

Teachers Unions and Dual Enrollment Policy in Collective Bargaining Agreements

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Abstract

This study explores how teachers' unions are responding to the growing policy of dual enrollment (DE). I reviewed all available collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) of public schools in Ohio, using qualitative content analysis to look for ways that CBAs are addressing DE policy. Analysis revealed four themes. The first theme suggests that teachers' unions are incrementally bargaining provisions addressing DE into their CBAs. Of the 586 CBAs analyzed, 160 included provisions regarding DE. The three remaining themes centered around working conditions for teachers, including provisions related to monetary compensation, existential protection of bargaining unit members, and the protection of teacher time. Additionally, district typography was explored, revealing that wealthier/smaller school districts have bargained more teacher protections for DE than larger districts with less wealth. This study provides information about what might be of interest to teachers and policymakers when reforming DE policy.

Keywords

teacher unions, collective bargaining, dual enrollment, dual credit, postsecondary access

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Introduction and Literature

In the past two decades, educational policies that enable secondary school students to earn college credits while in school have expanded considerably in the United States (An & Taylor, 2019). Dual enrollment (DE) policies, also referred to as dual credit or concurrent enrollment, have proliferated in every state and territory of the United States (Pompelia, 2020; Shivji & Wilson, 2019). DE programs enable students to take secondary level courses where they receive both high school and college credit simultaneously, allowing college courses to also count toward their high school graduation requirements. Schools nationwide have placed a higher emphasis on earning college credits while in high school, in part because this policy has empirically shown promise. Some evidence suggests that students who engage in early college programs are better prepared for a college experience upon graduation (An & Taylor, 2019; Pompelia, 2020; Shivji & Wilson, 2019). Meanwhile, dual credit programs enable students and families to save money by taking advantage of state or school district funded programs.

As evidenced by the passage of the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (ESSA) in 2015, the federal government has emphasized College and Career readiness, and one way in which states have responded is by developing partnerships that can enable students to earn college credits while in secondary school (Malin et al., 2017). In 2019 alone, 108 bills intended to expand DE programs were introduced in 37 state legislatures, with 36 becoming law (Pompelia, 2020).

In a response to the growth of DE programs nationwide, many school districts have increased the number of courses they offer in high school, taught by their high school teachers (Shivji & Wilson, 2019). According to the U.S. Department of Education (Shivji & Wilson, 2019), 80% of students who earn college credit while in high school earn the credit from a teacher who teaches the course at their high school, while 17% leave the high school and attend courses on a college campus, and 8% who earn college credit online. In states where local school districts are required to pay for tuition and fees for DE, it is financially prudent for local districts to offer dual credit courses at their home campus taught by their teachers (Hornbeck & Malin, 2019).

In order to offer college courses on high school campuses, either qualified college faculty come to high schools and teach, or high school teachers employed by a local school district must become credentialed in some way (although specific requirements vary from state to state and, in some cases, district to district) (Zinth, 2019). In most states, high school teachers are required to have a master's degree in the content area that they will be teaching, or a master's degree in an unrelated field with an additional 18 hours in

the content area that will be taught (Zinth, 2019). In general, local school district leaders desire to have credentialed high school teachers on campus because it can save the district money and may allow students to maintain some sort of traditional high school experience (Hornbeck & Malin, 2019; Hornbeck, 2019).

Adding the job of college instructor to the historically different role of high school teacher is a complex issue that raises questions as to the professional position of the participating teacher (Angus & Mirel, 1999; Duncheon & Relles, 2020).

For instance, are DE instructors who are employed through a local school district and members of a collective bargaining unit for that school also to be considered employees of the college from which they are credentialed and offering college credit? Can administration hire teachers from institutions of higher education (IHE) who compete with bargaining unit employees? These questions are more complex than they might appear, as historically, high school teachers were included in the same CBA as teachers in grades K-12, and college faculty roles have been an entirely different entity. Fusing together college and high school teaching at the high school is a relatively new phenomenon, apart from the existing Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs offered at high schools (Hornbeck, 2019; An & Taylor, 2019). Prior to the dual enrollment shifts of the last 20 years, most early college programs involved students leaving their home high school and traveling to a college or university and attending courses (An & Taylor, 2019).

The rise of DE programs/policies accordingly raises significant questions about governance and teachers' professional roles. Leading into this study, my assumption was that these questions would need to be addressed through collective bargaining processes and agreements. In most states, teachers' unions, made of credentialed faculty, collectively bargain rules and procedures as to who is hired to teach courses and how those courses are taught (Strunk et al., 2018). Thus, in order to examine complex issues related to DE and governance, this study sought to answer one research question, using Ohio as a case:

How do collective bargaining agreements address issues related to the implementation of dual enrollment policy?

Collective Bargaining Agreements or (CBAs) offer insight into the agreements made at individual school districts, revealing negotiated outputs of policy discussions at the microlevel, as well as hinting at the aims of the larger special interest aims of state/national unions, which might provide valuable

knowledge and information to other states and localities as DE programs grow nationally. As well, CBAs are negotiated by unions who act as special interest groups for teachers, serving a role in the policy making process.

Below, I explore the literature on collective bargaining agreements by teachers' unions, as well as how power plays a role in the power of individual unions. As well, I explain the methods and rationale used to collect data as well as the theory that guides the paper. Using incremental theory (Lindblom, 1979) as a framework, I found that CBAs are incrementally including provisions related to DE policy, with the majority of items centering around financial and monetary compensation for teachers as a way to respond to DE policy.

Contextualizing Teachers' Unions

Public sector teachers' unions have been characterized as bloated organizations that stifle innovation in American schools and protect poorly performing teachers (Goldstein, 2015; Paige, 2009; Ravitch, 2016). As well, it has been argued that teachers who are protected by negotiated union agreements are less effective, perhaps because their perceived security reduces their motivation and incentives to improve (Lott & Kenny, 2013; Painter, 2000; Wells, 2012). Some educational reformers have thus argued that the power of teachers' unions should be curbed to give administrators more control to help improve outcomes for students (Strunk et al., 2018). Additionally, since the 1970s when many major cities had conflicts between teachers' unions and municipal governments, leading to strikes, the public view of teachers' unions has diminished (Shelton, 2017). Related, a conservative political backlash toward public-sector unions has been at work since President Ronald Reagan terminated 11,000 striking air traffic controllers in 1981 in what is known as Reagan versus PATCO (McCartin, 2011). Reagan declared that federal public employees did not have the right to strike, criticizing the strike as unacceptable and setting a tone for how the conservative movement would view public sector unions (McCartin, 2011).

Since the Reagan administration, conservatives—and, more recently, even some Democrats—have been critical of teachers' unions, epitomized by former Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, who has supported limiting the power of teachers' unions. In one interview, she stated: “The teachers union has a stranglehold on many of the politicians in this country, both at the federal level and at the state-level, and they are very resistant to the kind of changes that need to happen” (Axelrod, 2018).

Despite the pervasiveness of teachers' unions in the United States, individual unions (e.g., at school district levels) have varying amounts of strength/power (Strunk & Grissom, 2010). State policies also modulate the strength

and activities of unions. For example, some states (e.g., New York) have bargaining laws that require consensus through arbitration, while others like Texas have laws barring collective bargaining outright (National Council on Teacher Quality, 2019). Individual teachers' unions are supported by state and national organizations, which often craft bargaining language that is transferrable from district to district. However, in most cases, each district negotiates language and requires agreement between the parties (Strunk & Grissom, 2010). Additionally, each community and individual school district differs in the amount of power their association has in bargaining, such that districts with motivated union membership may be able to negotiate more favorable CBAs than those with low membership and that might not be willing to utilize organizing strategies (Strunk & Grissom, 2010). In 2018, The United States Supreme Court struck down state mandates that require the payment of union dues in the *JANUS V. American Federation of Teachers* decision (Marianno & Strunk, 2018.) This might have a profound impact on what some consider the waning power of teachers' unions nationwide, but it is still too early to tell.

Ohio was chosen for this study because of its encompassing DE policy as well as the strength of teachers' unions in the state. With regard to labor law, Ohio is a right-to-work state and a state that allows public school teachers' unions to collectively bargain as well as strike. Recently, however, Ohio was embroiled in political conflict relating to public sector unions. In 2011, shortly after Ohio Governor John Kasich took office, he signed Senate Bill 5 (SB5), which stripped teachers' unions in Ohio of their collective bargaining power, effectively rendering them without legal power to negotiate CBAs for members (Burstein, 2012.) Shortly after, union activists throughout the state petitioned to repeal SB5 and placed the issue on the general election ballot. In November of 2011, SB5 was repealed by a wide majority, solidifying support for public sector unions in the state (Burstein, 2012).

Ohio's DE policy is one of the more robust DE policies in the U.S. (Author & Malin, 2019). The policy name for DE in Ohio is College Credit Plus, commonly referred to as CCP. Each school district is mandated by statute to advertise CCP, hold a meeting for CCP, contact parents to inform them about CCP, and cover the cost of CCP. In addition to covering the tuition cost for CCP, local school districts are also responsible for purchasing textbooks and materials for students who elect to participate in the program (Hornbeck & Malin, 2019).

Relationships between administration and unions, or what was once referred to as labor and management, are part of the daily workings of public-school systems nationwide, but this model has shifted (and continues to shift) as schooling options proliferate. Virtual schooling, education savings

accounts, charter schools, and dual credit programs have all played a role in shifting the relationship between associations and boards of education. Meanwhile, recent teacher strikes in Chicago and statewide strikes for better wages in West Virginia or Arizona have dominated the public perception of how teachers' unions are to be considered, when in reality, most teachers' unions are local associations that negotiate with boards of education on a district by district basis (Campbell, 2019; Shelton, 2017).

Framework and Method

The theoretical approach that guides this paper is incrementalism, which provides a framework that views policy change as an incremental process of give and take between parties called "partisan mutual adjustment" (Lindblom, 1979, p. 522). Using simple incremental analysis can be a valuable tool to understand how policies are subtly adjusted, making it possible to see a directional course of policies (Cairney, 2012). From an incremental perspective, policy makers create objectives without fully realizing potential implications, leading to small shifts and adjustments that take place as policies are implemented and adjusted, re-negotiated, and so on (Rothmayr Allison & Saint-Martin, 2011). Incrementalism can be a useful tool for educational policy analysis because the threshold effects of educational policy are often minimal and low-risk with policy initiatives that are subject to small changes as opposed to radical systemic change (Helms, 1981).

I use qualitative content analysis (QCA) (Mayring, 2004; Schreier, 2012) to draw on existing studies that acknowledge the significant role played by teachers' unions and the collective bargaining process in public education (Baron, 2018; Eberts, 2007; Strunk et al., 2018). Qualitative content analysis enables the researcher to conduct "systematic analysis of large quantities of textual data" (Mayring, 2004, p. 265). QCA was chosen because it enables the researcher to choose the subsection of text to analyze and "filter out subsections of the material and make a cross-section of the material under ordering criteria that are strictly determined in advance" (Mayring, 2004, p. 266). As well, QCA is useful when exploring large numbers of computerized documents or documents that can use search tools to locate specific language used for coding (Mayring, 2004.) In an effort to ensure reliability and trustworthiness of findings, each CBA was consistently searched for the same terms, including: dual enrollment, concurrent enrollment, dual credit, early college, College Credit Plus, DE, DC, CCP, ECHS, community college, college, university, and higher education (Carcary, 2009).

Ohio was used in this study because it has one of the broadest DE state policies in the United States (Zinth, 2019). The qualitative data were

collected using documents, specifically CBAs, for each public-school district in the state of Ohio. Each document was downloaded from the State Employment Relations Board online database. Of 611 traditional public-school districts in Ohio, 586 have collective bargaining agreements between teachers' unions and local boards of education. The two national/state teachers' unions that local bargaining units utilize include the National Education Association/Ohio Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers/Ohio Federation of Teachers. Bargaining procedure is included in each CBA and generally outlines a process for each party to propose changes to the existing agreement from time to time during an open negotiating time period which vary depending on each agreement. It is during the negotiation period that any new policies that had been implemented by the state or school board can be addressed by the teachers' union bargained. In the case of Ohio's DE program, which is called College Credit Plus (CCP), districts have had 6 years to add this to their bargaining agenda.

After choosing setting, documents and research question for this study, I developed a coding frame (Punch & Oancea, 2014; Schreier, 2012). Using a descriptive coding framework (Miles & Huberman, 1994), I conducted analysis of CBAs to look for themes. Each CBA was examined for language related to DE, dual credit, concurrent enrollment or the policy in Ohio called College Credit Plus. Language related to DE policy/programming was then highlighted and placed in coding categories until broader themes began to become apparent, leading to the inclusion of seven categories (see Table 1). Additionally, data about school typology, including categories from the Ohio Department of Education including rural, small town, suburban, and urban as well as typologies related to income level, were also collected and analyzed.

As well, one additional coding category where portions of text from the CBA were recorded was referenced for more detailed comparison and analysis. Ultimately, data that were collected revealed themes related to the relationship between negotiated CBAs and DE in public school districts in Ohio.

Findings

Data for this study reveal four themes that demonstrate ways in which some local CBAs appear to have been incrementally addressing the policy of dual enrollment known as College Credit Plus that had been in place for 6 years at the time of data collection and analysis. The first was that some teachers' unions are bargaining provisions that address DE into their CBAs. All of Ohio's public schools (586) CBAs were analyzed, with 160 (27%) including provisions related to DE. The 160 CBAs that included DE provisions were used for the analysis provided in this section. The three remaining themes

Table 1. Collective Bargaining Agreement Coding Table.

CBA DE language	Number of schools with CBA provision
Monetary stipend provided to teacher in some fashion	70
Teachers Union employees (bargaining unit employees) are preferred to teach DE courses when offered at high school campus	56
Paid professional development time is provided to teachers of DE courses	52
Tuition reimbursement provided to teachers who become certified to teach DE courses	39
DE courses may not be used for purpose of statewide teacher evaluation	34
Teachers are provided their hourly pay to work on curricular planning or attend meetings outside of the regular school day	23
Teachers have the right to refuse teaching a DE course or administrative direction to become DE certified	11

related to findings centered around working conditions for teachers, including provisions related to monetary compensation for teachers for teaching DE courses, existential protection of bargaining unit members, and the protection of teacher time (See Table 2).

Monetary Compensation for Teachers

Provisions related to compensating teachers for teaching DE courses were most pervasive. Three specific sub-topics related to compensation included stipend payments, tuition reimbursement, and hourly compensation for planning/meeting outside of contractual time. Stipends varied widely in each CBA, with some districts offering stipends per course taught and others provided for one stipend paid to the teacher at the end of the school year. Amounts varied from \$200.00 flat payments paid at the end of the school year to the possibility for much more, with provisions that calculated stipends based on salary step levels, similar to extra-curricular coaching positions. An example of stipend language from a CBA included, “Teachers teaching one or more College Credit Plus (CCP) classes in a school year shall receive a \$300 stipend for the year payable by the end of July” (Ohio State Employment Relations Board, 2021). Other districts paid teachers for each student enrolled in their course, for example, \$40.00 per student per semester. Additionally, in

Table 2. CBA Themes.

Expansion of bargained language related to DE in CBAs	Monetary compensation for teachers	Existential protection for bargaining unit teaching job	Protection of teacher time
586 CBAs reviewed	Teacher stipends of varying amounts = 70 Tuition reimbursement for DE certification = 39 Hourly pay for meetings/ planning = 23	Union employees preferred = 56 DE courses cannot be used for evaluation purposes = 34 Teacher has right to refuse = 11	Paid professional development time provided during contract year = 52
160 included provisions related to DE	93 Provisions related to monetary compensation	101 Provisions related to existential protection	52 related to protection of teacher time

only seven CBAs, guidance counselors were explicitly mentioned and also paid the stipend that teachers earn.

Tuition reimbursement was a common occurrence as well, with 39 (24%) districts including a provision specifically related to obtaining enough graduate level credit in a content area to become certified to teach DE courses. Provisions varied widely from each district, with some that paid the entire cost of tuition reimbursement to others that paid for a percentage. An example of tuition language reimbursement CBA language included:

Teaching a course that qualifies for College Credit Plus (CPP) shall be voluntary on the part of the teacher. If the district has paid for Master or credentialing classes, by mutual agreement between the district and the teacher, for the purpose of the teacher to teach CCP classes, the teacher while employed by the district, may be required to teach CCP classes for a minimum of five (5) years or repay the actual cost of the Master or credentialing classes equal to the amount paid by the district or grant. During the same five-year period, teachers who leave the district to be employed by a contiguous district, may be required to repay the same (Ohio State Employment Relations Board, 2021)

As well, a common theme was that districts required teachers who elected to be reimbursed for tuition to stay in the district for two to five school years or they would have to pay some or all of reimbursement back to the district.

About 23 (14%) CBAs included language that allowed hourly pay for teachers to attend training or plan curriculum during their private time. As well, there were acknowledgements for additional duties related to teaching DE courses. A representative example from one CBA included:

Teachers of CCP courses shall be given release time or compensation at summer school rate (if the day is outside of their contracted time) to attend all professional development workshops or conferences related to their CCP course offered or recommended by their host college. (Ohio State Employment Relations Board, 2021)

All 23 provisions paid the teachers a per diem rate and required approval from an administrator and in some cases limited the number of hours per semester or year.

Existential Protection for Bargaining Unit Teaching Job

The second most pervasive theme that was revealed were provisions that sought to protect traditional teaching jobs by separating high school teaching work from DE or college teaching. For example, 56 (35%) CBAs included language that gave bargaining unit high school teachers priority to teach college courses, keeping administration from contracting outside services with a local institutions of higher education (IHE). Essentially, this provision within CBAs requires the school district to first offer bargaining unit employees to teach a course if they meet the certification requirements. Language from one CBA related to this provision included:

The opportunity to teach any course offered by the school district through College Credit Plus shall be offered to all members of the bargaining unit who are qualified to teach the course and no outside employees shall be solicited until all members of the bargaining unit have refused (Ohio State Employment Relations Board, 2021).

Language for this provision was similar in all 56 other CBAs analyzed and raises questions as to the meaning of “qualified.” Is it holding the credential to teach DE courses, or does the administrator make a determination related to this provision? Similar to a court of law, CBA language can be interpreted in different ways—and, if associations disagree with administrative interpretation, they have the right to file a grievance and be heard by an arbitrator (Ohio State Employment Relations Board, nd).

Other provisions related to this category included prohibiting administration from using DE course evaluations as part of their required state mandated teacher evaluation. In Ohio, teachers are required to be evaluated by their principal and the evaluation is recorded in a statewide database, along with their rating. Additionally, DE teachers are required to be evaluated by the IHE from which they offer courses (Ohio Department of Higher Education, nd). Eleven

(7%) of the CBAs evaluated in this study clarify that the evaluation from the IHE cannot be used in any way toward their statewide evaluation. Nevertheless, this does not preclude an administrator from using a DE course as evaluative, rather just the evaluation conducted by the IHE.

The final provision in the category of job protection was the right of teachers to refuse teaching DE courses. Eleven (7%) CBAs included provisions allowing teachers to refuse direction to teach DE courses. Three of these provisions also included language that allows teachers to refuse direction to become certified to teach, which in most cases would involve either a master's degree in content area or a master's degree in a non-related subject and 18 additional graduate hours in the content area about which they will be teaching.

Protection of Teacher Time

The final theme revealed from collected data was the protection of teacher time by providing contractual time for professional development. CBA language for this category usually provided 2 or 3 days for teachers to take a day and prepare or travel to the college through which they are teaching/certified. This provision took place on a required working day, and either provided for a substitute teacher for the day or offered payment on a weekend. One example of this provision included the following language:

Any teacher who teaches a course that qualifies for College Credit Plus shall be afforded an in-service day to visit the participating institution of higher education to engage in planning with the cooperating college instructor and any other day as required by the college/university. The teacher shall be paid his/her per diem rate of pay for the in-service day, plus mileage at the IRS rate. The district shall pay the costs for employees to be trained as an adjunct instructor.

52 (33%) CBAs included language relating to this provision, making it the third most common negotiated item relating to DE in Ohio CBAs.

School Typologies

One additional way that data were analyzed was by school typology. The Ohio Department of Education divides school typologies into eight categories which include:

1. Rural—High Student Poverty & Small Student Population
2. Rural—Average Student Poverty & Very Small Student Population

3. Small Town—Low Student Poverty & Small Student Population
4. Small Town—High Student Poverty & Average Student Population Size
5. Suburban—Low Student Poverty & Average Student Population Size
6. Suburban—Very Low Student Poverty & Large Student Population
7. Urban—High Student Poverty & Average Student Population
8. Urban—Very High Student Poverty & Very Large Student Population

Findings indicated that the most underrepresented schools (i.e., those that were less likely to include DE language in their CBA) included Urban schools with very high student poverty and very large student populations. There are eight schools of this category, representing 200,000 students statewide, and none of them have DE language included in their CBA. Rural districts with high student poverty and small student populations (19%) as well as small town districts with high student poverty and average student population size (17%) were the second and third least represented typologies with DE provisions in CBAs. The most well-represented group included rural districts with average student poverty and very small student populations. About 36 of 107 (34%) school districts in this category included DE language in their CBA. The second and third most well represented districts included suburban districts with low student poverty and average student populations (32%) and small-town districts with low student poverty and small student population size (30%). See Figure 1.

In sum, the findings of this study reveal teachers' unions doing what unions are meant to do—that is, negotiating items that benefit or protect members of their association in response to DE statewide DE policy. It was also apparent that some CBAs used language crafted by the state union as model language, but there were slight variations in each CBA. The data procured and analyzed in this study ultimately reveal the end results of the contract negotiation between 160 local teachers' unions in Ohio, ultimately securing additional pay, bargaining job protection, and the protection of teacher time from additional workload without compensation.

Limitations

While this study focuses on one state, Ohio, as an example of a case where DE policy is pervasive and accessible to students/families, it is not necessarily directly comparable to other states. Using Ohio as a case made sense because it showed what might happen in a state with both pervasive DE policy and collective bargaining ability by teachers. However, states differ on these and other dimensions, so the results from this study should not be taken

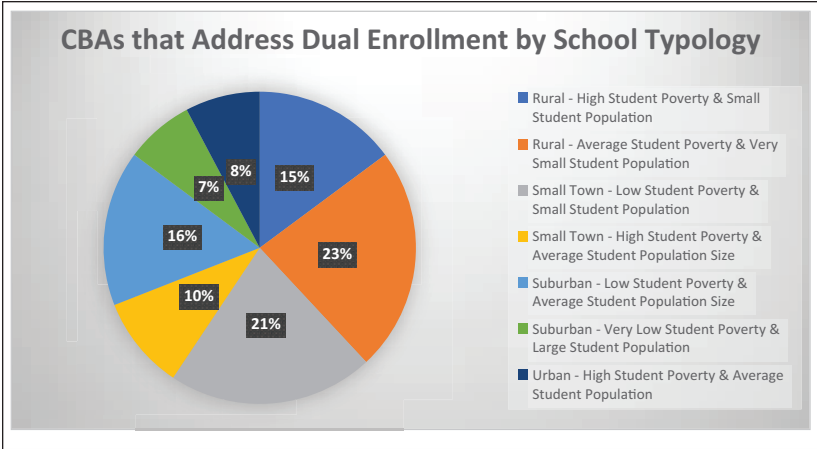


Figure 1. CBA by school typology.

as though they would hold true in all 50 states, as many policy and political nuances exist in the federal system in the United States. However, this study should be viewed as a way to better understand how incremental, local policy changes are occurring as a result of broader DE policies, and how the interested party of teachers are negotiating these changes.

Discussion

Data from this study reveal that some local teachers' unions have incrementally responded to the DE policy in Ohio by bargaining for expanded protections of the traditional role of high school teacher as well as compensation for the role of DE teacher, which requires collegiate teaching responsibilities. Using simple incremental policy theory (Lindblom, 1979) as an analytical tool was useful to demonstrate that broader DE policy initially failed to address the interests of some teachers and their bargaining units, and thus those unions have since begun bargaining for provisions that meet their needs, without upsetting the larger educational structures in place. The findings also expose a blending of secondary and higher education that raises questions as to the role of public secondary schools as well as the role of teachers in secondary schools, a problem that has been discussed by others as well (Duncheon & Relles, 2020). This study thus contributes both to the literature on CBA analysis and dual enrollment studies, and to the more general study of policies and strategies aimed at bridging previously disconnected

educational sectors of secondary and higher education (Hackmann et al., 2019; Loss & McGuinn, 2016). DE policies have been designed to provide higher education opportunities for students, changing the role of high school student to a hybrid role of high school and college student (An & Taylor, 2019). Yet, DE policies were developed and enacted without fully foreseeing the interests of all parties involved, leading teachers' unions to incrementally adjust policy (Lindblom, 1979) through subsequent collective bargaining. Findings from this study also exposed a shift in the role of the high school teacher, which is not addressed in state or federal educational policy; rather, teachers' unions have been left to assess how these policies change their roles and are now bargaining protections in CBAs.

The present study shows that the provisions teachers' unions in Ohio are prioritizing are related to compensation and job protection, revealing potential concerns that could be helpful to policy makers in the future when crafting DE policy. What's more, only 35 states legally allow collective bargaining, while three states expressly prohibit the practice, including Texas which is the second largest state in the U.S. (National Council on Teacher Quality, 2019). Accordingly, CBA analysis such as what was done here could support the identification of problems with policy, while also demonstrating ways that teachers have attempted to ameliorate those problems. In other words, these findings might be useful to policymakers in other states who are aiming to develop DE policies that can successfully predict, prevent, and/or respond to potential implementation challenges. Successful policies that begin in one state are often adopted by other states (see Jenkins-Smith et al., 1994), making this study relevant in the context of federalism and policy coalitions. Given this understanding, below I provide further analysis and reflection related to this study's primary findings.

Compensation

The inclusion of a stipend or additional compensation for DE teachers was the most pervasive provision related to DE in CBAs. Unions arguably exist to advocate for their members (see Marianno & Strunk, 2018), which perhaps makes compensation an unsurprising find related to DE. At the same time, teachers' unions have worked hard to ensure that teachers share the same salary schedule that is based on years of experience and educational attainment. Rather than create an additional pay scale, the wide majority of CBAs simply add the DE teacher role to the extracurricular pay scale, as though the position is akin to a coaching position or club advisor, or they are simply paid a flat stipend for teaching the course. None of the CBAs provided DE teachers with additional money per their negotiated salary, thus protecting the

traditional salary schedule where all teachers earn the same. Additionally, 56 (35%) CBAs required boards of education to first seek bargaining unit employees for DE positions, perhaps going further to protect traditional salary schedules and benefits.

Teacher Credentialing

About 39 (24%) CBAs provided specific language that offered tuition assistance for teachers to earn graduate level college courses in their content area to become DE certified. This might be viewed as a benefit or a burden. By the time a teacher enters the field they have graduated from college or university and earned a state-required credential to teach. As well, many teachers earn graduate degrees in the field of education, yet teaching DE adds an additional layer of training that can be time consuming and potentially take away from classroom preparation time and other time that could be focused on students. Considering that 80% of DE credit is earned at the home high school of the student (Shivji & Wilson, 2019) and that DE is a growing trend nationwide (Pompelia, 2020), it is possible that districts could begin requiring or strongly preferring DE certification as a condition of employment. As this study reveals, eleven (7%) CBAs give teachers the option to refuse direction to teach DE courses, revealing that teachers in some districts find this a potential possibility.

Additionally, earning a graduate degree in a content area is complicated for myriad reasons (Knapp et al., 1990). Teachers might seek out online programs, which are limited. If teachers are earning graduate courses beyond an existing master's degree, they have to verify coursework with each individual IHE and have their transcript approved in order to teach. This may differ with individual IHE's and may add an additional layer of complication for teachers while attempting to become DE certified. What's more, earning a master's degree can take several years in a part-time context, which may in some way impact the ability for teachers to teach.

Tuition reimbursement policies specifically related to DE varied widely from district to district. These data reveal that school districts find incentive in credentialing district teachers to teach DE courses, but some policies require teachers to pay back tuition if they leave the school district. The process of hiring and retaining qualified teachers for DE positions is complicated, and offering tuition reimbursement seems like a sensible option, but school superintendents are concerned that when teachers become credentialed that they leave for what they perceive as a more favorable teaching position in a different school district, which further problematizes the field of teacher education (Hornbeck & Malin, 2019).

District Typology

Evaluating if and how CBAs address DE by typology revealed that the top three most represented districts either had small or average student populations and average or low rates of poverty (See Figure 1). In contrast the three least represented typologies included large student populations and high rates of student poverty. Urban school districts with very high rates of poverty and very large populations had no DE language in their CBAs, indicating that there is an imbalance in how teachers are represented in the DE policy process. As well, this imbalance could be representative of the various modulations of power between unions (Strunk and Grissom, 2010). These data also raise questions about equity for students, leading to questions about teacher motivation, union power, and whether or not students in under-resourced districts are being encouraged to utilize DE policy.

Implications

With only 160 (27%) CBAs addressing DE as a policy and program in Ohio, some questions can be raised regarding why many districts have, to date, left the policy unaddressed. Research has shown that more powerful unions—which influence local boards of education and have more sway in the broader community—have more bargaining power and influence over working conditions (Strunk & Grissom, 2010). As DE programs continue to proliferate both in Ohio and the nation, it is reasonable to suspect that additional bargaining units will also take up the issue in their collective bargaining negotiations. However, this study serves to provide information as to what might be of interest to teachers and perhaps useful to states and localities when crafting or reforming DE policies. It should also be noted that in light of the *JANUS V. AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, SCOTUS* decision, that teachers' unions might be motivated to negotiate more forcefully to convince teachers to join or remain in their local union, serving the purpose of representing teachers, rather than political activism (Marianno & Strunk, 2018).

Teacher Identity and Role

This study reveals how teachers' unions in Ohio have used CBAs to leverage additional accommodation and compensation for teachers at the secondary level who are charged with also teaching courses for college credit. This role requires additional duties as well as expectations for pedagogy, curricular content knowledge, and educational attainment. The shift in teacher role raises questions about potential tensions that could develop as a result of a

different mandated requirements for credential and responsibilities. Teacher meetings, professional development, content mastery, additional curricula, and graduate level course requirements for teacher-credentialing, and other aspects of this role, create new obstacles for teachers at the secondary level, and CBAs reveal some of these problems and how they are addressed after the collective bargaining process.

Further research should be conducted to gauge and/or compare the ways in which other states and localities are implementing DE policy and how this impacts teacher compensation, practice, and expectations. In states where collective bargaining is outlawed, individual school districts or state law would determine the way in which DE teachers are compensated. Additional understanding about who teaches courses in high schools is also needed as in some cases colleges send faculty to high schools to teach courses (An & Taylor, 2019). Teacher credentialing is also an issue that needs further study and clarification, with each state and in some cases each school district working out their own agreements with IHEs about what constitutes DE certification, leaving this complicated for teachers who aspire to be certified to teach DE.

Conclusion

While some school districts have weakly supported unions or lack union representation altogether, and while many states lack the right to collectively bargain, information about how teachers' unions are influencing DE policy can be gleaned from states/localities where teachers have bargaining power. Studying CBAs can potentially offer a window into policy issues that are important to the teachers who vote for these negotiated agreements. DE is one such policy that is growing and is shifting the educational landscape nationwide. This study revealed several themes related to DE and teachers in Ohio, showing that there is incremental movement in CBAs that give high school, DE teachers, added compensation for their additional time spent performing the additional role of college teaching.

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