual enrollment], and the idea is that I won't have to have as much out of pocket money sending my child to college than I would otherwise. There's value in the credit as well. That seems to be the push.

JHS has developed a robust dual enrollment program, despite its limited resources, that has served students and the community. This success has in turn served to reinforce the program's strengths in the eyes of the stakeholders.

Outcomes: HCC High Schools

Central High School. The intentions of the CHS leaders for the dual enrollment program are to provide opportunities to students, and in particular bolster the senior year. The program at large seems to serve these goals, but some contentions over the implementation policies and practices of the college prevent the process from being seamless. These are a byproduct of the college trying to run a large-scale program with limited resources and following a growing list of guidelines and policies. Issues with instructors who are sent over from the college to the high school as well as the funding mechanism for the program illustrates some of these conflicts, which serve to limit the

potential of the dual enrollment program. Increased collaboration is probably necessary in order to fully realize the potential of this program.

The principal noted that the instructors who come to the high school from the college in order to teach dual enrollment face an environment to which they may be unaccustomed. These faculty must deal with different types of students, school policies, and teaching expectations, which creates an overall context that differs from what they are used to on the college campus. The difference in context between the high school and college not only makes it challenging to find faculty who can fit both, but also points to the larger issue of coordinating a program that exists in two different worlds.

In addition, the CHS counselor described the limitations that the funding model followed by HCC has on the dual enrollment program at CHS. Not all students can afford to participate, given the tuition and fees that HCC requires. However, just as impactful is the sentiment that has developed as a result of this funding burden, particularly when compared to the funding policies of neighboring community colleges. The counselor pointed directly to this when she discussed the favorable funding policy of the next nearest dual enrollment provider, which reimburses high schools 100% of the tuition and fees for dual enrollment that is offered in the schools and taught be high school faculty. Administrators and students recognize this difference between the two community colleges and are frustrated that HCC does not make dual enrollment as affordable for its students.

Jefferson High School. As a relatively small high school serving a rural area, JHS is not afforded much in the way of resources. The JHS leadership does however prioritize the dual enrollment program as a way to augment their programming and

extend opportunities to students. Over the past few years, Jefferson has moved towards

dual enrollment and away from AP, which has in part been driven by community values

and needs. At JHS, dual enrollment represents the most rigorous courses offered.

Jefferson is also in the process of developing an early college program with HCC, which

will provide even greater opportunities for students.

Dual enrollment is open to all juniors and seniors who qualify. However, like at

its counterpart Central High School, not all students can afford to participate. While some

funding assistance is available to students whose financial needs have been expressed,

some of the JHS leaders wonder how many students do not seek out the funding and as a

result do not participate in dual enrollment. The dual enrollment program is also largely

oriented toward transfer courses, and offers few CTE dual enrollment opportunities.

Given the higher admissions requirements for academic dual enrollment classes, the lack

of CTE also limits the students who can participate in the program.

The community has supported the growth of dual enrollment at JHS and,

according to the school leaders, recognizes the benefits of the program for students. In

this rural area, dual enrollment is a vehicle that helps students go to college and makes it

more affordable and manageable when they get there. Unfortunately, the current funding

structure does prevent some of the students from participating who might most benefit

from an initiative that supports college going.

Consequences: Implementation

The final outcomes of the policy process manifest themselves at the

implementation level through the transformation of intentions. The intentions that shaped

the process at the state policy sphere, and were inculcated into the dual enrollment

policies they produced, can be traced through the processes that occur at the

implementation levels. In addition, the consequences at these levels themselves are also

the result of the activity that occurs within them, as actors at the colleges and high

schools interact with the policies. In these interactions the values inherent in the policies

are further interpreted and negotiated by the actors, whose work is shaped by the context

of their sites. These actors may prioritize, modify, bolster, or even marginalize some or

all of these values in the continued policy process and implementation at their levels.

New intentions and interests may also arise at the implementation levels as the dual

enrollment policies are worked out.

　　　　The consequences of the dual enrollment policy process can be investigated

through the transformation of these intentions at the levels and linkages in the process.

The outcomes of the policy process are based on both the values of the policy makers and

those of the policy implementers. These intentions are further refined and molded by the

context of each level and site. The consequences of action at the implementation levels of

dual enrollment can be summarized as issues of funding and affordability, access and

opportunities, and local interests. These work together to create an environment in which

the dual enrollment policy itself is as diverse as the sites in which it is implemented.

　　　　Funding and Affordability. The policy sphere identified affordability as a key

intention of dual enrollment policy. This is evident in the lack of financial penalties

applied to colleges and high schools who offer dual enrollment, the language used in the

Governing Principles encouraging dual enrollment to be offered to students at a reduced

rate, and the more uniform funding model instituted by the VCCS. It is clear that the

actors at the implementation level did value affordability for students, but in this intention

was transformed, as it was relegated in an effort to preserve the fragile funding and

financial resources of the individual institutions. At HCC for example, students in the

dual enrollment programs were required to pay to participate. The high school leaders

noted that this was preventing students from taking advantage of the opportunities the

program bestows.

Both college sites lamented the amount of resources they needed to allocate to

running dual enrollment, but both also relied on the FTE that the program produced. They

valued affordability for students but felt forced to balance that intention with the realities

of their own revenue concerns. In addition, the policy intention of dual enrollment as a

cost saving to the state was not apparent at the implementation levels, where other

financial concerns took precedence. While preservation and expansion of the FTE

generated by dual enrollment was an intention vigorously promoted by the actors at the

college sites, the intention to further defray the already reduced costs for students to

participate was much less so. At the high schools themselves, the funding was seen as a

barrier to participation for students and a source of frustration for the administrators in

those cases where little additional financial support was provided by the colleges. At the

implementation sites, the dual enrollment policy was adapted to the financial needs of the

institutions themselves, which led to unequal access for students. This is one of the most

important transformation of intentions.

Access and Opportunities. Student access to dual enrollment and the

opportunities that such a program provides for students was an intent of the policy

sphere. This intention was bolstered further at each successive level of implementation.

In fact, at the high school sites, access and opportunities, like increased rigor and a

diversity of choices for class offerings, were often cited by their leadership as the paramount intention of their dual enrollment programs. In addition to rigor and choice, dual enrollment allowed high schools to offer CTE classes to students to whom they would not have been as attractive as well as academic courses that strengthened the senior year for students who had already completed high school graduation requirements.

In all the high schools, access to dual enrollment was open to all students who could qualify, and in some cases afford it. The qualification process however, led to possibly the most significant barrier to student access. The standardized test scores needed for participation were not achievable for all students, including some of those who could have benefited most from this enriching opportunity. This conflict at the implementation level illustrated the contrast between the desire for dual enrollment students to demonstrate college-readiness and the intention for dual enrollment to be accessible. The actors at the implementation level were bound by the admission requirements, despite seeing its negative impacts. The result was an accessible program, with limits, that offered numerous opportunities for students. The intention for dual enrollment to provide access and opportunity was transformed, as those responsible for implementation acted on the policy and reinforced this policy aim with their own values.

Local Interests. Dual enrollment serves the needs of the colleges, high schools, and communities through the access and opportunities afforded to students. It also serves these implementation sites by providing them with funding, in the case of the community colleges, and an expansion of offerings, for the high schools. The local interests are the result of the transformation process. These local interests outweigh some of the broader statewide interests in the implementation of dual enrollment programs. For example,

local financial needs, including the FTEs colleges receive from dual enrollment, trump

other intentions, like the aim of the policy sphere to leverage dual enrollment in order to

reduce the burden on state funding. While dual enrollment was originally adopted to save

the state by reducing the instances of paying for duplicated services, the fact that colleges

and high schools can both collect state funding for dual enrollment students, mitigates

this benefit. Local financial needs are prominently featured intentions in the policies and

practices at the implementation levels.

In addition to local funding issues, the investigation of the dual enrollment policy

process uncovered an increased lack of knowledge of the original policy aims the further

one looked down the process. While top-level administrators at the colleges knew the

intentions and policy aims, those responsible for the coordination of dual enrollment at

the college were less informed. Similarly, the high school leaders were even less aware of

the statewide dual enrollment policy particulars than their partners at the college sites.

This lack of knowledge could be the result of a failure at linkage points between the

levels or the result of purposeful policy action. Perhaps the details of dual enrollment

policy were not communicated effectively or transmitted through the links that exist

between the policy sphere and the colleges and the colleges and high schools. The lack of

understanding could also be the byproduct of the intentions themselves being mitigated or

ignored at the implementation level as local concerns outweigh the intentions that were

passed down from the policy-makers. The result of the process is a policy that is based on

the intentions of the policy makers but reinforced by the needs at the local levels.

	State-Level Policy Sphere	College Implementation Sites	High School Implementation Sites
Conditions	History of higher education in VA Nature of the VCCS/college relationships Lack of federal student aid for dual enrollment Multiple agencies that oversee portions of dual enrollment	⇒ *Consequences of Policy Sphere* Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies	⇒ *Consequences of College Sites* Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies Community/school resources and needs
Network of Collective Actions	Virginia General Assembly, SCHEV, VDOE, VCCS, SACSCOC	Oceanside Community College, Hillside Community College	Westside Tech, Riverside HS, Central HS, Jefferson HS
Task	Create, review, and update policies that impact dual enrollment in VA	Implement a policy-based dual enrollment program	Implement a dual enrollment program that meets college requirements and high school needs
Interests/ Intentions	Access to and affordability of education College credits and increased/accelerated completion Workforce development More understandable funding model Community colleges as DE provider Student Success Increase the rigor of high school Increase choices in high schools No mixed dual enrollment classes Cost-saving to the state Aligning dual enrollment into pathways Recruitment tool for community colleges Supporting college finances	Provide access, opportunities and pathways Economic driver; students and the region Prepare academically and socially for college Promoting CTE opportunities and pathways Reduce cost burden on students Increase college-going and accelerate completion Provide rigor for high school students	Making the program accessible to all who qualify Increasing high school rigor Workforce development Increase college-going and accelerate completion Providing cost savings to students Increasing high school students' opportunities Expanding college pathways Bolstering the senior year of high school Expanding the program to match that of other schools
Conventions	State higher education funding based on FTEs College service regions The "pushing down" of college Use of policy workgroups SACS guidelines College presidents autonomy	Service regions SACS guidelines	High school scheduling process College application process: rigorous course of study
Resources/ Power	Availability of Data Code-based polices Resources for running dual enrollment at the colleges Membership of *Governing Principles* workgroup Lack of knowledge of dual enrollment by GA Four-year institutions' influence of dual enrollment	VCCS and SACS increased involvement in dual enrollment Finances of high school divisions Qualified dual enrollment instructors as a resource Demand on college resources: funds and personnel Resources needed for student participation Power of four-year colleges over dual enrollment	High school resources needed for dual enrollment Qualified dual enrollment faculty as a resource Finances needed for student participation Power of four-years over dual enrollment

Contingencies/ Opportunities	Funding models based on local resources Need for robust data and evaluation of dual enrollment Roland College offering dual enrollment SACSCOC faculty qualifications as a barrier Student demand as the measure of program success Dual enrollment as college recruitment tool Dual enrollment as a FTE booster for colleges Finances as an obstacle to student participation Admission requirements as a participation hurdle Increased collaboration between CCs & divisions Potential for limited federal aid for dual enrollment	Dual enrollment demand as program success Increased secondary/post-secondary partnerships Move towards dual enrollment pathways School counselors and scheduling impacts AP competition with dual enrollment Dual enrollment as professional development for teachers VPT as a barrier to student participation Positive impact of dual enrollment on college FTE Community college as a conduit for statewide policy Conflict between AP and dual enrollment Dual enrollment as a college recruitment strategy Need for evaluation metric for dual enrollment School divisions as consumers of dual enrollment programs Dual enrollment as a student services program Diversity of dual enrollment programs at high schools	Transferability of dual enrollment credit Increasing partnerships between OCC and schools "Dual enrollment not necessary at tech schools" VPT as a barrier to student participation VPT prep as college readiness and preparation Benefits of weighted GPA for dual enrollment SACS requirements as a hiring factor Program as a professional development opportunity Diversity of dual enrollment student experiences Faculty from the college who don't *fit* the high school Scheduling challenges of dual enrollment Elevated status of dual enrollment
Consequences	Funding models based on local resources Need for robust data and evaluation of dual enrollment Roland College offering dual enrollment SACSCOC faculty qualifications as a barrier Student demand as the measure of program success Dual enrollment as college recruitment tool Dual enrollment as a FTE booster for colleges Finances as an obstacle to student participation Admission requirements as a participation hurdle Increased collaboration between CCs & divisions Potential for limited federal aid for dual enrollment	"Robust dual enrollment and early college program that balances college needs with policy mandates." Move towards centralization of dual enrollment policy Diverse, existing dual enrollment policies Reliance on dual enrollment FTE for college funding Lack of comprehensive dual enrollment measures Unique college dual enrollment policies & procedures	Maintaining or growing dual enrollment programs that attempt to follow college guidelines but place the immediate needs of the high school, students and local community first; Limited knowledge on the aims and values of the dual enrollment policies themselves
	Consequences of Policy Sphere become conditions for the College process ⤴	*Consequences of College Level become conditions for the High School process* ⤴	

Figure 4: Hall's *Transformation of Intentions* (1997) Categories. This figure includes data generated from the entire policy process: Policy sphere and

implementation sites. Consequences at one level become conditions for the process at the following level.

Summary

The story of dual enrollment policy in Virginia, as the transformation of intentions, details the work of the policy actors who create and maintain policy through the interaction of their intentions and the particular context of policy making. This context includes conditions, the network of actors, interests, conventions, resources/power, and contingencies, which all serve to modify, constrain, and shape this action. The actors at the implementation level also had to contend with context as they negotiated, interrupted, and ultimately transformed dual enrollment policy through implementation. All of these aspects of context, along with the intentions themselves, were traced through the entire process, from the policy sphere to the colleges and finally to the high school sites, as they influenced the work of these actors. These findings, which themselves underline the story of dual enrollment policy in Virginia are summarized in Figure 4. These categories can be looked at in the course of the policy process beginning in the policy sphere. In this way, the consequences at each level become conditions with which the policy actors at the following level must contend.

Through the story of dual enrollment policy, as sensitized by the Transformation of Intentions model, the research questions were answered. These results helped elucidate the entire policy process from policy creation and maintenance to implementation. They indicated the following.

The political actors and policy makers in the Commonwealth of Virginia decided on a dual enrollment policy that relied on conventions to promote some key intentions. The policy makers used conventions in the policy process like providing state funding to colleges, including dual programs, based on FTE and relied on the existing community

college service regions to divide the jurisdictions of dual enrollment oversight at the college level. They also used policy workgroups as a mechanism for policy creation while also maintaining the autonomy of individual college presidents. The conventions were largely used to smooth out the policy process and make the policy products more amenable to the leaders at the implementation level. They relied on tried and true mechanisms to promote their policy intentions.

Dual enrollment policy was adopted in Virginia to serve the intentions of the policymakers, intentions that were sometimes ambiguous and conflicting. The policy makers described many intentions for dual enrollment policy in Virginia (see Figure 4). These intentions for dual enrollment included saving money, developing the workforce, and increasing the rigor of high schools. Specifics as to how much savings could be realized by dual enrollment, how the state would save money if it needed to fund both colleges and high schools for the same dual enrollment students, and which students would be able to capitalize on this perceived savings were missing. In addition the policy actors did not explain how dual enrollment would directly serve to increase the workforce in a given area or what "rigorous" meant in the education of high school students.

Several of these intentions, however, were ambiguous. The purpose of ambiguous intentions is to allow the policymakers the latitude to pass legislation and create policies that are agreeable to many without hemming them in to specifics. They contain buzzwords and concepts that many will endorse. These ambiguous intentions, on the other hand, led to issues at the levels of implementation when actors interpreted and transformed them into practice.

In addition to ambiguous intentions, the policy sphere also provided some examples of conflicting intentions. An example of this is inherent in the intention to provide access to students as well as to accelerate college completion. While seemingly mutually exclusive these intentions had conflicting conceptions of who could be served by dual enrollment. Providing college-level coursework and accelerating students through it, while appropriate for some, limits the participation of students who are not ready for such an accelerated pathway. This served to create tracks in the high school of students who could access dual enrollment and take advantage of the benefits it provides, and those who could not.

The initial intentions of the policy makers were translated into a policy action at the state and local school/college level through the transformation of intentions. The intentions of the policy makers, as ambiguous or conflicting as they might have been in some cases, were encapsulated in policy products that were passed on to the implementation levels through formal and informal linkages. Those actors responsible for implementing dual enrollment at the colleges and high schools interacted with these intentions, reinforcing some and abandoning others. Tracing the intentions of the policy sphere through the successive levels of the policy process indicated that intentions like the desire to have a more understandable funding model for dual enrollment, the necessity for community colleges to be program providers, the need to refrain from offering mixed classes, and perhaps most importantly the intention for cost-savings to the state were not mirrored at the implementation levels (see Figure 4). The intentions were replaced by other more local intentions in transforming the policy into action.

At all levels and across the state, actors interpreted, interacted with, and implemented the policy in ways that incorporated the exiting intentions of the policy and merged them with local values and needs. The findings demonstrated that rather than one universal, statewide dual enrollment policy, or set of policies, actors at each implementation level and site interacted with, and interpreted, the state policies so as to effectively develop their own local and specific policy. These site-level policies are manifest in the unique and specific dual enrollment programs offered. Additionally, the initial intentions of the policy makers were less and less apparent as the policy was negotiated and interpreted at each bureaucratic level. The local context at each implementation sites had as much impact on the nature of how the policy itself was implemented, as did the original policy aims.

Some intentions for dual enrollment only manifested at the implementation site and were not seen in the policy level. These intentions included, a push for CTE dual enrollment, more access to dual enrollment for all students, dual enrollment as a means for bolstering the senior year of high school, and the intention to provide a dual enrollment program that was competitive with what is offered at neighboring high schools (see Figure 4). The actors at the implementation sites replaced some of the original policy intentions with these local intentions, which better suited the interests of the actors themselves and their communities.

Both intended and unintended consequences of dual enrollment policy been as implemented and experienced by participants at the community colleges and secondary levels were found. Consequences and contingencies appeared at the implementation level that might not have been intended or expected by the policy-making sphere. These

include funding based on local needs and resources (for students and schools),

admissions requirements as a barrier to access, dual enrollment as a recruitment tool, dual

enrollment as an FTE booster for colleges, the lack of rigorous metrics on dual

enrollment success and the related reliance on student demand as the measure of program

success, the limiting role of SACSCOC faculty qualifications on dual enrollment, and

increased collaboration between community colleges and secondary divisions (see Figure

4). These outcomes served to both limit dual enrollment programs, and in some cases

students' access to it, as well as provide opportunities that benefited students, highs

schools, colleges, or a combination of these.

Dual enrollment policy in Virginia benefits many of the stakeholders, sometimes

at the expense of those who might benefit most. Dual enrollment benefits the state by

reducing, although not as significantly it could, the duplication of services in supporting

courses at the college and high school level. While some savings are realized, the state

does provide full funding to both the community college and high school for dual

enrollment students they share. This limits the full savings that could be realized.

Therefore, colleges benefit from dual enrollment both in terms of direct funding and as a

recruitment tool for students, who would ultimately also bolster the overall college FTE

and thus funding. High schools benefit from being able to offer a program, at relatively

low cost, that both adds to their offerings and enhances the credibility they have in their

communities. Perhaps the biggest beneficiaries of dual enrollment are the students who

participate in it. They can earn college credits in a supportive environment at a very low

cost comparably.

However, these benefits only apply to those students who can and do actually participate in dual enrollment. In some circumstances, the costs associated with dual enrollment or the admissions requirements for the program prevent interested high school students from participating. In addition, the resources available to individual school divisions and high schools can impact student access to dual enrollment by limiting the classes that are available (qualified faculty) or the financial assistance it can provide to students who need it. Dual enrollment benefits tens of thousands of students in Virginia each year, but even more can and should be able to realize its benefits.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to elucidate the process by which the statewide dual enrollment policy was developed and enacted by the policymakers in Virginia and to examine the "transformation of intentions" as the policy was experienced by practitioners in community colleges and high schools (Hall, 1997, p. 439). Additionally, this study was designed to determine to what extent and how original policy intentions shaped or transformed in the implementation of the policy at the local level, and whether or not significant consequences unintended in the original legislation have manifested. This study explored both the creation and implementation of the dual enrollment policies in Virginia, specifically tracing the policy aims and values as they were interpreted and acted upon by policy actors at various levels of the educational policy system. The following research questions were used to understand this process:

RQ1. How did the political actors and policy makers in the Commonwealth of Virginia decide on a dual enrollment policy model, and what factors influenced the decision?

RQ2. For what purposes, both publicly stated and otherwise, was a dual enrollment policy adopted in Virginia. Were ambiguous and conflicting value perspectives reflected in the original legislation?

RQ3. How were the initial intentions of the policy makers translated into a policy action at the state and local school/college level?

RQ4. How do both state level and street level bureaucrats interpret, interact with, and implement the policy? How does this compare with the intended goals of the policy, and in what ways do these interactions differ across the state?

RQ5. What have the intended and unintended consequences of the policy been as implemented and experienced by participants at the community colleges and secondary levels?

RQ6. Who ultimately benefits from dual enrollment policy *in-experience,* in what ways, and at whose expense?

The results of this study provide an understanding of the current dual enrollment process in Virginia and establish a framework upon which a thorough examination of future dual enrollment policies can be made. It also contributes to the broader literature on qualitative, interpretive policy study, specifically helping to frame policy formation and implementation as a transformation of intentions.

Transformation of Intentions: Values

Dual enrollment policy in Virginia can be understood through the interplay of overarching policy values. The intentions and interests of the actors that were uncovered in this study are represented by core political values that have been described by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989). They have identified four key values of state policy actors and the political cultures to which they belong: choice, quality, efficiency and equity. These values both represent and are products of the greater American political culture as well as the state sub-cultures.

According to Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989), choice or liberty is "arguably the most basic of all American public values." However, despite this prominent position in the American political fabric, "choice is a difficult value to pursue through governmental action; it seems to be supported more by inaction than by positive policy formation" (p. 89). Policy action in and of itself can be seen as a limit on the freedoms promised to citizens. When policy making is necessary, it should "be justified in terms of [its] ability to enhance the quality of life for citizens." Government should only act when it enhances quality. Despite differences in the end

goals of quality (public or private), "there is broad agreement that quality is an instrumental and immediate value" (p. 90).

Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) describe how the value of efficiency has fallen in and out of favor through American political history. However, it can be generally stated that "Americans feel a need for an orderly, predictable, and controlled system" to contain special interests that threaten the social order (p. 90). They want an "orderly and efficient delivery of public services" (p. 90). Efficiency in public policy programs is often translated into "making programs more cost-effective" (p. 93). Finally, the concept of equity, which can be simply in economic terms expressed as "giving everyone a chance to benefit from economic productivity and to share in the privileges of full citizenship" (p. 91). Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt noted that, "as a policy matter it is more about *redress* than one of *address*…[creating] laws and social programs that relieve the effects of inequity" (p. 91).

Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) also describe a symmetrical disagreement between pairs of these values. There exists a natural tension between the values of equity and choice in policy making, as providing the former is often directly at the expense of the freedom represented in the latter. Similarly, they note a disagreement between efficiency and quality. Policies that call for an increase in quality, for example, may do so through an increase in spending, which is at odds with goal of efficiency. The battle of these values in policy making is shaped by the state political culture and the differing intentions and interests of the policy actors themselves. The strain between these values can be seen in the history of dual enrollment in Virginia and can be used to better understand some of the current issues that have arisen through the policy process.

The first dual enrollment *policy* in Virginia was really a policy intention that was represented in the original *Virginia Plan for Dual Enrollment*, which was first established in 1988. This document illustrated that the original policy makers wanted dual enrollment to help provide more efficient delivery of post-secondary education that would ultimately reduce state spending. The policymaking culture also valued choice, which can be seen in the lack of controls placed on the institutions that were empowered to deliver dual enrollment. These values shaped the decisions made in the policy making sphere as well as those that influenced policy implementation. Colleges were given the freedom to enact local programming that met the local needs of the institutions and communities in which they were located. The colleges in turn developed efficient programs that could be managed with limited resources, further demonstrating the value at the implementation level.

While the policy makers had established a culture around dual enrollment policy that promoted choice and efficiency, and the colleges had developed programs in kind, the high school sites themselves promoted a slightly different set of values for their dual enrollment programs. High school leaders, like their counterparts in the policy and community college levels, viewed dual enrollment as a vehicle for increasing choice for students. Dual enrollment could increase the offerings that were available to students and give them opportunities that would not have been possible otherwise. However, high schools also looked to dual enrollment to provide equity, a way for all students to be able to access college level material regardless of their socioeconomic status. Given the tension between equity and choice, the dual enrollment programs that have been implemented in the high schools have been called upon to bolster conflicting values. These conflicts have impacted aspects of the programs, including balancing who can access dual enrollment (choice versus equity).

The conflict of values in the high school implementation sites has prevented dual enrollment from fully achieving the policy goals inherent in either value. Programs are not open to everyone nor can they fully address issues of equity by providing all students with the opportunities promised by dual enrollment. However, larger issues of value-fit developed that have influenced the direction of dual enrollment policy and implementation even more. For decades colleges had developed dual enrollment programs that were efficient and provided additional options and choices for students. This mirrored the values that were present in the policy sphere. However, the political culture of the dual enrollment policy sphere began to shift as a greater emphasis was placed on student success both nationally and at the state-level.

As SACS became interested in evaluating dual enrollment as part of the community college accreditation process in around 2012, policy makers and college administrators alike recognized the need to improve the quality of dual enrollment. A college's accreditation now depended on part on how well the dual enrollment program met the SACS criteria. In addition, some four-year colleges had issue with awarding transfer credit for dual enrollment. They questioned the rigor and quality of the myriad dual enrollment programs operating without much oversight across the state. This move towards promoting the value of quality has had a significant impact.

The desire to promote quality led to the reining in on the freedom that the individual colleges had in the interpretation and implementation of dual enrollment policy. Colleges, which had once been given the authority to develop programs that met their own local needs, were now asked to shed that in favor of more centralization. The standardization and centralization of Virginia dual enrollment policy was started as a way to ensure the quality of the dual enrollment programs. This movement has included state wide, dual enrollment admissions requirements, a

VCCS funding model for constituent colleges to utilize, and update to the *Virginia Plan* with the *Governing Principles* document, which was much more prescriptive than its predecessor. The rules of the game changed for the community colleges and how they implement dual enrollment, in some cases colleges struggled to keep up.

The move to incorporate quality as a value in dual enrollment has required colleges to change the ways in which they fund and oversee dual enrollment. They have had to increase their level of oversight, dedicating more personnel to directly administer dual enrollment, which has stretched local resources. In addition, the rollout of the dual enrollment admissions requirements has not only required additional oversight and management at the college level, but has also limited the pool of students who could potentially participate in the programs. As community colleges have come to rely on FTE for state funding, any decline in actual or potential enrollment is problematic.

While perhaps justified in their motivations to shift policy values towards greater quality in dual enrollment, policy makers have placed the colleges that implement these programs in a tenuous position. Having to adapt to a shifting political culture in the already challenging landscape of higher education has stressed colleges, which in turn has impacted the current state of dual enrollment in Virginia. Quality comes at a cost. Furthermore, policy makers have still clung to some of the values under which dual enrollment policy was first developed. This has created a confusing political culture for dual enrollment, one where the program is being asked to promote several values at once, values that can be conflicting. Colleges will continue to incorporate quality more successfully into their dual enrollment programs over time, but policy makers must enable that to happen by providing them a firm footing in terms of the value climate they create.

Contributions

This study contributes to both the limited but growing literature on dual enrollment programs and policy as well as on the policy study literature, specifically with regard to the *Transformation of Intentions* model (Hall & McGinty, 1997).

This study provides an evaluation of the entire dual enrollment policy process in Virginia, from policy making to implementation in the colleges and high schools. Perhaps the primary contribution of this study is this holistic perspective, which is provided using Hall's approach (1997). While much of the dual enrollment literature looks at either dual enrolment program outcomes or the policies surrounding it, few researchers have examined the entire policy process. Understanding the dynamics that underlie policymaking at the state level, and the interaction and implementation of policy action, allows themes to emerge that would never be seen otherwise. These themes would not be apparent when looking at the pieces of the dual enrollment process only.

Dual Enrollment. While this study did not specifically investigate the impact outcomes of dual enrollment programs the findings did support the literature in this area in a number of areas. Several of the high school administrators described the importance of dual enrollment in preparing students for attending college. This reinforces what Karp found that through anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal, dual enrollment students "learn about the role of the college student" and are provided the space to "practice college expectations" (p. 24-25). This preparation should help students be more successful in their transition to college. As Hughes noted, an advantage of dual enrollment is in "strengthening the high school to college transition" (Hughes et al., 2012, p. 26).

Both college and high school leaders also mentioned the obvious importance dual

enrollment plays in allowing students to accrue college credits. In addition, students who take

dual enrollment were recognized for their academic achievements, as dual enrollment was often

recognized as the most rigorous set of classes offered in the high school. These findings align

with student benefits identified by Hughes (2012), such as accumulating more college credits

than comparison students and having higher high school GPA and high school graduation rates.

While members of both the policy sphere and implementation levels espoused benefits of

dual enrollment, some noted that it might not be accessible to all students, particularly those who

could benefit most. Pretlow and Wathington (2014) found that Virginia students who identify as

racial minorities have lower participation rates in dual enrollment than their peers. While the

participants in this study did not specifically raise aspects of racial identity and dual enrollment,

issues of economic status and its effect on participation were mentioned. Students without

financial resources were less likely to participate in some of the high schools' dual enrollment

programs. This also supports the findings of Karp, who noted, "the most disadvantaged students

(males and low-SES students) benefit [from dual enrollment] more than others" (2007, p. 68).

Another finding in the literature that is reinforced by this study is the benefits dual

enrollment programs can provide to the colleges that offer them. Both as a recruiting tool for

high school students and funding generator through FTE, dual enrollment can benefit colleges

financially. Despite the resources required to run dual enrollment, the financial gains the

programs provide to the community college seem to outweigh the resources that are spent on it,

according to the participants. Given the shrinking state funding for higher education, and the

dramatic impact this has on community colleges, the revenue gained through dual enrollment is

vital. Mokher and McClendon (2009) also found that the benefits of administering dual

enrollment, along with potential financial gains, might be even more pronounced for two-year colleges (2009).

In addition to benefits, this study also supports many of the dual enrollment policy issues raised in the literature. The participants from the policy circle, particularly those from the VCCS, were bullish on the current role of dual enrollment and the potential it could provide in the future. Hoffman, Vargas, and Santos (2008) described how "state policy-makers can use dual enrollment – a rapidly expanding mechanism… – as a valuable part of a comprehensive, statewide effort to expand college opportunity for all" (p. 2). It is clear the policy sphere in Virginia is also content on making dual enrollment a fixture in the long-term education plan for the state and see it as a vehicle for promoting access to students.

Some of the concerns raised by participants at the implementation sites about dual enrollment policy in Virginia also related to access. Specifically, two barriers to enrollment were described by these participants, the statewide dual enrollment admission policy and the costs of student participation. These issues were also raised in the literature. Hughes (2012) recommended dual enrollment policies in which "no student was automatically disqualified by grades or test scores" (p. 39). This recommendation as also made by Karp (2007), who endorsed reconsidering "restrictive eligibility requirements" (p. 68). Lerner and Brand (2005) also suggested that states use a more comprehensive admissions process for dual enrollment and not rely on single metrics, such as a standardized test scores or high school GPA. The findings of this study align with the literature that dual enrollment admissions requirements can be restrictive to student participation, often preventing the students who could benefit most from participating. Policies, like those in Virginia, that support restrictive admissions guidelines do so to the detriment of access.

Dual enrollment programs that require students to pay significant tuition and fees to participate also limit access. In this study, some of the high schools were able to offer dual, enrollment at almost no cost to students while other were not. At these latter schools, the leaders acknowledged that the costs associated with dual enrollment were a major barrier to participation. While Jefferson High School provides funding opportunities for students to offset the costs dual enrollment, the participants noted that this level of support is low and that students may be unaware or unwilling to ask for it.

As a result, many of the high school leaders expressed a desire for a change in policy that would allow all high schools to offer dual enrollment at little or no cost to students. This would require a change in the funding model used by the VCCS. Such a change was also endorsed by Karp et al., who stated that "dual enrollment courses should be tuition free for low-income students (if not for all students)" so that states ensure that "tuition does not deter disadvantaged students from enrolling" (2007, p. 69-70). I am not sure how your findings relate to these general conclusions from the literature.

Transformation of Intentions. In this study**,** Hall's (Hall & McGinty, 1997) *Transformation of Intentions* model was used to examine the policy processes for dual enrollment in Virginia, beginning at the state policy sphere level and continuing down through the implementation sites, community colleges and high schools. It looked at the process of policy transformation through each level as the actors, bound by the context of their sites, interacted and interpreted it. Originally, Hall also utilized the model to examine policy action for a statewide educational initiative. In this way, the current study mirrored the original approach of Hall, towards state educational policy, but examined a policy process that ultimately played out at both the post-secondary and secondary levels.

In addition to the multiple sites of policy implementation, the statewide policy investigated in this study was itself actually the product of several constituent policies maintained by multiple agencies within the educational bureaucracy. This study then differs from Hall's use of the model as it includes different sites for policy formation and a set of statewide policies rather than a single policy product (Hall & McGinty, 1997). However, the lack of a true state wide dual enrollment policy enacted by legislative action, illustrated a potential limitation of the model itself. While the transformation of intentions model worked well for understanding the processes at the implementation sites (colleges and high schools). It was less useful in examining the policy sphere, due to this lack of a unified dual enrollment policy.

Broadly, this study adds to the tradition of qualitative, values-driven policy studies, as did the Hall's *Transformation of Intentions*. The study relied heavily on the social interactions of the participants in the policy process. This follows in the footsteps of Rein (1976) who stated, "social phenomena cannot be understood in isolation from the framework of though which organizes evidence, interprets it, and infers policy decisions which are consistent with it" (1976, p. 15). The intentions of the policymakers as well as those who interacted with policy on the implementation level were investigated in this study as well.

Guba (1985) stated that to fully understand how effective policy can be made to solve complex issues, the values of policymakers themselves must first be understood. Guba referred to this as "policy-in-intention" (p. 11). The values and intentions of the policy sphere were instrumental in uncovering and understanding the dual enrollment policy process, but just as fundamental was the input of those who implement policy at the colleges and at the high schools. Guba also suggested that investigation must be made at the level of policy implementation ("policy-in-implementation") and the impact on the policy's supposed beneficiaries ("policy-in-

experience") must also be considered (1985, p. 11). At all of these stages, socially derived and contextually linked values were key to understanding the complete policy process in this study.

Implications for Dual Enrollment Policy

The results of this study also indicate several potential implications for dual enrollment policy, in Virginia and beyond. The implications relate to ways in which the policies are developed and implemented. These implications can also be used as considerations for future dual enrollment policy work.

Lack of Data. The findings indicate that there is a lack of data on dual enrollment success in Virginia. While some student level data has been collected, there has not been wholesale investigation of the success of dual enrollment writ large. This lack of data is not unique to Virginia, as noted by Karp and Jeong (2008). The lack of rigorous data is particularly important given the investments the state has made into expanding dual enrollment and the prominent role the programs currently have in community colleges and high schools across the state. Policy makers should conduct a full evaluation of dual enrollment, including the relative successes of its many intentions, before considering further policy action.

Dual Enrollment Funding. Another implication of the findings of this study on dual enrollment policy is the need for a clear and equitable funding model for dual enrollment that allows for equal access to students. While some of the colleges and high schools in this study managed to provide access to students regardless of their capacity to pay, the lack of a consistent approach was cited by many of the participants. It has also been identified in the literature as an obstacle to dual enrollment (Golann & Hughes, 2008).   While the VCCS funding model that went into effect in 2015 provides some continuity in funding across the community colleges, it does not address the issues of funding at the student level. This issue limits the policy aim of

student access and contributes to the overall success of dual enrollment programs as they are

implemented at the high school level. Karp et al., recommended that "dual enrollment courses

should be tuition free for low-income students (if not for all students)" so that states ensure that

"tuition does not deter disadvantaged students from enrolling" (2007, p. 69-70).

Diversity of Dual Enrollment. Given the organic way in which dual enrollment was

allowed to grow within the individual community colleges, it is no surprise that the programs

that have resulted are as diverse as the number of colleges that offer them. Only recently has a

move towards greater standardization in dual enrolment, led by the VCCS and SACS, begun to

shift this reality. This implication is profound for the future of the dual enrollment policy

process. Refining new methods of evaluation, standardizing funding, and expanding the role of

dual enrollment overall will require a careful understanding of the uniqueness of the dual

enrollment programs that currently exist in colleges and high school across Virginia. Without

this acknowledgement, policy makers will be challenged in developing effective and equitable

dual enrolment policies in the future.

Shifting Values. The diversity of dual enrollment programs, including the funding

models used at each college, are in part the results of the history of dual enrollment. For decades

Virginia, including the VCCS and other state agencies, utilized of a hands-off approach with

regard to dual enrollment. However, the values of the policy elites with regard to dual enrollment

have been shifting in the past five years. Colleges that once had nearly complete autonomy over

their own dual enrollment programs, have had to contend with a policy landscape that is reining

in that local control into a more centralized governance structure. The rules of the game have

changed and the colleges are struggling to keep up.

In addition, what was once a program meant to streamline and even reduce state funding responsibilities, has transformed into a necessary revenue source for the colleges. Dual enrollment is vital to the fiscal health of the community colleges as they are faced with declining enrollment and reductions in state funding. Again, the colleges have had to react to shifts in values and agendas of the policy elites in order to sustain themselves. Policy elites should be held accountable for these shifting values and the changing state wide political landscape around higher education, changes that have largely forced the hands of the colleges themselves. While community colleges can and should address some of the issues that have arisen as a result of this reality, policy makers must also understand the situation faced by the colleges and make steps to address it.

Limitations

While implications can be drawn from this study, there are also limitations that must be discussed. In addition to common issues that are cited as limitations in qualitative research, like a lack of generalizability, limitations specific to this study also exist. These limitations include the selection and number of high school sites, the accuracy of the responses given by participants, and the use of the *Transformation of Intentions* model on existing policy.

The college sites for this study were purposefully chosen because they were representative of "typical" Virginia community colleges, in size, demographics, and resources. However, the colleges themselves suggested the high school case sites based on their perceived willingness to participate and their overall dual enrollment program. This referral sampling may have led to the inclusion of high school sites, and thus dual enrollment programs, that were not fully representative of the full range of high schools that partner with each community college. In addition, including only two high school sites for each college may have also limited the scope

of the findings. More high school sites, chosen purposefully or at random, may have uncovered

even more data regarding dual enrollment implementation.

Another limitation of this study rests in the responses of the participants. Given that each

of the participants that were interviewed for the study had a vested interest in the creation of

policy or implementation of dual enrollment in their respective sites their responses may have

been influenced by a desire to hold the company line. When discussing the implementation of

policy, for example, college leaders may have overstated their adherence to guidelines, knowing

that anything else could have be viewed negatively or cats them in an unfavorable light. They

may have described, "What should be happening," rather than "What is happening." Probing

follow-up questions were asked and multiple participants per implementation site were

interviewed to help combat this potential issue. Including even more sites and participants would

also help combat this limitation.

A final limitation of this study surrounds the use of the *Transformation of Intentions*

model. While this model is designed to study the process of public policy development and

implementation, and accounts for many important variables in this interactive process, it may be

best suited for emerging policy processes. The dual enrollment policy process has some aspects

of emergent policy development and implementation, namely with regard to HB1184 and the

creation of the Governing Principles document, much of the policy work for dual enrollment was

done over twenty years prior to this study. Due to this issue, the researcher needed to piece

together some of the intentions and values of the initial policy makers through the policy

documents they produced and the current policy makers who maintain the policy. Examining an

unfolding policy process may have produced even more meaningful findings utilizing this

approach. This would also allow for the inclusion of additional data sources, including

observations of policy meetings. Also, the lack of a single unified policy to study, as discussed

previously, also highlighted a limitation of the use of this model.

Recommendations for Further Research

In addition to providing insight into the dual enrollment policy process in Virginia, this

study also indicates several potential directions and topics for further research in this area. One

potential avenue for future research is to investigate the outcomes of dual enrollment based on

the intentions of the policies themselves. This was described by the SCHEV Director who noted

that more robust data is needed to evaluate dual enrollment. However, that endeavor is

complicated by the fact that dual enrollment serves multiple purposes, incorporating various

policy intentions, and is governed by multiple statewide policies. The intentions identified in this

study may provide a foundation upon which further research could take place, by examining the

outcomes of the program in terms of the intentions identified by the policy makers.

Understanding more clearly the purposes of the policies that govern dual enrollment allows for

research into the overall success of the policies themselves.

In addition to further study on dual enrollment based on the policy intentions, additional

research is needed that examines dual enrollment implementation at more colleges across the

state. While this study provides some insight into that process at typical mid-sized colleges in

Virginia, the policy implementation process at large urban schools, for example, might yield

different results. Given the dissimilar resource levels of these large institutions and the service

regions they serve, the implementation processes there and the dual enrollment programs that

result may also vary. To fully understand the impact of dual enrollment in Virginia, and the

policy process that underlies it, further study is recommended.

Another direction of research that is recommended based on the findings of this study, is specific investigation into the funding of dual enrollment in Virginia. A fiscal analysis of dual enrollment could demonstrate the cost-savings to the state that the program realizes, the impact the policies have on individual students and college affordability, and the role of dual enrollment in the funding that community colleges receive from the state. This would inform those who create and maintain dual enrollment policy in Virginia, as the program seems poised to expand further.

The final recommendation for further research is for more analysis of state-level policies using the *Transformation of Intentions* model or other holistic, value-driven approaches. The preponderance of policy studies that merely examine outputs and inputs or those that focus only on policy formation but not implementation, cannot account for the full range of complexity that occurs in the policy process. With models like the transformation of intentions, the entre policy process can be examined and the human elements that influence it can be better understood.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Questions for Policy Case Study (Policy Sphere)

1. What is the dual enrollment policy in Virginia?

2. What role do you have in creating or maintaining dual enrollment policy in Virginia?

3. What factors influence your support for dual enrollment policy in the

    Commonwealth?

4. Why does statewide dual enrollment policy in Virginia looks as it does?

5. Why do you believe dual enrollment was established in Virginia and why does it

    continue as part of the educational plan for the Commonwealth?

6. What do you hope are the statewide dual enrollment policy in Virginia will achieve?

7. Is dual enrollment working? How do you know?

8. Who benefits from dual enrollment (participants, states, college, high schools) and

    how?

9. What are some limitations of the Virginia dual enrollment policy?

10. What aspects of the dual enrollment policy need to be changed/addressed/updated?

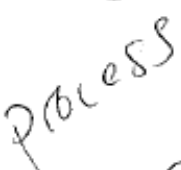**Questions for Implementation Case Study (Community Colleges)**

1. What is dual enrollment?

2. What role do you have in the implementation of your college's dual enrollment

    program?

3. What are the goals of the statewide policy for dual enrollment in Virginia?

4. How are those policy goals reflected in your dual enrollment program?

5. Is dual enrollment working? How do you know?

6. What benefits does the program provide to the college, high schools, students and the community at-large?

7. How do you measure the success of your dual enrollment program?

8. What are some limitations of your dual enrollment program?

9. Has dual enrollment impacted the college, and other stakeholders, in ways that were not anticipated? How?

Questions for Implementation Case Study (High Schools)

1. What is dual enrollment?

2. What role do you have in the implementation of your high school's dual enrollment program?

3. What are the goals for dual enrollment in your school?

4. How are those goals reflected in the way you administer your dual enrollment program?

5. Who gets to participate in dual enrollment and does not? Why?

6. What benefits does the program provide to the high school and students?

7. Is dual enrollment working? How do you know?

8. How do you measure the success of your dual enrollment program?

9. What are some limitations or negative impacts of your dual enrollment program?

10. Has dual enrollment impacted the school, and other stakeholders, in ways that were not anticipated? How?

Appendix B

Interview Data: Coding Example

Interview Transcript
Guiding Principles Workgroup Member
12/17/2015

I: Okay, so my first question about the committee was who was represented on the committee? In other words, who was at the table?

P: Right. I think just as a little bit ... The committee was I think developed by the Virginia Community College System, so they had ... It was mainly a work group, is what they called it. What they did was, it was heavily VCCS people, yet we wanted some folks that represented others, so you had a lot of dual enrollment coordinators from the colleges. I served as a vice-president. There were two vice-presidents ... Actually three vice-presidents. A dean, I think, was in there, so representatives from three or four community colleges. Then they brought in two VDOE folks. You may know what their titles are. ▮▮▮▮▮ was a representative from the schools. I think it was a high school, but he represented VASSP, Virginia Association of Secondary School Principals, so he had this institutional approach, but also represented all the high school principals, I think. Then some System office folks, and that was basically it, so one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve ... Fourteen people were there, but heavily VCCS, one principal, the rest were VCCS folks and then two System.

I: What was your role?

P: They asked me to serve, and I represented ... I was one of the vice-presidents on the committee. These committees, they like to have vice-presidents, down to worker bees, if you will, dual enrollment coordinators actually doing the work, so yeah, I was the vice-president; I was one of the vice-presidents.

I: How did the committee accomplish its work? Was it an egalitarian process? Was it you were given certain ...?

P: That's a good question. What the first process was, it was directed by a System office staff person, so we sat around the table and so the first couple of meetings, we just talked: What's good, what's bad, and we just had interaction. Then it came time to really ... They gave us a timeline. Now, the timeline wasn't achieved, but in the charge ... We get a charge, and there was a timeline that was set out. It was like okay, if we do this, and do this right, we'll have this done by ... Now it never works out that way. We get this charge and then we get the timeline and then everybody starts talking. Then we looked at the document itself, and we looked and said, "Okay, what's the next steps? What needs to be changed, what doesn't?" We had gotten some feedback from the dual enrollment coordinators. I think they had looked at the old plan or the drafted new plan?

I: We looked at the old plan.

C = conditions
A = actors
T = interests/intentions
V = conventions
RP = resources/power
CO = contingency/opportunities
Q = consequences
L = linkages

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P: Right, so we had some stakeholders out there that had given us some input, and then basically we divided our work into three groups. We divided everybody up and said, "You're in group one, you're in group two, you're in group three," so group one was dealing with purpose statement, so we took the old documents and said, "Well, if we had to divide it up, what are the big umbrella themes?", and one of them was purpose. We subdivided A, B, C, D within that, and then we did partner- ... no. The second group was quality standards: Accreditation, making sure that it was solid, that we had enough in there that was supportive of students, but yet also rigorous and it came to the same on campus.

Then the group three dealt with evaluation and accountability, and then the financial model; you know, how people pay. So it was three subgroups, and there was a chair of each subgroup and they gave out writing assignments and said, "Write this, write this." In the subgroups, we said, "Okay, I'll take a stab at that," and then we worked within our subgroups and reported back up to the larger group. The larger groups either met in person and then on the phone. We would alternate so people didn't have to travel. Then at the end of the day, it came together that we came back. We talked about each of the individual sections, the three groups and their sections. Then we went over verbiage and it got a little bit in the weeds.

Then finally we decided at that point that the best thing to do would be to give it to somebody to put it into voice, into a common voice. I compiled all the groups and subgroups and all of their work, and then we gave it ... I put it together. I tried to give it a voice that seemed to make sense in transitions and all of that. Then we gave it to an English faculty member, or a dean who was an English faculty member to clean it up and do the voice. Then I worked with the Vice Chancellor and myself, and we cleaned it up and then it went out and we got feedback from everybody, so that's the long answer to how it happened. Then it took a while for it to finally get approved.

I: By all the different governance levels?

P: Which was a lot.

I: You talked a little bit about the verbiage. Did issues or conflicts arise, and then how were those resolved?

P: Yeah, we had a lot. I think one of the significant conflicts was the K12 versus community college, and it dealt with certain issues that were difficult, i.e., number one, mixed classes so that was a huge one. Not only did that split K12 and especially principals and the VCCS in general, it split colleges amongst the VCCS. It split presidents amongst the VCCS, so we knew that was going to be a major issue, but it rose up to where we came to a consensus was its academic integrity, right? We use that academic integrity piece to say, "Look, our

accrediting body has issues with mixed classes. We now have to be ... We have to tell them how mixed classes maintains academic integrity.

How can you have students in a college level course teaching at a college level that aren't college ready?", and you can have that, right, and you can decide that, but the accreditor and other people are going to look at that and say, "That's not good," or if you have non-college ready students, it's: "Are you really teaching at a college level?", so that academic integrity piece, we kept hammering that back to say, "We're going to say no on mixed classes, because it's an academic integrity, and you can be found in violation or in non-compliance with accrediting standards," so we were very firm about that, and we got push-back, a lot of push-back. The principals were just ... The guy representing the Secondary School Principals was: "I can't believe this. This is a shock. We didn't know this was coming, we don't have enough representation on this. I'm going to get it out today," and we though, "Oh my God, it's going to go..."

I: When you said "we", it was like the anti-mixed class?

P   Well, "we" meaning me and the Vice Chancellor, because the previous VCCS Director of Education was running the show. She left to go over to Workforce, and then the Vice Chancellor looked at me and said, "Can you do this?", and "Can you lead this charge and get this done in place of ____?", and I said, "Sure," so I was ... was relatively new. The Director of Education was relatively new, so she said, "Can you do it? Can you lead this group?", and I said, "Yes," so it's the Vice Chancellor and I and the Director of who were dealing with these areas that were coming at us, but we were all together to clear that academic integrity, and we don't mix classes.

In theory, we don't mix classes, so it wasn't a question for us, but boy, I tell you, there were college and representatives that were just absolutely saying, "You're going to kill us financially and with FTE," and we said, "Yep, we are," so that was a main piece. That was the one that we thought when we get to the DOE, we're going to have some issues with that. Number one, not even thinking how we're going to get presidents to sign off on this, because when you're talking about reducing FTE, presidents get a little skittish, so that was one.

Then I guess the other main issue was the rosters, getting the rosters in on time and getting students registered in a timely manner, and that caused some conflict, but it was the conflict mostly between the committee and the dual enrollment coordinators, because they were like, "That can't happen," and we were like, "Okay, but it happens on campus all the time, so why can't it happen?" We deconstructed it to say, "Okay, we get that. We say that there's ... It's the school systems and the back and forth, so we basically were saying ... I think you remember, it's got to be day one, right? When class starts, all the rosters have to be right. Then we backed off, saying, "Okay, yeah. The communication is tough. It takes a while," but we clearly said ... and again as an integrity issue, we said,

"Look, you can't have students that are not registered in college classes because when they register, they're paying tuition and they get services," so you got six students in there that you don't register until the next semester after it's done, and they miss out on services.

I: Or can't access Blackboard, don't have ...

P: You can't do any of it, so we said, before the add/drop. Whatever we came, I think that was the add/drop.

I: Mm-hmm (affirmative), that's what it says.

P: That was our middle ground, but we had to retrench, because we were very firm in saying ... both on the mixed classes and on this, to say day one, no mixed classes, but the feedback that came to us, we were like okay, how can we inch a little bit, maintain academic integrity, but yet give some leeway for colleges? In that example, we used the add/drop period, and the academic integrity piece with the mixed classes, we said, "No mixed classes, but president, if you decide you would like to do that, you have discretion to do that," because we know at the end of the day, the SACS accredition issue is our main issue. It's institutional and the president has got to be the one that takes that challenge and has to deal with that, so we gave some presidential discretion there, and that appeased the presidents.

Those were two of the main conflicts and it was interesting, but we came together. We didn't use the committee much. In those conflicts, we worked as a team Vice Chancellor, myself and the Director of Education, and we came up with that, and we would let the committee know, because they saw it as here's the draft, give us your feedback. No mixed classes and everything has to be in day one. There was some grumbling about that's not going to work and dual enrollment coordinators are going to balk, and presidents are going to balk, but nobody said you must change that, so the committee was vocal, but yet they were ... Their work had been done, but we kept them in the loop on any of these changes that we did and any of the compromises that we did, and they were somewhat interested and some…, but you didn't hear from much of them ... any of them ... at that point, so it was mainly the Vice Chancellor, myself and the Director of Education who were doing those changes as we would get the feedback.

I: I think of those two issues, since you're coming from the perspective of this maintains academic integrity, this is what our accrediting agency is going to require essentially of us. You can only compromise.   SACS ?

P: Yeah, but I think there would be presidents and others who would say that's me, right? I'll take that decision, so don't hamstring me into something because you think its right. I'll decide what academic integrity is, so give me ultimate flexibility. Don't say anything about it, or give me ultimate flexibility to say you may have mixed classes. We had those suggestions to put in there: At the

discretion of the college, may have mixed classes, and we were like no, no. We had to turn it around and say, "The presumption is that you will not have mixed classes. Exceptions can be made," instead of: "Yeah, you can have mixed classes."

I: That would become the default that ...

P: That would be the default, and that was politically risky. I mean, we staked our ... But we said dual enrollment's important. It's growing. Our standards that we had in 2008 don't mention any of that.

I: Yeah, they don't mention a lot.

P: But clearly, these are clear and present issues. SACS is looking and they're dinging institutions at this point, depending on the committee you get, and we actually had a conversation on the phone with the SACS vice-president for about an hour and a half, talking about these issues, so we even brought a SACS vice-president in to give us some thoughts on what he would think about it and what a visiting team would think about it, and what the challenges are with the standards, is it in violation of standards and how he sees this. He gave some great advice, which just helped us solidify the fact that yeah, we're going to say no mixed classes, to protect as best we can, the institutions.

I: Right.

P: Knowing that at the end of the day, you need to do what you need to do, but academic integrity standards would say no mixed classes.

I: Great, thank you.

NOTES:

- power rested w/ VC, AVC, + VP rep > VCCS
- SACS sets conditions that can be used as well by
- K12 schools "resisted" the mixed classes choice

Principles Workgroup Member (VP)

Conditions:
- ~~Start of project~~ existing DE policies
- SACS guidelines

Network of Collective Actions:
- VPs — VCCS leaders — superintendent rep (principal)
- DE coordinator — VDOE

Task:
develop a new DE policy document for VCCS (update DE plan)
w/ timeline + some guidelines spelled out

Interests/intentions:

TerS = Subgroup Interests

- K12 world mixed classes (TerS)
- ~~SACS guidelines as tool of persuasion~~
- Maintain funding for C.C. (terS) — presidents

Conventions:
- Updating existing plan rather than creating something from scratch
- Committee of VPs, DE coord., + VCCS members, along with VDOE + superintendents
  - split up old doc into 3 parts for recent revision

Resources/power:
- Committee was heavily VCCS (P)
- VCCS member led the committee (P) "We didn't use the committee much..."
- SACS guidelines as a tool of persuasion (R+P) by VCCS

P = power
R = resources

Contingencies/opportunities:
- Allowance for presidential allowance of "mixed classes"

Consequences:
- Beefed up document addressing many of the previous gaps but still based on the old plan