

Prototypes of “Preschool” in Arizona, 1987 to 2014

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation identified ideas and prototypes framing the notion of “preschool” in two types of influential public discourses in Arizona during the 1987-2014: a) editorials, op-editorials, and opinion letters appearing in the *Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* and b) political documents, including Senate and House Committee Meeting Notes and Comments, Gubernatorial Speeches, Executive Orders, Comments, Proclamations, Memos, and Press Releases. Seventy seven newspaper articles and 43 political documents that substantively addressed debates about preschool in Arizona were identified from an initial pool of 631 documents, of which, 568 were newspaper articles and 63 were political documents.

This dissertation argues little progress can be made in education policy by ignoring the unconscious and automatic levels of thinking, which are not easily dissuaded with rational and factual arguments. Haas and Fischman’s (2010) model for identifying prototypes provided an analytical method to capture the richness and diversity of the educational policy debate about preschool in Arizona. Prototypes captured the values, ideologies and attitudes behind the discourse of “preschool.” Prototypes provide a window into the unconscious thoughts of the authors of the editorials, op-editorials, opinion letters and political documents. This research identified five newspaper prototypes: “Last Resort,” “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of 21st Century.” It also identified four political prototypes: three of them (“Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “Learner of 21st Century”) were aligned with the newspaper prototypes. The fourth prototype was “Arizona Citizen.”

This research concluded that: (1) Multiple “truths” of the concept of “preschool in the newspaper and political documents existed between 1987 and 2014, (2) An inter-relational cross-over existed between the newspaper and political documents effecting the policy debate of preschool, and (3) In less than 30 years, the newspaper and political prototypes narrowed to one. Movement away from the rational policy model, and a broader use of prototypes and discourse analysis in education policymaking, is advocated.

Keywords: Prototypes, Discourse, Newspaper, Policymaking, Preschool

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the three most important people in my life whose love and belief in me made this possible.

My daughter Sarah who allowed me to be insanely pre-occupied.

My husband Kevin who grounded me as he patiently put up with my incessant talk and encouraged me not to give up.

And lastly to the person who has been my role model throughout my life, my mother Christina, who endlessly supported and guided me as I wrote and studied.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Educating children in formal infant schools in America dates back to the early 1800s (Beatty, 1995; Saracho & Spodek, 2012). These schools were offered to children of working class parents and were based on the ideas of Robert Owen (1771-1858), a Scottish industrialist and international social reformer and philanthropist. Owen believed education was at the central core of society ensuring that widespread social reform would take place (Donnachie, 2003). However, the idea of educating young children outside of the home was counter to the family ethic of the time, and few infant schools existed (Strickland, 1983).

By 1900 prognosticators dubbed the 20th-century “Century of the Child” (Key, 1909), with an increase in the establishment of American public school institutions following (Schaub, 2010). Early 20th-century American progressive educators like Caroline Pratt viewed parents as obstacles to their child(ren)’s education; a result of this educational philosophy is that independent preschools began to expand (Beatty, 1995). English educator Margaret Macmillan’s nursery school model originally designed to serve low-income children and their families was introduced in the United States. After World War I, the Montessori preschool method originating from Italy was also brought to the United States. Though the Montessori schools were closed during the Great Depression, the movement was resurrected in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Saracho & Spodek, 2010). With clearly distinct purposes, clientele and employees, preschools differed, whether artificially or not, from child-care programs (Beatty, 1995). As larger proportions of children gradually began attending formal schools (Fuller &

Rubinson, 1992), the establishment of formal early childhood education grew (Beatty, 1995).

The institutionalization of mass public education in the United States helped to legitimize the need to develop the cognitive performance of children (Meyer, 1977). The establishment of public education aided in the expansion of formal preschools and the increasing sentiment that parent participation in their child(ren)'s cognitive development, defined as continual, purposeful engagement with young children, was important. The analysis of historical data on parenting shows there has been an upward trend in parents' activities aimed at cognitive development during the latter half of the 20th-century (Schaub, 2010).

Lyndon Johnson became president in 1963, and in 1964 committed the United States to a 'War on Poverty'. Three programs enacted from this era still remain today; Head Start, Medicare and Urban Renewal. These programs were designed to address education reform, health care for seniors and racial discrimination (Council of Economic Advisers, 2014). During this time preschool education became more visible in American policy (Nagasawa, 2010), and academic literature on preschool outcomes expanded. The research literature used in preschool policymaking, while didactic, initially focused on the federally funded Head Start program (Burke & Muhlhausen, 2013; Currie & Thomas, 1993; Muhlhausen, 2014; Webster-Stratton, 1998) and two longitudinal studies, The Perry Preschool (Schweinhart, Barnes & Weikart, 2012; Schweinhart, Barnes, Weikart, & Barnett, 1993) and Carolina Abecedarian Projects (Campbell et al., 1974, 1984, 2010).

More recent research studies have analyzed the cognitive and language development of children (Barnett, 1998; Gormley & Gayer, 2005, 2008, Yoshikawa et al., 2013: social benefits (Dearing, McCartney, & Taylor 2009; Lally, Mangione, & Honig, 1988; Schweinhart, Barnes, & Weikart, 1993); class size (Barnett, Schulman & Shore, 2004); and family and direct peer effects (Henry & Rickman, 2007; Justice, Petscher, Schatschneider, & Mashburn, 2011; Mashburn, Justice, Downer, & Pianta, 2009). The overarching research evidence used to support preschool policymaking suggests high-quality early childhood education can be beneficial (see Appendix A). Yet as of 2012, preschool funding remains haphazard throughout the United States and only 28% of America's 4-year-olds were enrolled in state-funded preschool programs (Barnett & al, 2012). The more specific role(s) of the federal government and states are discussed next, succeeded by an introduction to this research.

Actions of the Federal Government

Federal government efforts in early childhood development have predominantly targeted poor and needy children. Originally, the government assisting teachers and widowed mothers through the Depression-era (1929-1933) set up the Works Progress Administration that put the unemployed to work on public projects. Unemployed teachers were hired to work in childcare centers. By 1935, the federal government passed Title IV of the Social Security Act of 1935 (later renamed Aid to Dependent Children), which provided aid to widowed parents so that they could remain at home with their children. During direct US involvement in World War II (1942-1945) the federal government supported a nationwide program in order to provide child-care centers for

working mothers to boost economic production, its funding authorized by the 1941 Public Works law Title II of the 1940 National Defense Housing Act.

As aforementioned, in 1964, Head Start, a federally funded social welfare and community action program, was created to fight the War on Poverty instigated by President Johnson. Head Start was initiated due to states not fulfilling their obligations to poor and minority children. It provided a variety of early childhood development, health, nutrition, and social services to low-income families with 4-year-old children. No provision to include preschool funding was formally stipulated by the federal government. Instead, federal funding centered on enrichment programs for children of financially disadvantaged families. The 1974 Social Security Act, Title XX, added coverage of daycare expenses for the working poor, leading to a definitive shift away from the original intent to Title IV of the Social Security Act of 1935. In 1976, the federal government passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. It required public schools to offer free and appropriate education to all eligible children until 21. The 1986 passage of the Individuals with Education Act (IDEA) expanded this to include disabled children in preschool.

According to Gilliam, Ripple, Zigler, and Leinter (2000), the passage of IDEA offered a framework for states to provide preschool programs on behalf of financially disadvantaged preschoolers. The 1990 passage of the American Disabilities Act required all states to provide education programs to the disabled. Funded by the federal Child Care and Development Block Grant, it required individual states to match federal funding by 4%. In that same year President George H. Bush, along with 50 state governors, endorsed the Goals 2000 Education America Act of 1994 (PL 103-227). It called for the

preparation of all children entering school such that they were ready to learn, as well as supplemental services to train and support parents. However, no federal money was designated to meet these goals (Gilliam & Zigler, 2000).

In 1995 the Early Head Start program was established within the US Department of Health and Human Services to focus on the need to help low-income parents with newborns to three year olds and their parents. The program included home visitations, family support, health and nutrition, and early childhood development and education. As with Head Start it was not an entitlement program, and when the funds ran out parents and children would be placed on a waiting list. Eleven years later the passage of No Child Left Behind (2001) mandated state implementation of standards, accountability, and tests to close the achievement gap. Federal money was withheld from those states that failed to adhere. In contrast, the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act had no ramifications if states did not comply. The Title I component of NCLB allowed the federal funding to be allocated to support preschool if the school district receiving the money saw fit. In 2011, the competitive Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge was implemented to support the winning states build statewide systems that raise the quality of early learning and development programs to children with high needs. Since 2011, more than \$1 billion has been awarded for projects in 20 states including California, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington, Colorado, Illinois, New Mexico, Oregon, Wisconsin, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Vermont. In 2014, the competitive Preschool Development Grant program began. Alabama, Arizona, Hawaii, Montana and Nevada received development grants while Arkansas, Connecticut, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland,

Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia received expansion grants. An overview of the federal legislation is illustrated in Appendix B. The more specific role(s) of the individual states follows.

Actions of the Individual States

Over time some states played a large role in operating their distinctly administered and funded preschool programs while others did not. Wisconsin has been attributed with having the first state-funded preschool program in 1898. The state repealed Funding in 1957 and restored it in 1985 under the Wisconsin Four-Year-Old Kindergarten Program (Schulman, Blank, & Ewen, 1999). A year after Head Start was initiated the New York State Experimental Prekindergarten Program began to help prepare underprivileged children attend school. The program proved successful in improving financially disadvantaged children's cognitive and pre-academic school readiness (Horan, Irvine, Flint, & Hick, 1980).

In 1995 Georgia passed the first universal state-funded preschool program in the country followed by New York in 1997 and Oklahoma in 1998 (Gormley & Gayer, 2004), while Kentucky launched massive educational reform packages including access to preschool (Gilliam & Zigler, 2000). By 2002 Florida passed a constitutional amendment requiring preschool access to all four year olds. As of 2014, however, 51% of children in Florida still do not attend preschool. In 2001 with a grant from the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation Arkansas implemented the 21C model developed by Zigler in 1987. It is a six-point model available to all children regardless of family income level. It includes early preschool childcare and education, school-age childcare, also covering home visitation programs and parent education services in health and nutrition. Training

is also provided to preschool and childcare providers in the area of the school. By 2007 the program 21C was implemented in 42 school districts across Arkansas and has been implemented statewide in Connecticut and Kentucky.

As of 2010, of 123 million women aged 16 years and over, 58% participated (were working or looking for work) in the labor force, 73% working full time (35 hours or more per week) and the remaining working part time (less than 35 hours per week). Almost 65% of those in the labor force have at least a child under 6 years of age, 27% of the workers reside in low-income households (KidsCount, 2014). In Arizona, 67% of 4-year-olds do not attend preschool, while Florida has universal preschool. This rise in the number of people in the labor force with a child or children under 6 has accentuated the demand to offer accessibility to childcare and preschool. Women comprise 47% of the total US labor force in 2008 and are projected to grow to 51% by 2018 (US Department of Labor, 2010).

Stay-at-home mothers tend to be younger and less-educated, with significantly lower household incomes, while highly educated women generally do not leave the work force unless they have two or more children (Lavery, 2014). The number of children age 3 to 4 enrolled in preschool (rather than a childcare facility) increased from 38% in 1987 to 54% by 2012 (US Census, 2014). Certainly more children between the ages of three and four are now attending school, yet nationally 46% do not (KidsCount, 2014).

Today, 50 million Americans, including 13.4 million children, continue to live below the poverty line (Council of Economic Advisers, 2014). Forty states provide some preschool, and preschool state funding has remained haphazard throughout the US. In 2013, President Obama introduced legislation to the Senate and House to create

federally-funded universal pre-K to all 4-year olds known as Preschool for All. To date, no legislation has been passed at the federal level other than two competitive programs, Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge and the Preschool Development Grant. The federal government continues to leave the primary funding of early childhood education up to the individual states.

This research is timely and critical since an emphasis on school readiness has increased due to the implementation of Common Core State Standards throughout most of the US. Children are expected to arrive in kindergarten knowing what they previously would have been taught in kindergarten. The predominant policymaking model in political science has been the rational-choice model which assumes individuals are fighting for their own individual, self-interest; this model does not allow for multiple views to exist (Stone, 1988/2002). My goal was to use Haas and Fischman's (2010) model to identify prototypes about "preschool" to capture the ambiguities and paradoxes ignored in the rational model of policymaking.

Prototypes captured the values, ideologies and attitudes behind the discourse of "preschool." Prototypes provide a window into the unconscious thoughts of the authors of the editorials, op-editorials, opinion letters and political documents. This research revealed: (1) Multiple "truths" of the concept of "preschool" in the newspaper and political documents existed between 1987 and 2014, (2) An inter-relational cross-over existed between the newspaper and political documents effecting the preschool policy debate, and (3) In less than 30 years, the newspaper and political prototypes narrowed to one. Little progress can be made in education policy by ignoring the unconscious and automatic levels of thinking, which are not easily dissuaded with rational and factual

arguments alone. Movement away from the rational policy model, and a broader use of prototypes and discourse analysis in education policymaking is advocated.

Arizona

Arizona was selected as the focus of this research because it furnished the opportunity to study what happened in a state that began to fund preschool to underprivileged children in 1991 through the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Program (renamed the Early Childhood Block Grant) but abruptly ended funding of that program in 2010 (See Appendix C). On average, once the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Program was fully funded in 1994, 64% of the grant was used specifically for preschool programs, which accounted for \$12.8 million servicing for 1,600 to 2,000 low-income preschool children annually. This research focused on discourse related to the Early Childhood Block Grant from policy enactment in 1991 to its apparent end in 2010. The Early Childhood Block Grant still exists, but is no longer funded by the Arizona legislature.

Arizona is a poor state with pockets of wealth in small, concentrated areas. According to the US Census (2012), economically, from 2008 to 2012, Arizona ranked 18th in GDP nationally and median income was \$50,326 (\$3,000 below the national average). Seventeen % of the population lives below the poverty level (2% above the national average) and 13% of 4 year-old children are enrolled in the federal program, Head Start. Fifty seven % Arizonians are White, 30.2% Hispanic or Latino, 5.3% American Indian and Alaska Native, 4.5% Black of African American, 3.1% Asian, 0.3% Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and 2.5% are two or more races. Arizona has 21 federally recognized American Indian tribes. Migrant workers are common to the agricultural sector of Arizona (predominantly in Yuma), and 27% of the population

speaks a language other than English at home (7% above the national average). The population growth rate has been approximately 4% (1% above the national average) since 2010 and Catholicism is the predominate religion (US Census, 2012, see Appendix D). Since the 1970s, the primary political issues have revolved around the state budget and compliance with federal government legislation (Charney, 2009).

Arizona has 230 school districts. With no uniform K-12 system in place, a hybrid of programs exists. The State of Arizona pays 36% of K-12 education funding, 54% is paid by the local government, and the federal government pays 10% (NCES, 2014). The public schools enroll 1,072,000 students, with 45% living in poverty, and 7% learning English. Arizona spends \$9,319 per pupil, consistently ranking nationally among the lowest states in per pupil educational expenditures (NCES, 2014). Seventy three % of students (900,000 K-12 children) in Arizona attend a Title I school, and 67% of children 3 to 4 years of age do not attend preschool (see Appendix E). Education funding is required under the Constitution of Arizona (see Appendix F), and for the last 30 years, education costs have continued to be the largest categorical state expenditure.

Research Questions

According to Stone (1988/2002), political science has not found a very convincing or satisfying explanation for the way policy is developed. By using Haas and Fischman's (2010) model to identify prototypes, the interaction between the newspaper and political discourse concerning the concept of "preschool" between 1987 and 2014 provided the empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of the educational policy debate about preschool in Arizona ignored in the prevailing rational policymaking model. "Preschool" is defined as a program employing trained teachers to lead daily

educational experiences in a classroom or learning center for children who are 1 to 2 years away from kindergarten and excludes special education and Head Start.

Prototypes are the starting point in understanding; a constellation of ideas in a person's mind representing the general properties of a concept; the "best examples" of a category (Rosch, 1978). It is the first thought that comes into a person's mind e.g. the concept "chair" is generally associated with four legs and something one sits on.

Analyzing prototypes about the concept of "preschool" captured the values, ideologies and attitudes behind the discourse of "preschool." Prototypes provide a window into the unconscious thoughts of the authors of the editorials, opinion editorials and opinion letters in the *Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* and state political documents (Senate and House Education Committee Meeting Notes and Comments, Gubernatorial Speeches, Executive Orders, Proclamations, Memos, and Press Releases).

Arizona is an appealing state to study the discourse of preschool policymaking for two reasons. First, preschool addresses one of society's most vulnerable groups, children, and, second, it provided an opportunity to research the discourse of preschool at each stage of the policymaking process from inception to implementation to cessation.

The three questions guiding this research to document the changes in contemporary newspaper and political discourses about preschool in Arizona were:

1. What are the prototypes about the concept of "preschool" among influential newspapers in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?
2. What are the prototypes about the concept of "preschool" in political documents in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?

3. What are the similarities and differences among the prototypes regarding the concept of “preschool” in influential newspapers and political documents in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?

Framing of the Research

The incorporation of prototypes pre-supposed that multiple forms of reason and rationalities could co-exist. I used the newspaper editorials, opinion editorials, and opinion letters to uncover the newspaper prototypes, and the executive and legislative documents to uncover the political prototypes about the concept of “preschool.” Prototypes provided a window into people’s thinking, which helped to comprehend the policies flowing from that understanding.

Since prototypes develop from direct experiences and secondary experiences received from others (Lakoff, 1987), I assumed newspaper and political document prototypes would interact and affect one another, in turn shaping the preschool educational policy debate and policy making within the existing societal and political barriers of the time as represented in Figure 1.

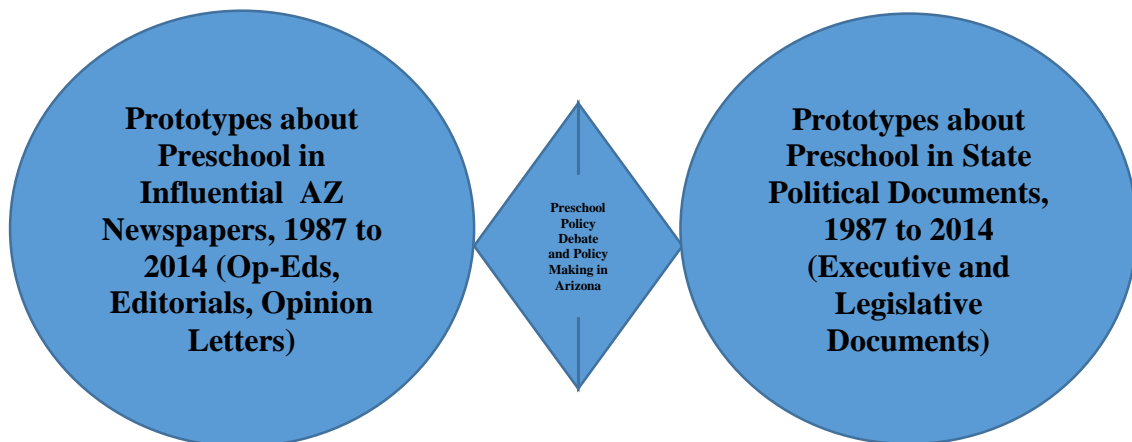


Figure 1. Relational Model

The space in which the discourse is situated helps define the boundaries of the discourse thus it was important to study the changes occurring in contemporary society as the prototypes of preschool were uncovered in the newspaper and political document. Thus, I concomitantly accounted for the events taking place at a local, state and federal level of government. I also sought to understand the institutional structure within which politics occurs in Arizona since the institutional structure influences what can and cannot happen in policymaking (Fairclough, 2000; March & Olsen, 1989).

Significance of the Research

As more emphasis is being placed on school readiness, understanding preschool educational policymaking is timely and critical. Prototypes provide a way to assess the values that shape policymaking. In turn, recognizing these values permits insight into alternative viewpoints. Bevir and Rhodes (2004) emphasize political actions cannot be understood if beliefs and values that motivate the actors are not examined. Analyzing prototypes is an empirical approach to capture and understand differences in value systems in the actors involved. In this research, the actors were newspaper editors, opinion editors, the general public who wrote opinion letters and politicians. If the actors involved understand the initial first thought of a concept influence their perception of that concept, and are willing to accept the first thoughts of that concept can differ between people, the likelihood of policy reconciliation increases (Stone, 1988/2002). The actors would not be searching for a single truth but would be open to the existence of multiple truths. Understanding these differences can then facilitate negotiation and compromise between the actors involved. Prototypes allowed me to gain an insight into these

contextual complexities and situated nature of education policy (Fischman and Tefera, 2014).

Overview of the Dissertation

This brief introduction provided the purpose, research perspectives, research questions, and the significance of the research. Chapter two provides the background literature used to form the conceptual framework. The third chapter describes the research method, the manner in which the way the data was collected and analyzed, including the justification of the strategies employed in the research and the ethical issues and biases of the researcher. Chapter four presents the results found in both the major newspapers and the political documents in Arizona from 1987 to 2014, detailing the prototypes and discourses discovered in each. The conclusion ends by drawing connections between the findings, the research questions, and the literature, I end with a discussion of what can be learned from the central findings of this research.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND LITERATURE FOR THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This research necessitated my gaining a thorough understanding of Rosch and Lakoff's (1987) perspectives about metaphors and prototypes, Fairclough's (2000) discourse analysis and Stone's (1988/2002) critique of the rational model of policy making to form the conceptual framework. I began with an in-depth review of the origins of prototype theory, including Rosch's (1978) definition of prototypes. Subsequently, I researched cognitive linguistics' contribution to cognitive science, and then what Lakoff (1987) added to Rosch's (1978) prototypes. I studied Haas and Fischman's (2010) further elaboration of Rosch and Lakoff's (1987) prototypes that included Fairclough's (2000) discourse analysis to form their model to identify prototypes. I then studied Stone's (1988/2002) critique of the rational model of policymaking, connecting it to Haas and Fischman's model to identify prototypes. I used the Thomson Reuters Web of Science to identify the literature review sources. I cross-referenced the bibliographies of prominent articles to identify additional references to complement those found on Google Scholar. The following pages are a summation of the scholarly literature forming the foundation of this research.

Origins of Prototype Theory

Prototype theory originates from the field of cognitive science, which seeks to discover the nature of reason and, correspondingly, the nature of categories; it is believed the primary way people make sense of the world is by categorizing. According to the traditional cognitive theory, categorizing is an algorithmic computation whereby thought is atomistic and can be subdivided into "simple building blocks, which are combined into

complexes and manipulated by rules” (Lakoff, 1987, p. xiii). By comparison, prototypical theory believes the conscious and unconscious mind constructs categories to make sense of the world.

Prototype theory can be traced back to the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), who argued that members of a particular category do not necessarily share all of the same properties that define the category. Instead, there could actually be better examples of a member that represented the category (Lakoff, 1987). For instance, there are various specific table types, such as the coffee table, side table, bedroom table, and dining room table. Wittgenstein (1953) suggested categories can change or can have artificial boundaries placed on them; e.g., a new three-legged table may be introduced (changed) or tables may be defined as only having four legs (constrained). Although a category may have precise boundaries, the intuitive concept is not limited by those boundaries, as boundaries are affected by both limitations and extensions (Lakoff, 1987). Wittgenstein’s (1953) work was revolutionary because it corroborated there could be good and bad examples of a category. It contradicted the traditional theory of categories, which held that all categories are uniform, defined by a collection of properties that are the language/words shared by all the category members. Wittgenstein had opened the door for further research critiquing the traditional view of conceptual categories.

Zadeh (1965) devised “fuzzy set theory” which extended conceptual categories into different grades of membership. In the traditional sense, either something was or was not in a category, membership was mutually exclusive but “fuzzy set theory” allowed membership to be a matter of degree. As an example, an average size person cannot be both tall and short in traditional categories but in the “fuzzy set theory” an average size

person can belong to both the tall and short category because gradients exist within and between categories. In 1969 Berlin and Kay extended this research into color perceptions, finding that different languages carve up the color spectrum in seemingly arbitrary ways (Lakoff, 1987). The evidence continued to uncover universal conceptions of categories did not exist, rather conceptions could differ.

Rosch's Prototypes

Rosch et al. (1978) discovered categories have “best examples,” which they termed prototypes. They concluded a multitude of items could fall within the same category, which thus indicated that reason is embodied and imaginative. Rosch et al. (1987) found an asymmetric category that they called prototype effects. The predominant items within a category, for example a sparrow for the category bird, was determined as more representative of the category than others.

Cognitive Linguistics Adds to Cognitive Science

Kahneman and Tversky (1974) distinguished between the unconscious and conscious thinking. They labeled the unconscious thinking as the gut-level reaction and named it the Confirmation Bias or System I. System I is the unconscious tendency to see and absorb information that corresponds to a person's current beliefs (Haas, Fischman & Brewer, 2014) causing the person to reject evidence that contradicts their beliefs (Haidt, 2012). Kahneman and Tversky (1974) labeled the conscious thinking System II, the slow, serial, controlled, effortful and commonly rule-governed thought. Kahneman and Renshon pointed out that existing cognitive biases, System I thinking, exist which are factored into people's decisions. Lakoff argued cognitive linguistics can add to these findings in neuroscience because it provides the conceptual content which can explain

why people are emotional, which neuroscience is unable to do (Lakoff, 1987; 2008). Since the brain does not have two different unconnected systems they are connected. Lakoff (2008) wrote that “conscious thought makes use of and is built on the cognitive unconscious” (p.226).

Lakoff Adds to Rosch’s Prototype

Whenever people reason about anything, they employ categories, which means categorization is central to understanding the specific ways people think and function in the world (Lakoff, 1987). Human experiences and imagination help interpret categories (Lakoff, 1987), indicating that people do not think using the same conceptual system. People use prototypes or the constellation of ideas in a person’s mind representing the general properties of a concept, as the starting point in understanding and reasoning about categories.

Prototypical ways of thinking include both the conscious and unconscious. A prototypical thought is the first idea that comes to mind when one, for example, hears the word “mother”. This unconscious initial understanding is considered the best example of the concept. Human experiences and imagination helped interpret categories (Lakoff, 1987) indicating that people do not think using the same conceptual system. Imagination is activated by and practiced through perception, motor activity, culture, figurative language, metonymy, and mental imagery. Inherently, people neither think in exactly the same manner nor have identical rationality. Fundamentally, thinking is structured by the individual’s experience.

If words are defined relative to conceptual frames, they will then become predominant within a specific frame, which increases the probability of that frame

becoming prototypical in the brain. Texts can have immediate and less immediate causal effects. An immediate effect occurs when a person's knowledge changes, while a less immediate effect can entail shaping a person's identity over time (e.g. as a man or woman). Texts can also have social or political effects (e.g. the ability to start wars or change international relations). Texts can also have an ideological effect that then contributes to establishing, maintaining, and/or changing social relations of power, domination, and exploitation (Fairclough, 2000; Haig, 2010).

A prototype is the first idea/concept that comes to mind that frames the way a concept is perceived. They capture the values, ideologies and attitudes behind the discourse of "preschool." Prototypes provide a window into the unconscious thoughts of the authors involved. By shifting from the classical categories to prototype-based categories, a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding, and clearer connection to theory and practice is possible. Figurative and prototypical research seeks to capture the contextual complexities and situated nature of education (Haas, Fischman & Brewer, 2014; Fischman, & Haas, 2010, 2012; Lakoff, 1987, 2002, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1988).

Haas and Fischman Model for Identifying Rosch and Lakoff's Prototypes

Feldman (2006) was the first to suggest that conceptual concepts such as education, schools, research, and policy could be better understood if both the unconscious and conscious motivations of the actors involved were studied. Haas and Fischman's (2010) model to identify prototypes allows for this. Their model incorporates Fairclough's (2000) discourse analysis into Rosch and Lakoff's (1987) prototypes; combining the use of linguistic analysis of specific texts and interdiscursive analysis of

orders or discourse. Fairclough's idea of negotiated power aligns well with the use of Rosch's (1978) and Lakoff's (1987) notion of prototypes because both believe language and discourse are instrumental in constructing the world.

Fairclough's (2000) discourse analysis includes a systematic account of the context and its relations to discursive structures which allow for consideration of the political and newspaper actors with the events, relations, practices, and the social, economic, and cultural properties. It provides a way to critically look at the relational interaction between the newspaper and political discourses. Fairclough (2004) sees ideologies as primarily representations of aspects of the world that can be shown as contributing to establishing and maintaining relations of power domination and exploitation by becoming inculcated in people's identities.

One way to determine whether social acts and identities are ideological is to look at the causal effects they have in particular areas of social life. Texts are not only seen as the effects of linguistic structures (nouns and sentences), they are also considered to be part of social events and, as such, constrained by current social structures and practices. Politicians are thought to be empowered to take political action, but are constrained by the existing infrastructural power, the capacity of the state to penetrate civic society and implement political decisions (Fairclough, 2000; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect, inclusive of discourses (ways of representing), genres (ways of interacting and acting), and styles (ways of being) that combine to control linguistic variability for particular areas of social life. Fairclough distinguishes between ideological and non-ideological discourses, retaining the hope of finding a way out of ideology. The economy, infrastructure, and

institutions are considered important parts of the discourse and dialectical interaction between discourse and non-discursive elements exists.

As a greater focus on language has manifested itself in government, it has become more common for politicians to include values in their language (Fairclough, 2000). Thus, increasing the consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people, by others comprises the first step towards emancipation (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1). To exclude the unconscious (the automatic level of thinking) from any analysis is providing an incomplete picture that can impact the policies that are passed (Fischman & Tefera, 2014). Haas and Fischman's (2010) model for identifying prototypes serves as an empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of education policy debate.

Connecting Stone's Critique of the Rational Model of Policymaking to Haas and Fischman's Model to Identify Prototypes

Deborah Stone wrote 'Policy Paradox' to "craft and teach a kind of political analysis that cherishes the richness of diversity of the human mind" (p. xii, 1988/2002). An ardent critic of the prevailing rational model of policymaking that assume people act in self-interest alone, Stone (1988/2002) argues values enter into policy design and implementation and that policy reform is a complex set of social issues. She assumes "individuals live in a web of associations, dependencies and loyalties, and where they envision and fight for a public interest as well as their individual interests" (p. xi, 1988). To ignore values and ideologies in politics fosters ambiguity and paradox. Paraphrasing Stone (1988/2002), recognizing these values and ideals are real in policymaking, forces people to justify their own views as more than self-interest, in turn, opening the door to realize alternative points of view exist as they try to persuade others of their perspective.

Research in cognitive science and neuroscience has corroborated human capacities do play a role in categorization, and all people do not think using precisely the same conceptual system. These findings support Stone's (1988/2002) premise that multiple "truths" can exist. By using Haas and Fischman's (2010) model to identify prototypes, the interaction between the newspaper and political discourse concerning the concept of "preschool" between 1987 and 2014 provided the empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of the educational policy debate about preschool in Arizona ignored in the prevailing rational policymaking model. Ignoring the unconscious and automatic levels of thinking, which are not easily dissuaded with rational and factual arguments alone, does not shed light on values and decision-making processes which are essential for determining the most sound approaches to conceptualizing, developing, passing, and implementing successful educational reforms. Haas and Fischman's (2010) model provides the empirical means to view the ambiguities and complexities ignored by the rational policymaking model.

Summary

Research in cognitive science and neuroscience has corroborated people use prototypical ways of thinking that involve both the conscious and unconscious. Incorporating prototypes provided an empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of the human minds. In Chapter 3, I provide a detailed explanation of the methodology used in this research to determine the prototypes for the concept of "preschool" in Arizona between 1987 and 2014.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology guiding this research. The research questions sought to employ Haas and Fischman's (2010) model to identify prototypes as an empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of the educational policy debate about preschool in Arizona ignored in the prevailing rational policymaking model. By capturing the prototypes, the values, ideologies and attitudes, of the conceptual category "preschool" changes in contemporary Arizonan discourses were uncovered.

Data was collected from the two largest circulated newspapers, *The Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star*, and political documents from the legislative and executive branches from 1987 to 2014. In order to generate insights into the differences in value systems of the newspaper and political actors, I analyzed newspaper editorials, op-editorials, opinion letters, commentaries, announcements, and dialogue in the political documents. Fairclough's (2000) critical discourse analysis provided a sound methodological approach to identify prototypes in newspapers and political documents because it assumes a dialectical interaction between discourse and non-discursive elements exist. In turn, movement between specific texts (linguistic analysis) and orders of discourse (interdiscursive analysis), allowed for a clearer understanding of contemporary Arizonan discourses concerning "preschool" within the context of the time frame studied.

Timeframe

The timeframe 1987 to 2014 was selected for this study, as it includes three years before and three years after the funding and demise of preschool monies to help prepare

underprivileged children for kindergarten. It is important to capture the period before 1987 and after 2014 as policy change is incremental and typically spread over a number of years. This particular period represents a time of tremendous economic, social, and political change in Arizona, along with an increase involvement of federal government in the arena of public education. Though the federal legislation did not address preschool education, it influenced Arizona's educational funding decisions. It is therefore important to understand the dynamic between federal legislation and the state response to such legislation. Chapter 4 includes a historical account of the major socio-political changes in Arizona from 1987 to 2014, to provide context for the research findings.

Data Collection

The intent of this research was to capture the prototypes, the values, ideologies and attitudes, of the conceptual category "preschool", to gain a clearer understanding of the changes in contemporary Arizonan discourses. It was important to select texts representing the predominant public discourse of the concept of "preschool" in Arizona from 1987 to 2014. Newspaper articles and political documents reflecting values and ideologies were selected as the site for the analysis of prototypes. The newspaper articles were assumed to reflect the predominant values of their readership, and the political documents were assumed to represent the political values, discussed next.

Newspapers. The *Arizona Republic* services Maricopa County with a daily circulation of 285,927 and Sunday circulation of 542,274, while the *Arizona Daily Star* services Pima County with a daily circulation of 92,762 and Sunday circulation of 141,587 (Alliance, 2014). Together, these two counties account for 75% of the total population of Arizona, with 60% of the population residing in Maricopa County and 15%

residing in Pima County (US Census, 2010). Combined, the newspapers serve the two largest counties in Arizona that include the two largest cities, Phoenix and Tucson. Phoenix is the largest city in Arizona with a median household income \$54,385, and is the fourth-largest city in the US (US Census, 2010). Tucson is the second largest city in Arizona with a median household income \$46,443 (US Census, 2010). These newspapers represent the largest readership in Arizona that provided news coverage to a significant portion of the Arizona population. It was important to use editorials, op-editorials and opinion letters to uncover the prototypes about “preschool” because implicitly they were written from a specific perspective.¹ I also assumed the newspapers sought to reflect the values and ideologies of their readership since the newspapers depend financially on their readership; if no one purchases the newspaper, the newspaper will not remain in business.

Until 1997, the *Arizona Republic* included a morning edition, *The Republic*, and an afternoon edition, *The Gazette*. *The Gazette* had a separate editorial staff from the *Arizona Republic* until it merged with the *Arizona Republic* in 1997. In the last four presidential elections, the editorial staff of the *Arizona Republic* endorsed Republican presidential candidates while the *Arizona Daily Star* endorsed Democratic presidential candidates. The newspapers were “a rich source of information about ideas and trends” (Haas & Fischman, 2010, p. 533). Growing evidence suggests newspapers contribute to what the public perceives as a common, public concern (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2006; Gentzkow & Shapiro 2004, 2006; Gerber, Karlan & Bergan, 2006; Stromberg, 2004).

¹ Though one could argue newspaper articles reporting events are also written from a biased position given the words used and the details included or excluded.

I performed a word search “preschool” in newspaper articles. I downloaded *Arizona Republic* newspaper articles from 1999 to 2014 and *Arizona Daily Star* newspaper articles from 1991 to 2014. Articles from the *Arizona Republic* between 1987-1998 were retrieved directly from the in-house Arizona State University Library database.² Articles from the *Arizona Daily Star* between 1987 to 1989 were retrieved from microfilm using a reference guide from the Arizona State Archives.³ A 1990 reference guide was never published for the *Arizona Daily Star*, so I reviewed the newspaper articles with no reference guide.⁴ A total of 2,808 newspaper articles were initially identified by researching the *Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star*.

Political documents. The political prototypes were a compilation from the legislative (House and Senate) and executive (Governor) branches of Arizona (see Appendix G and Appendix H). The judicial branch was excluded because I found no relevant court cases in Arizona specific to preschool from 1987 to 2014.⁵ Reports from the Office of the Auditor, Governor’s Task Force, Arizona Department of Education,

² The database did not allow for differentiating between types of articles, thus any article mentioning ‘preschool’ was captured. I had to evaluate each document to determine which were relevant.

³ As I used the more compact reference guide between 1987 to 1989, I broadened my search to include articles referencing education, daycare and preschool. I wanted to ensure I did not miss something and only used the articles that were referencing ‘preschool’.

⁴ I confirmed with the University of Arizona that the *Arizona Daily Star* was scheduled to be online in 1990, however, it was delayed a year, and a reference guide was never published for that year.

⁵ Though two attorney general opinions were written. In 1997, Mesa tried to decrease the admitting age to 4 years of age in Kindergarten, but then, in 2000 Attorney General Janet Napolitano confirmed the Arizona State Constitution did not require the state to pay for children below the age of five (Opinion No. 100-023). The following year Mesa Public Schools began their own preschool programs. In 2012, Attorney General Thomas Horne confirmed public schools offering a preschool program did not need to conform to the Early Childhood Block Grant guidelines because the schools were no longer receiving state money for such programs and thus were not beholden to the ECBG guidelines e.g. informing parents of other preschool options in the area (Opinion No. 112-003). Neither of these attorney opinions were used in this research to determine prototypes.

Arizona Department of Economic Security, Executive Budget Reports were read for historical background only, but they were not used to uncover the concept of “preschool”; political documents representing values and ideology had to be used to capture the political prototypes.

The legislative political documents were comprised of House and Senate committee meeting notes that included a synopsis of the house or senate bill, commentaries and reports, and legislative commentaries related to preschool. I collected the political documents from the Arizona State Archive, Arizona State Legislature, and the Arizona Centennial website.

The committee meeting notes were selected in tandem with the voter referenda, along with house and senate bills passed in Arizona from 1987 to 2014. The first bill related to preschool, HB2565, was passed in 1991. It was called the At-Risk Preschool Pilot program to fund preschool programs. In 1994, HB2002, expanded the funding of the At-Risk Preschool Pilot program, and in 1998 the program was renamed the Early Childhood Block Grant, which continued to fund preschool education programs for the underprivileged until 2010.

The executive political documents were comprised of the gubernatorial speeches, executive orders, commentaries, proclamations, memos, and press releases. It was important to include the governor; the leader’s communication style conveyed certain values that could enhance the political message and provide a view of the full range of political concerns and policies (Fairclough, 2000). The inclusion of the executive documents enhanced the understanding and analysis of the political documents on preschool. I only collected documents related to legislation that centered on state funding

preschools. The majority of the committee notes discussed the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Program (renamed Early Childhood Block Grant (ECBG) in 1998).

I also made several trips to the Arizona State Archive to retrieve any political documents from the Governor's Office that discussed "preschool." Since all education-related documents are coded under education at the State Archives, I reviewed entire boxes of material to find anything that discussed "preschool."⁶ Ninety five political documents were initially identified by researching Senate and House bills, speeches and the State Archives.

Data Analysis

Initially, a keyword search using the term "preschool" within the *Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* identified 2,808 newspaper articles. After removing articles that were not identified as an editorial, op-editorial or opinion letter, I was left with 568 newspaper articles. Ninety five political documents were initially identified by researching Senate and House bills, speeches and the State Archives. After removing documents that turned out to be duplicates, unrelated to preschool or related to disabled preschools, I was left with 63 political documents.

Each of the remaining documents were carefully studied and given my own internal number for the research. The *Arizona Republic* and *Arizona Daily Star* newspaper articles were kept separate from the political documents, since I was seeking

⁶ Unfortunately, there was a gap of information available in the Arizona Archives during Governor Symington's term because he removed many gubernatorial documents when he was Governor of Arizona. Symington hired a trucking company to pick up gubernatorial records, and it is not known what happened to them (State Archives, 2014). To compensate for this void, I watched all the governor's State of the State addresses, using the C-SPAN archive of speeches, to gain a better understanding of the political atmosphere of the times.

to uncover the prototype specific to newspaper discourse and to political discourse. I began manually to code on objective-descriptive patterns. I coded each document by type (e.g. editorials, op-editorials, opinions for the newspapers, and executive orders and news releases for the political documents); month, day and year and author and gender (if provided) (see Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1

Newspaper Article Codes and Values

Code	Values
Newspaper	<i>Arizona Republic</i> (Phoenix) <i>Arizona Daily Star</i> (Tucson)
Date	Year Month Day
Piece type, count and percentage of total	Editorials (407, 71%) Opinion-Editorial (77, 14%) Opinion Letters (84, 15%)
Author	Name Occupation Gender Race

Note. $N = 568$. Adapted from Haas & Fischman (2010).

Table 2

Political Document Codes and Values

Code	Values
Political document	Legislature branch (house and senate) Executive branch senate (governor)
Date	Year Month Day
Piece type, count and percentage of total	Committee meeting notes (33, 52%) Commentaries (4, 6%) Gubernatorial speeches (16, 25%) Gubernatorial executive orders (1, 2%) Gubernatorial proclamations (1, 2%) Gubernatorial press releases (4, 6%) Gubernatorial memos (4, 6%)
Author	Name Occupation Gender Race

Note. N = 63. Adapted from Haas & Fischman (2010).

I read through all 568 newspaper documents and 63 political documents to determine the underlying theme/subject matter about preschool and to extrapolate key sentences from the documents, all of which would allow me to identify the socio-political events triggering the documents. Additionally, a Word and a PDF file were created for each document by year in order to perform word searches as well as maintain an organized data set. As I read through the documents, I discarded pieces. While all of the political documents were on the topic of “preschool” in Arizona, many of the documents were incomplete, for example, committee meeting notes might state that the House bill or Senate bill was approved or not approved but not include discussion. As to the newspaper articles, the search on “preschool” captured articles pertaining to Head Start; preschools

for disabled children; other state preschool programs and articles mentioning preschool but not specific to preschool. For example, an article discussing: a retiring preschool teacher; the benefits of a particular teacher in a preschool; preschool employees charged with child abuse; a historical overview of education policy to include preschool; the opening of a new preschool in a specific school district; a new preschool program available in a community; public welfare programs and women in the workforce with mention of preschool; the legislature budget crisis influencing education as a whole with mention of preschool. All of these newspaper articles were discarded. See Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3

Type of Discarded Newspaper Article 1987-2014

Type of Newspaper Article Discarded:	1987-2014
Editorial Opinion	358
Opinion Editorial	64
Opinion Letters	69
Total Number of Discarded Newspaper Article	491
Percent of Total Newspaper Articles Discarded from Sample N = 568	86%

Table 4

Type of Discarded Political Document 1987-2014

Type of Political Document Discarded:	1987-2014
Committee Meeting Notes	17
Commentaries	1
Gubernatorial Speeches	0
Gubernatorial Executive Orders	1
Gubernatorial Proclamations	0
Gubernatorial Press Releases	1
Gubernatorial Memos	0
Total Number of Discarded Political Documents	20
Percent of Total Political Documents Discarded from N = 63	32%

Though 86% of the newspaper articles and 32% of the political documents were discarded, they provided insight and understanding into the socio-economic, political and historical context. Since the economy, infrastructure, and institutions were considered important factors shaping the discourse in the documents I collected, the discarded newspaper articles and political documents, along with the political fact sheets and reports from the Office of the Auditor, Governor’s Task Force, Arizona Department of Education, Arizona Department of Economic Security, Executive Budget Reports, helped to map the institutional and wider social and cultural contexts to power and ideological relations, between 1987 and 2014.

The 77 newspaper articles and 43 political documents that substantively addressed debates about “preschool” in Arizona were used to identify the prototypes, each document was analyzed in a manner consistent with the open-coding constant comparative methodology used in grounded theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Haas & Fischman, 2010). I continued to read and re-read, analyze, and sort the

documents. Topics began to be identified that centered around policy, need, family life and economic benefits of preschool and were triggered by House and Senate bills, voter propositions, federal legislation, and, at times, what seemed to be self-initiated. As I continued to read the documents, the key themes about the quality of preschool, the benefits of preschool and who should and should not attend and pay for preschool were identified. For both the newspaper articles and political documents, it became obvious the topics, triggers, benefits and quality of preschool, who should and should not attend and who should and should not pay for preschool could be placed in two categories; socio-political or argumentative (See Table 5).

Table 5

Code and Values

Code	Values
Category 1 – Socio-political context	
Topic type	Policy Need Family life Economic benefit
Trigger	House bill Senate bill Proposition Federal legislation Nongovernmental report Self-initiated /no event trigger
Category 2 – Argument elements	
Access: Who	All children Under-privileged (disadvantaged) children No children
Access: Means	Market determined Government subsidized
Benefit of preschool	Private Private/public/society Public/society
Quality	Teacher credentialing/higher wages Preschool credentialing Preschool licensing Private versus public

Note. n = 77 newspapers and 43 political documents. Adapted from Haas & Fischman (2010).

A more detailed textual analysis of each document was undertaken as the categories were identified. Using Fairclough’s (2000) discourse analysis approach which links the linguistic analysis of texts to the analysis of how power relationships work across the network of social structures, with social practices in its language form, known as orders of discourse. Each newspaper and political document was analyzed in its entirety, rather than analyzing isolated features of each document. The orders of

discourse include genres, discourse, and style which are the social organizations that control the linguistic variation. I focused on the structuring of social practices and the strategies of social agents, e.g., the ways in which they try to achieve outcomes or objectives within existing structures and practices, or change them in particular ways (Wodak and Meyer, 2013, p. 165). I continued to code and re-code the documents according to the categorical findings.

Each newspaper article and political document was re-examined. I sought a related set of characteristics to form the newspaper and political prototypes. Clustering was used to group the newspaper and political documents. The newspaper and political documents continued to be kept separate from one another. I looked for patterns in the newspaper documents and patterns in the political documents rather than precise and exact matches in each set of documents (Havens, 2010).

The themes I identified were: access to preschool, who should attend preschool, the reason for preschool, the benefits of preschool, the funding of preschool, the offering of preschool, and parental responsibility. I grouped according to context to uncover ways that the newspaper and political documents had presented how preschool was structured around the overarching themes of access, benefits, and quality of preschool. These themes revealed distinct, yet different, predominant purposes and structures of the concept of “preschool”, which were used to identify five newspaper and four political “preschool” prototypes, three, of which, were aligned to the newspaper prototypes.

Each newspaper and political document was then re-examined and sorted into its respective prototype as determined by the predominant purpose(s) and structure(s) it represented. Further analysis of the newspaper and political prototypes revealed

additional purposes and structures of “preschool” were present in the documents but not predominant to all documents within its respective prototype. Variations within and between the prototypes existed, discussed next in Chapter 4.

Validation

Fairclough’s (2000) critical discourse analysis was used to uncover the newspaper and political prototypes. Since language analysis involves interpretation, critics of textual analysis argue it can be biased (Widdowson, 1995). To minimize interpretive bias, I tried to be as transparent in my data analysis as possible to ensure that my readers would understand the analytical process I had undertaken in this research to determine my findings and conclusions.

Summary

I have provided the reader with the ontological and epistemological foundations for this research and present actual textual material used in the analysis. As Altheide (1996) suggested, this allows readers to re-experience the analytical process taken by the researcher. I also chose to study multiple types of texts rather than limiting the analysis to a single text or type of text, to minimize the analysis of reproduction and transformation of discourses (Fairclough, 2000). In Chapter 4 I present the findings and analysis of the discourse of preschools in Arizona. Chapter 5 concludes with a discussion of the contributions this research has made to the field.

CHAPTER 4

DATA AND FINDINGS

In this chapter, I present the data gathered through the exploration of the three research questions: (1) What are the prototypes about the concept of “preschool” among influential newspapers; (2) What are the prototypes about the concept of “preschool” in political documents; and (3) What are the similarities and differences among the prototypes regarding the concept of “preschool” in influential newspapers and political documents? First, I present the newspaper prototypes I identified; second, I present the political prototypes uncovered; and, third, I compare the newspaper and political prototypes. I then provide a brief historical account of Arizona pre-1987 to then situate the preschool policy debate uncovered regarding the concept of “preschool” in Arizona. I end by elaborating on the findings uncovered.

The newspaper and political document analysis revealed the concept of “preschool” was structured around ongoing themes involving access to preschool, who should attend preschool, the reason for preschool, the benefits of preschool, the funding of preschool, the offering of preschool, and parental responsibility. These themes revealed distinct, yet different, purposes and structures of the concept of “preschool” which allowed me to identify five newspaper “preschool” prototypes. I labeled the prototypes: “Last Resort,” “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of the 21st Century.” Three of the four political prototypes uncovered were the same as the ones uncovered in the newspaper articles: “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,”

and “Learner of the 21st Century,” and the fourth political prototype uncovered only in the political documents was the “Arizona Citizen” (see Table 6).

Table 6

Newspaper and Political Prototypes

Type of Prototype	Last Resort	Community and Family	Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children	New Knowledge Community	Learner of the 21st Century	Arizona Citizen
Newspaper Prototype	X	X	X	X	X	
Political Prototype		X	X	X		X

Newspaper Prototypes

The first research question, “What are the prototypes about the concept of “preschool” in newspaper articles in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?” uncovered multiple “truths” existed in the newspaper articles. Five prototypes were identified which I labeled: “Last Resort,” “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of the 21st Century. The following is a synopsis of these newspaper prototypes, the coding associated with the characteristics of each prototype and an example of the coding assignment in a representative newspaper article of each newspaper prototype.

Last Resort. The articles framed by the “Last Resort” (LR) prototype consider preschool a place for disadvantaged/minority child(ren) depicted as poor, with parents engaging in drugs, alcohol, and/or physical abuse. Preschool is not for children with caring, loving parents. The optimal place for such child(ren) is with their mother and/or father. It is the individual families’ responsibility to care for their own children, yet it is understood preschool could temporarily (while the child was at preschool) help children

of incompetent parents. The “Last Resort” appeared 13 times in the newspapers between 1987 to 2014.

A newspaper document coded as a “Last Resort” (LR) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (LRP1 and LRP2) and the predominant structure (LRS1) and may or may not have contained LRS2 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- An unnecessary place to put children with loving and caring parents, as the optimal place a child be is with his/her family (LRP1)
- Possibly a place disadvantaged children (associated with minority children) attend, however, there is little hope it will have any long term impact because a much bigger problem exists, e.g., poverty, drugs, alcohol, physical abuse (LRP2)

Structure of Preschool

- State to only help those families that are “incompetent” to do so themselves (LRS1)
- It is the individual families’ responsibility to take care of their child(ren), not the state’s (LRS2)

One example of the “Last Resort” is a 1990 letter published in the *Arizona Republic* entitled “Parents Abdicating”. The author, S. R. Smith, of Phoenix, writes about parents abdicating their parental responsibility.

A plethora of articles and studies regarding the apparent lack of schools to educate our children, particularly children of minority parents, has finally prompted me to write this letter. Education in our country used to be a partnership between parents and schools, with all adults collaborating toward the education of the children. *It appears to me that a majority of parents now wish to abdicate their contribution to this process (LRS1), leaving schools the total job of education.*

Soon we will have all 4-year-old children attending preschools, which will be forced to do the basic school preparation parents should be doing (LRP1, LRS1). Perhaps we should have a survey of parents: do you read to and with your children; do you check your children's homework daily; do you converse with your children; have you taught your preschool child the names of shapes and colors and how to count to 10 (LRS1)?

I must hasten to add that I am not a teacher. I am a parent and a frequent visitor to elementary schools throughout the year.

We are all familiar with the adage, "Use it or lose it". With parents abdicating the responsibility of parenting, perhaps our society will evolve into a "science fiction" situation where children are raised by the state (LRS1). The overall picture is enough to make us all despair (LRP1) (Smith, 1990, August 6, p. A10).

S.R. Smith's letter reveals a level of antipathy towards parents placing their children in preschool, believing parents are abdicating their personal responsibilities, and clearly associates minority parents as the primary culprits. S.R. Smith offers no hope of anything changing; instead, presents a solemn picture of the future, one in which children are raised by the state rather than a loving family.

Community and Family. The "Community and Family" prototype considers preschool as a place where low- and middle-income working families leave their child(ren). The primary intent of the preschool is to ensure the working family had peace of mind while the child(ren) are in a safe, quality environment conducive to learning. Preschool is commonly spoken about in tandem with daycare and childcare services. This

idea of preschool represents a comprehensive approach to the family unit; both the child(ren)'s and family's needs are considered, which impacts the structure of the preschool. Wherever possible, preschools are encouraged to work with companies to provide on-site services. It is the responsibility of the State, businesses, and educators to collaborate and ensure the support of the working family unit. State support is necessary to ensure all low- and middle-income children have access to preschool. The "Community and Family" appeared 13 times in the newspapers between 1987 to 2014.

A newspaper document coded as a "Community and Family" prototype (CF) of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (CFP1 and CFP2) and the predominant structure (CFS1) and may or may not have contained CFP3, CFS2 and CFS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- A safe, affordable and quality place where low- and middle-income children learn and thrive (CFP1)
- Comprehensive approach to the family unit; on behalf of the working parent, preschool is peace of mind, and for the child, preschool ensures future success and well-being in life (CFP2)
- Addition and extension of childcare/daycare services (CFP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State support ensures all children had access, interdependency between state, business and education. (CFS1)
- Flexible and whenever possible worked with companies to offer services on company premises (CFS2)
- State ensured fiscal responsibility was maintained, with no duplication of Head Start or special education schools (CFCS3)

One example with my purpose and structural codes in italic is a 2012 opinion letter piece that appeared after a 15 year absence of the "Community and Family" prototype appearing in the newspapers. The piece, published in the *Arizona Republic*, is

entitled “Arizona Shorting Care for Children”. The author, James Emch of Phoenix, president of the Arizona Child Care Association, writes about the State’s lack of assistance to the family unit.

Unfortunately, low-income working families have not been able to "get in" and receive state child-care assistance for over three years (CFP1, CFP3). Budget cuts have eliminated, besides for 21 500 children who are still "in" or have Child Protective Services or welfare connections, do not get assistance that supports quality.

The state makes inadequate payments based on the cost of licensed child care in the year 2000 (CFS1). I am a businessman who has operated preschools serving children in the Valley for over 40 years, and I know the challenges. Child-care providers want to provide the highest quality possible for all the children they serve (CFP1). The fact is that quality costs (CFS1). Retaining educated staff, with good wages with benefits, in classrooms with a small number of children, in safe and stimulating facilities costs more than most low- and middle-income parents can afford (CFP1, CFP2).

If we want high quality and comprehensive early-childhood programs that prepare children for success in school and life (CFP2), we must make greater public investments (CFS1) (Emch, 2012, July 20, p. B6).

Emch’s article is concerned about low-income families who are falling through the cracks of state assistance. He explicitly states he has supported preschool because he has operated them for more than 40 years. Clearly, Emch believes in state intervention to

ensure low- and middle-income families are able to enroll their children in a safe, quality preschool. Preschool is inherently good for both the child and working family, and it is the duty of the state to make public investments into these programs.

Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype perceives preschool as an investment in “at-risk” children to ward off future crime, teenage pregnancies, and high school drop-out rates. The goal is to ensure “at-risk” children become taxpayers in the future. It is unrealistic to think mothers can stay home with their child(ren) because life, in particular economic life, has changed. The structure of the preschool believes the individual family is responsible for their child(ren). State involvement is considered acceptable for “at-risk” children, as defined by low income, because it will create future taxpayers and bring the US back to global pre-eminence. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” appeared 20 times in the newspapers between 1987 to 2014.

A newspaper document coded as an “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” (EBAR) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (EBARP1 and EBARP2) and the predominant structure (EBARS1) and may or may not have contained EBARP3 and EBARS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- “At-Risk” children benefit from preschool (EBARP1)
- Improve society with lower crime, teenage pregnancy rates and high school drop-out rates, and better school attendance of “at-risk” children (EBARP2)
- Investment today to ensure “at-risk” children become future taxpayers (EBARP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State involvement considered acceptable for “at-risk” children which was defined by income level (EBARS1)
- The individual families were responsible for their children, not the state (EBARS2)
- Accountability: need to assess the outcomes of the early childhood state grant and provide detailed information on who benefits from the program (EBARS3)

One example with my purpose and structural codes in italic is a 1989 opinion-editorial in the *Arizona Republic* entitled “Preschool Value Proven”. The author, Anthony Mason, Chairman of Arizona Business Leadership for Education., Inc., Phoenix, addresses the value of preschool.

The August 24 editorial in The Phoenix Gazette, *"A question of cost-benefit," misjudged the value of preschool programs for children living in poverty because it overlooked the large and growing body of evidence to the contrary (EBARP3).*

The case for preschool does not rest, as your editorial suggested, upon the isolated findings of one study involving 123 children. There are nine such studies now in existence, involving a total of 3,592 children. *All these studies report significant long-term benefits for the kids involved (EBARP1, EBARS1), and that saves taxpayers money they would otherwise spend on prisons and welfare (EBARP2, EBARP3). Moreover, it turns these kids into taxpayers themselves (EBARS1, EBARP3). These studies showed major improvement in areas that include high school graduation, achievement test scores, teens on welfare, teenage pregnancies and youths arrested (EBARP2).*

Because the accidental occurrence of such findings in none different studies involving so many children is practically impossible.

"It is time to put aside questions about the value of preschools for low-income kids and the Arizona taxpayer. Instead we should direct our energies and editorials toward bringing these schools into existence (EBARP2). They will save us money; they will redeem the promise of public education that it is for all our children (EBARP2); and they will provide us with the skilled and working taxpayers_(EBARP3) who will ultimately restore America to pre-eminence in the world marketplace (Mason, 1989, September 18, p. A8).

Mason advocates on behalf of “at-risk” (defined as low-income) preschool children. At one point in the opinion piece he calls the “at-risk” children “these kinds” [of children], suggesting a level of distaste. Mason then proceeds to argue investment in preschools is necessary to ensure “these” children become taxpayers in the future. It is as though the changing low-income structure of the working family had brought with it the seeds of the demise of America, and preschool education would solve this national economic crisis.

New Knowledge Community. The “New Knowledge Community” prototype holds all children can benefit from preschool, particularly “at-risk” children. The family unit is constituted by a multitude of definitions (mother, father, step-father, step-mother, etc.) and considered an important element in the success of the child. Knowledge is identified with human capital. This prototype supports government aid on behalf of “at-risk” preschool children. Such aid is an economic investment to ensure lower crime,

higher graduation rates, and lower teenage pregnancy rates. Access to and choice of preschool are imperative. The “New Knowledge Community” appeared 16 times in the newspapers between 1987 to 2014.

A newspaper document coded as a “New Knowledge Community” (NKC) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (NKCP1 and NKCP2) and the predominant structure (NKCS1) and may or may not have contained NKCP3, NKCS2 and NKCS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- All children could benefit from preschool, particularly “at-risk” children (NKCP1)
- Economic investment for “at-risk” children e.g. lower crime, higher high school graduation rates, lower teenage pregnancy rates (NKCP2)
- Ensure children’s brains develop properly to ensure future human capital opportunities (NKCP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State and business involvement is acceptable for “at-risk” children (NKCS1)
- A more structured preschool program with parental involvement is called upon to ensure children are ready to enter kindergarten (NKCS2)
- Choice and access (public and private) (NKCS3)

One example with my purpose and structural codes in italic is a 1993 opinion letter in the *Arizona Republic* entitled “Lack of Preschools Costly in the Long Run”. The author, Margarita B. Rector, describes the importance of and need for preschools.

I am concerned with the lack of preschools for our children. *This is one of the most crucial periods in the educational process and yet our preschool children are not getting that head start (NKCP1).* There are private schools one can take advantage of, but how many of our families are able

to afford these costs? *All school districts should be required by law to provide public preschool education for each child in need of it (NKCS1).*

There are many wonderful preschool programs funded by the federal government. One such program is the Even Start Family Literacy Program. This program involves the parents in the educational process of the child. *The parents must be willing to abide by the requirements set by the government (NKCS2):* To volunteer three days monthly in the child's classroom; attend two workshops per month; and attend classes that are provided in order for the parents to get their GED. The volunteer days help the parents interact with the child. The workshops help the parents in their parenting skills, and the GED classes further the education of the parents. *Transportation is provided for the parents to the workshops and free baby-sitting during both the workshops and GED classes (NKCS3).*

Preschool programs give a child a head start and are imperative in the educational process (NKCP1). If the program involves the parents, it will be a benefit to both child and parents. If we get the parents involved in the education of their child, the parents will more than likely encourage the child to have an interest in school and continue instead of dropping out at an early age.

Young people who drop out of school are more likely to become recipients of government assistance (NKCP2). Many resort to burglary and the selling of illegal drugs due to lack of employment. *We taxpayers would save tax dollars that are being spent on government assistance*

programs and juvenile delinquency programs, not to mention the costs of the prisons that eventually have to be built to house those felons (NKCS1).

Not only should those of us who have children be concerned about the educational process, but we as a society should place much importance on this issue. *We need to remember that the children of today are our future (NKCP2) (Rector, 1993, July 31, p. A10).*

The author, Margarita B. Rector, is concerned with the lack of accessibility and choice of preschool offered to parents. She provides successful examples of parent involvement in early childhood education to gain support for her thinking and her advocating for similar programs. She implicitly informs readers of what successful programs take and the positive economic benefits that can be reaped, e.g., fewer prisons and government assistance programs.

Learner of the 21st Century. The “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype advocates that all children attend preschool thus ensuring future educational achievement. Preschool is an economic project to ensure future generations develop usable skills and competences. Preschool will ensure that the future workers of the nation are prepared to handle the challenges of the future. Arizona had to catch up and be competitive with the rest of the nation and even the world. Families have choices. Preschools are businesses. State funding should only occur if it is financially feasible since the family is ultimately responsible for their own child(ren). The “Learner of the 21st Century” appeared 15 times in the newspapers between 1987 to 2014.

A newspaper document coded as a “Learner of the 21st Century” (L21C) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (L21CP1 and L21CP2) and the

predominant structure (L21CS1) and may or may not have contained L21CP3, L21CS2 and L21CS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- All children must attend preschool for future educational achievement (L21CP1)
- Preschool is to ensure all children arrive in kindergarten ready to learn, to ensure future generation spawn usable skills and competences (L21CP2)
- To ensure children are prepared to face the challenges of the future (L21CP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State is not necessarily the only funder since parents are ultimately responsible for their child(ren), but when able the State should fund preschool for at-risk children (L21CS1)
- Controlled and standardized curriculum (L21CS2)
- Families have a choice (L21CS3)

One example with my purpose and structural codes in italic is a 2002 opinion-editorial piece in the *Arizona Republic* entitled “...And Day Care for All Proper Start Is Essential to Success”. The author, Carol Kamin, describes the overall reason for preschool.

For the past 15 years, every time a new report comes out that says Arizona is failing its children, every time a public official has called to discuss children's issues, and every time I've been invited to speak at community functions, the same question is asked: Is there any one thing we can do to turn around Arizona's dismal rankings on child well-being and help all of our kids succeed?

My response is always the same: The closest thing we have to that elusive "magic bullet" is to ensure that every single Arizona child begins school with the social, emotional and intellectual foundation to learn

(L21CP1, L21CP2).

If we want to improve everything from Arizona's dead-last ranking in high school dropouts to our dismal teen pregnancy ranking, we need to do whatever it takes to help all children come to school with the tools necessary to learn and thrive (L21CP1).

Over the past 20 years, dozens of research studies, including the recent ground-breaking research on brain development in young children, have all told us loud and clear that early-childhood experiences profoundly affect a child's physical and mental growth (L21CP1, L21CP3).

Children who participate in high-quality early-childhood and preschool programs realize significant benefits, including improved language proficiency, higher general achievement, more cooperative behavior and even better health (L21CP1, L21CP3). And once they get to school, they are less likely to be retained or be placed in special education.

In other words, educational success depends, in large part, on what happens to children before they actually begin kindergarten (L21CP1). Even decades later, the benefits of high-quality preschool shine through. Students in high-quality early-childhood settings are more likely to complete high school, have higher monthly earnings and be married. They also are less likely to receive welfare or be arrested. Two separate studies have shown that fully 15 to 27 years later, every \$1 invested in high-quality early education yields a \$7 return in increased productivity and averted societal costs, such as crime and welfare (L21CP3).

Other studies show that when parents feel good about where their children spend the day, they are better employees. They are more likely to stick with the job, and they don't have to miss work when patchwork child care arrangements fall through.

All of this is good common sense. Clearly, families have the most responsibility and the greatest role in raising healthy children (L21CS1). However, according to the most recent census data, more than half of Arizona's children younger than age 6 live with a single, working parent, or with two working parents. *Employers need employees who can focus on the job at hand. Little kids need high-quality early-learning experiences. And all children deserve to begin school on a level playing field prepared to climb the ladder of opportunity (L21CP2, L21CP3).*

But the field is far from level, and that ladder is broken for too many kids of hard-working families because high-quality programs are basically unaffordable and inaccessible.

Full-time child care and preschool already cost between \$3,600 and \$7,000 a year, as much or more than the cost of annual tuition at Arizona's public universities. *Adding school readiness components like well-qualified and trained teachers, low child-to-teacher ratios, parent partnerships, and enriching classroom and teacher materials, raises the cost to \$7,000 to \$10,000 a year clearly out of reach for most families (L21CS2).*

What minimal support we do give to children in low-income working

families has been eroded by inflation as well as the inability of our public officials to recognize the enormous future cost of not investing in early education.

Current child care subsidies to help working parents afford good child care are four years out of date. And while our child population has grown close to 40 percent over the past decade, the state investment in many early-care programs, when adjusted for inflation, has declined.

Many business and public sector leaders all across the country have begun developing significant initiatives to expand access in their states to high-quality early-childhood programs. Maybe some of their solutions will work in our state; perhaps some won't.

But one thing is clear. We need to attack this issue in a focused, comprehensive manner that integrates the research into long-term thinking and policy development that crosses many different systems and funding streams (L21CS1).

There is real hope that Arizona will soon join the ranks of such states. Gov. Jane Hull and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Jaime Molera understand that our present efforts are uncoordinated, duplicative and lack a guiding focus. *They are both strong supporters of the establishment of an Arizona Board on School Readiness to create a vision for early care and education in Arizona and a blueprint for how to get us there (L21CS2).*

And some of Arizona's top business leaders have joined Molera on

connecting a child's ability to come to school ready to learn to the student reading at grade level by the end of third grade a clear marker of high school graduation success and a stronger workforce (L21CS2, L21CP3).

This connection has the potential to move us beyond rhetoric toward a long-term solution, not a quick fix.

Providing our children with early care and education is a smart investment in our future. Children who start school behind their peers are unlikely to catch up. Children who are unable to read at grade level by the end of third grade are unlikely to graduate from high school. Poorly educated workers are increasingly unable to earn a living wage.

Arizona pays in many ways for failing to take full advantage of the learning potential of all of its children, from lost economic productivity and higher crime rates to diminished participation in the civic life of our communities (L21CP3).

We know what to do. *The challenge today is to harness the leadership and vision of thoughtful Arizonans and go beyond baby steps toward a giant leap forward for our children and for our future (L21CP2)* (Kamin, 2002, July 7, p. V1).

The author of this opinion piece, Carol Kamin, was an advocate on behalf of all children. She had been the assistant to Mayor Terry Godard in the 1980s and moved on to the Children's Action Alliance, an Arizona child advocacy agency, where she served as an advocate and president. The goal of Children's Action Alliance, a private non-profit founded in 1988, was to get businesses to invest in children, beginning with

disadvantaged children before they reach school age. It followed the national committee for Economic Development which identified education as the nation's # 1 economic issue in 1982. Eddie Basha, owner of Bashas served on the State Board of Education, Board of Regents, and Chandler School Board, and was a major founding contributor to the Children's Action Alliance. Clearly, in her op-ed, Ms. Kamin supports all children attending preschool, with her comprehensive reasoning that singles out the economic benefits wide attendance could provide. It is clear she supports a controlled and standard curriculum, and believes the family is ultimately responsible for their own children. However, she also supports government assistance but does not suggest that it is the only way; instead, government aid is part of "long-term thinking and policy development that crosses many different systems and funding streams".

Political Prototypes

The second research question, "What are the prototypes about the concept of "preschool" in political documents in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?" uncovered multiple "truths" existed in the political documents. Four prototypes were identified, three, of which, were aligned with the newspaper prototypes: "Community and Family," "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children," "Learner of 21st Century," and a fourth prototype the "Arizona Citizen." The following is a synopsis of these political prototypes, the coding associated with the characteristics of each prototype, and an example of the coding assignment in a representative political prototype.

Due to the limited and multiple viewpoints contained within the same legislative documents (e.g., House and Senate meeting notes), along with the discovery that the communicative style of the leader conveyed the message of particular prototypes, I

decided to use the gubernatorial documents as my examples for the political prototypes, with one exception, the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype.

Community and Family. The “Community and Family” prototype considers preschool as a place where low- and middle-income working families leave their child(ren). The primary intent of the preschool is to ensure the working family have peace of mind while the child(ren) are in a safe, quality environment conducive to learning. Preschool is commonly spoken about in tandem with daycare and childcare services. This idea of preschool represents a comprehensive approach to the family unit; both the child(ren)’s and family’s needs are considered, which impacts the structure of the preschool. Wherever possible, preschools are encouraged to work with companies to provide on-site services. It is the responsibility of the State, businesses, and educators to collaborate and ensure the support of the working family unit. State support is necessary to ensure all low- and middle-income children have access to preschool. The “Community and Family” appeared 7 times in the political documents between 1987 to 2014.

A political document coded as a “Community and Family” prototype (CF) of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (CFP1 and CFP2) and the predominant structure (CFS1) and may or may not have contained CFP3, CFS2 and CFS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- A safe, affordable and quality place where low- and middle-income children learn and thrive (CFP1)
- Comprehensive approach to the family unit; on behalf of the working parent, preschool is peace of mind, and for the child, preschool ensures future success and well-being in life (CFP2)

- Addition and extension of childcare/daycare services (CFP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State support ensures all children had access, interdependency between state, business and education. (CFS1)
- Flexible and whenever possible worked with companies to offer services on company premises (CFS2)
- State ensured fiscal responsibility was maintained, with no duplication of Head Start or special education schools (CFCS3)

An example with my purpose and structural codes in italic of the “Community and Family” prototype that was supported by Governor Mofford was reported in the 1990 *Arizona Republic* newspaper.

Today in Arizona children need the desire to learn, that desire must be cultivated by parents, educators, members of the media and your Governor (CFP1, CFPI, CFS1).

Governor Mofford met with about 35 student leaders at the Safford school, discussing goals, motivation and role models. She encouraged each of the young people not only to set goals for themselves, but to be aware younger children were using them as role models emphasizing that they should help them in whatever way possible.

Goals as adopted by President Bush and the nations’s governors at a summit meeting early this years, are starting school ready to learn... Education will improve in this state when people put it first on their agenda. *Parents, teachers, students, businesspersons and the media must work together and take the initiative to get involved. Learning is never over. It is a life-long challenge applicable to adults as well as young*

people_(CFPI, CFS1).

Following the presentations of the goals to students, Governor Mofford visited informally with the young people asking them their personal goals and answering questions about herself and her office (“Gov. Mofford,” 1990).

Governor Mofford served Arizona from 1988 to 1990. Mofford clearly believed it was the state’s responsibility to bring parents, teachers, students, businesses, and the media together to ensure children were given a good education. She believed it would improve family life and the state. Before leaving office, she would also sign in HB2565, which implemented the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project.

Evidence Based for At Risk Children. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype perceives preschool as an investment in “at-risk” children to ward off future crime, teenage pregnancies, and high school drop-out rates. The goal is to ensure “at-risk” children become taxpayers in the future. It is unrealistic to think mothers can stay home with their child(ren) because life, in particular economic life, has changed. The structure of the preschool believes the individual family is responsible for their child(ren). State involvement is considered acceptable for “at-risk” children, as defined by low income, because it will create future taxpayers and bring the US back to global pre-eminence. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” appeared 7 times in the political documents between 1987 to 2014.

A political document coded as an “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” (EBAR) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (EBARP1 and EBARP2) and the predominant structure (EBARS1) and may or may not have

contained EBARP3, EBARS2 and EBARS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- “At-Risk” children benefit from preschool (EBARP1)
- Improve society with lower crime, teenage pregnancy rates and high school drop-out rates, and better school attendance of “at-risk” children (EBARP2)
- Investment today to ensure “at-risk” children become future taxpayers (EBARP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State involvement considered acceptable for “at-risk” children which was defined by income level (EBARS1)
- The individual families were responsible for their children, not the state (EBARS2)
- Accountability: need to assess the outcomes of the early childhood state grant and provide detailed information on who benefits from the program (EBARS3)

One example with my purpose and structural codes in italic of the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype is depicted in the 1991 Joint Legislature Committee meeting notes on SB1079. The Arizona Department of Education was to conduct evaluation of at-risk preschools and establish a state Early Childhood Advisory Council. The legislation also expanded the program to 33 at-risk preschools. An extract from the committee notes in reference to SB1079 exemplifies the EBAR prototype.

Nancy Mendoza, Legislative Liaison, State Board of Education/Department of Education, explained that last year, when the State Board of Education examined issues facing the State in the development of its legislative package, the item that emerged as a top issue was the need to move forward on initiatives in the area of at-risk students. Initially, Ms Mendoza said, the State Board requested a method

for creating permanent funding for at-risk pupils because funding for the pilot program was ending.

In recognition of the fiscal constraints facing the State at this time and also in recognition of a need to examine more closely the effectiveness of the at-risk programs, (EBARS3) the State Board of Education supports the establishment of a joint legislative committee to study at-risk pupils, to review the programs that have benefitted them (EBARP3, EBARS2), and to determine the most appropriate way of establishing a permanent funding mechanism (EBARS1).

Dr. Louann Bierlein, Assistant Director, Morrison Institute for Public Policy, School of Public Affairs, Arizona State University, spoke in support of S.B. 1079, explaining that one of her responsibilities at the Morrison Institute is to provide oversight of the evaluation of 55 pilot programs implemented as part of Arizona's attempt to help at-risk youth (EBARP3, EBARS2). The study committee proposed S.B. 1079 would provide an overview of the several initiatives for at-risk students, perhaps with a view to integrating these services. Dr. Bierlein said she is aware that the Legislature does not particularly like study committees, but this one would have the help and support of the Morrison Institute staff, who have gathered information from across the country on at-risk programs. In addition, the bill would extend the current pilot program for a fifth year (this is referencing the preschool pilot program), thus providing a transition year so that the program does not end abruptly if a decision is

made not to continue it (EBARS1).

Mr. Smith asked Dr. Bierlein how beneficial the programs have been.

Dr. Bierlein replied that data from the first year of the program have revealed significant student achievement gains on the norm-referenced tests at the high school level. At the elementary level there has been an attendance gain. of 1.5 percent (or a decrease in the absentee rate).

Aggregate results show that there are indeed gains in achievement, in attendance, and in retention of students (EBARP2).

Mrs. Graham moved, seconded by Mrs. Wessel that S.B. 1079 do pass.

Todd Hale, House Education Committee Intern, explained the two amendments to the bill. *The 11-line Hermon amendment dated 3/26/91 (Attachment 2) is technical in nature and removes two members from the Joint Legislative Committee on At - Risk Pupils because of an error made in drafting the bill. In addition, the intent of the bill was to extend the program for one more year, and the language of the bill as drafted did not do that (EBARS1).* The purpose of the 12-line Hermon amendment dated 4/2/91 (Attachment 3) is to require *the Joint legislative Committee on At-Risk Pupils to report on how the monies for the year 1990-91 were spent, how much went to the actual program, how much for teacher training, how much for administrative costs, and to make funding recommendations so that administration costs are kept to a minimum and that a maximum amount of funding is directed to teachers and students.*

Mr. Smith asked how much money is being expended on at-risk programs (EBARSI).

Mrs. Hermon responded that she believes about \$7.7 million is spent for the 55 pilot programs.

Mrs. Graham moved, seconded by Mrs. Wessel, that the 11-line Hermon amendment dated 3/26/91 (Attachment 2) be adopted. The motion carried.

Mrs. Graham moved, seconded by Mrs. Wessel, that the 12-line Hermon amendment dated 4/2/91 (Attachment 3) be adopted. The motion carried.

Mrs. Graham moved, seconded by Mrs. Wessel, that S.B. 1079 do pass as amended. The motion carried by a roll call vote of 12-0-0-3 (Arizona State Senate: Committee on Education, 1991).

The Committee meeting notes clearly confirm that the Joint Legislature Committee was not opposed to financing the pilot programs that included K-3, 7-12, and an expanded preschool pilot program. Rather, they were more concerned with determining which programs were most effective, to ensure the expansion of the programs were a good investment, particularly as the ongoing budget issues in 1990 were forcing the State to make cutbacks. This bill was ultimately approved, and the At-Risk programs for children were not cut; instead, they were expanded.

Learner of the 21st Century. The “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype advocates that all children attend preschool thus ensuring future educational achievement. Preschool is an economic project to ensure future generations develop usable skills and competences. Preschool will ensure that the future workers of the nation are prepared to handle the challenges of the future. Arizona had to catch up and be competitive with the rest of the nation and even the

world. Families have choices. Preschools are businesses. State funding should only occur if it is financially feasible since the family is ultimately responsible for their own child(ren). The “Learner of the 21st Century” appeared 22 times in the political documents between 1987 to 2014.

A political document coded as a “Learner of the 21st Century” (L21C) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (L21CP1 and L21CP2) and the predominant structure (L21CS1) and may or may not have contained L21CP3, L21CS2 and L21CS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- All children must attend preschool for future educational achievement (L21CP1)
- Preschool is to ensure all children arrive in kindergarten ready to learn, to ensure future generation spawn usable skills and competences (L21CP2)
- To ensure children are prepared to face the challenges of the future (L21CP3)

Structure of Preschool

- State is not necessarily the only funder since parents are ultimately responsible for their child(ren), but when able the State should fund preschool for at-risk children (L21CS1)
- Controlled and standardized curriculum (L21CS2)
- Families have a choice (L21CS3)

I have provided two examples with my purpose and structural codes in italic of the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype. It first appeared in the political documents in 1992, and then during Governor Symington’s administration, but it was not until the end of Governor Napolitano’s administration that the prototype dominated in the political arena (along with a glimpse of the “Arizona Citizen” political prototype). The first example, is from Governor Symington, published in the *Arizona Republic* in 1994, entitled “Symington Applauds Legislators for Kids, Arizona Now a Better Place.”

On June 17, the 41st Arizona Legislature concluded the most successful special session in our state's history. Five landmark bills were enacted all of which will make Arizona a better place to raise a child.

The Arizona School Improvement Act (ASIA) brings significant reform to our public schools (L21CP3). It includes a vision for the creation of charter schools so that qualified individuals, including teachers and parents, can establish schools that actually meet the needs of their students (L21CS3).

While our charter school provision is not the first of its kind in the U.S., it is widely considered to be the most comprehensive.

ASIA also includes a provision for a school accountability program (L21CS2).

For the first time, parents will be able to determine how their child's school stacks up against others in the state. *Parents will receive "school report cards," just as stockholders receive annual reports with these report cards, parents can make intelligent decisions about which school their child should attend (L21CS3).*

PERHAPS THE MOST important change wrought through ASIA is open enrollment. Parents seeking the best public school for their child can now enroll him or her in any public school anywhere without paying tuition or being penalized in any way,

Another significant education reform is decentralization through school site councils. This means more decisions affecting individual schools will

be made by parents, teachers and administrators of that school rather than the district office.

The final provision in ASIA appropriates \$10 million more to At-Risk Preschools, an additional 3,000 at-risk children to get a head start in school. We created this program three years ago and have seen remarkable results (L21CP1).

We are miles ahead of where we were at this time last year but education reform is more complete. We still must require better training and more effective credentialing for teachers. We also must implement capital equalization (L21CS2).

Most important, we need to give parents the absolute freedom to provide their child the best education possible by expanding further on parental choice (L21CS3).

Equal in significance to education reform was the passage of the Arizona Children and Families Stability Act (ACFSA). Throughout my tenure as governor I have stressed the importance of prevention and early intervention as important components of the continuum of care for our children. As a result of ACFSA, we have now created three important preventive programs - Healthy Families (at preventing child abuse), Health Start (developed to provide prenatal care and infant immunizations), and the Family Literacy program (designed to improve the literacy skills of parents).

The enactment of these programs, coupled with the expansion of the At Risk Preschool Program, provides opportunities for our children to succeed by removing barriers to a healthy childhood and a quality education (L21CP1). Government cannot and should not replace the family as the primary care giver for our children, but with this vitally important legislation the government has appropriately provided needed assistance to help strengthen the family unit. [Tones of the Community and Family Prototype]

But we must do one more thing for children and families as well we must restore safety to their neighborhoods. To that end, the Legislature appropriated an additional \$5 million to expand the anti-gang program.

Other funds were appropriated to local law enforcement for increased prosecution of gang offenders and for use of the National Guard to back local law officials in neighborhood prevention and recreation programs. To assure that the money is well spent, we created a legislative oversight committee to monitor progress. In two years, armed with an Auditor General report, the oversight committee will present recommendations on how programs can be improved and whether they should continue.

The final component of the special session was legislation designed to address the regulatory inconsistencies between public and private day care facilities.

As a result of this bill, the state will be able to craft regulations for day care provided in public and private centers in order to provide a safe and

healthy environment for the children who attend them, with an eye toward preserving the maximum number of centers available to all socio-economic levels (L21CS1).

We as Arizonans can take great pride in the job done in the 1st special session. It will reap rewards for generations (Symington, 1994, June 30, p. B9).

Governor Symington served Arizona from 1991 to 1997. As Governor of Arizona, he helped begin the transition away from the “Community and Family” political prototype towards the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype. In this commentary he states “Government cannot and should not replace the family as the primary care giver to our children, but with this vitally important legislation the government has appropriately provided needed assistance to help strengthen the family unit”. Clearly, tones of the “Community and Family” prototype were present. However, taken in its entirety, this commentary supports the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype. Symington demanded choice, accountability, standards, proven economic returns, and state support for at-risk children. He ends his commentary noting that Arizona would reap rewards for generations by enacting and supporting family health and education programs, and goes on to clarify even furthering the role of education.

The second example is an extract from Governor Janet Napolitano’s notes on State of the State Address, 48th Arizona Legislature, First Regular Session:

I believe this independent, confident, growing state of ours can be even stronger. It can become the “One Arizona” that I spoke of at the inaugural, and a state of mind, that fits the hopes and dreams of our people. *A state*

where our children, and our children's children, can thrive in an ever more challenging 21st Century (L21CP1). The key is Education...to guarantee that every young person who graduates from Arizona's schools is truly prepared for a world of competition and innovation (L21CS2, L21CS1). Arizona students no longer compete only against each other (L21CP1); to thrive in the 21st century, they must be able to hold their own in the world (L21CP3). Business horizons are wider than they've ever been; jobs require more students than ever to be prepared for high-skill professions (L21CP3, L21CP3); and Arizona graduates need to be able to think through challenges and propose solutions that are creative and clear (L21CP1, L21CP3). There are a few standards we must insist upon (L21CS2).

Every student must enter school safe, healthy, and ready to learn (L21CP3); every third grader must read at grade level; every eighth grader must be prepared to take and pass algebra; and every high school senior must graduate prepared for work and postsecondary education in the 21st century (L21CP1, L21CP3, L21CS1) (Napolitano, 2007, January 8).

Governor Napolitano served Arizona from 2003 to 2009. Like Symington, Governor Napolitano supported preschool education. Napolitano not only believed it was good for Arizona, but propagated it was an essential element, because the new competitive world required that all children begin preschool ready to learn. A productive workforce was necessary to ensure Arizona would become competitive with other states

and the rest of the world. Napolitano created a sense of urgency, as validated in her commentaries. There was no choice, because change was inevitable and irreversible. Arizona had to respond.

Arizona Citizen. The purpose of the preschool prototype “Arizona Citizen” is to ensure Arizona citizens are ready to attend kindergarten through college. An educated workforce is necessary to ensure the survival of Arizona. The structure of the preschool is to provide a common curriculum that will ensure accountability and tracking between preschools by the State Board of Education, rather than by the federal government. The family, rather than the State, has the responsibility of ensuring the preschool attendance of their child(ren). The “Arizona Citizen” appeared 13 times in the political documents between 1987 to 2014.

A political document coded as an “Arizona Citizen” (AC) prototype of preschool had to contain the two predominant purposes (ACP1 and ACP2) and the predominant structure (ACS1) and may or may not have contained ACS2 and ACS3 uncovered during the data analysis (see Chapter 3 for details):

Purpose of Preschool

- Create Arizona citizens ready to attend kindergarten through college (ACP1)
- Educate the workforce to ensure the continued survival of Arizona and their citizens (ACP2)

Structure of Preschool

- Family responsible not the State (ACS1)
- Common curriculum to ensure accountability and tracking, but the State Board of Education sets the standards, not the federal government (ACS2)
- Local and parental involvement (ACS3)

An example with my purpose and structural codes in italic of the “Arizona Citizen” prototype come from a 2013 release statement regarding Arizona’s authority to set their own education policy.

This Order reinforces my priorities for Arizona's education system: raising the standards and expectations for Arizona students and educators, increasing the high school graduation rate and ensuring college and career readiness to meet the needs of a competitive workforce, (ACPI, ACP2) said Governor Brewer. The power to make important education decisions involving curriculum, instructional materials and literature must occur at the local level (ACS2), with input and influence from parents (ACS3) the people most attuned to their children's schooling needs (ACS1). It is imperative that parents, and all Arizona citizens, engage regularly with their local school boards to ensure the standards are being met and implemented effectively_(ACS2).

The state's education community is working hard to equip Arizona's students with the knowledge and real-world skills that will enable them to compete with students from other states for college and high-paying jobs, (ACP2), said Governor Brewer. With Arizona's College and Career Ready Standards, we are setting our students on the path to lifelong success (ACS2).

The Executive Order requires that executive agencies refer to the standards, adopted in 2010, as Arizona's College and Career Ready

Standards, and encourages citizens and education stakeholders to do the same (ACS2). The order's other provisions direct that no standards or curriculum be imposed on Arizona by the federal government, and that the power to set and define learning standards for students in Arizona's public schools remain within the State Board of Education (Executive Order No (Brewer, 2013, September 20).

Governor Brewer served Arizona from 2009 to 2014. As with Governor Symington and Governor Napolitano, she supported the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype: however, during her regime, she incited a more patriotic, neoliberal flavor, and the word “we” began to mean the people of Arizona, but in an exclusionary fashion. Children were the responsibility of the parents and community.

Comparison of the Newspaper and Political Prototypes

The third research question, “What are the similarities and differences among the prototypes regarding the concept of “preschool” in influential newspapers and political documents in Arizona from 1987 to 2014?” enabled me to identify an inter-relational cross-over existed between the newspaper and political documents, effecting the preschool policy debate and revealing in less than 30 years, the newspaper and political prototypes narrowed to one.

I followed Fairclough’s (2000) suggestion to select cruces or moments of crisis in the data as entry points into analysis, because they bring attention to issues that would normally be naturalized and difficult to see. To determine critical points, I began by visually comparing the number of newspaper articles and political documents by year (see Figure 2).

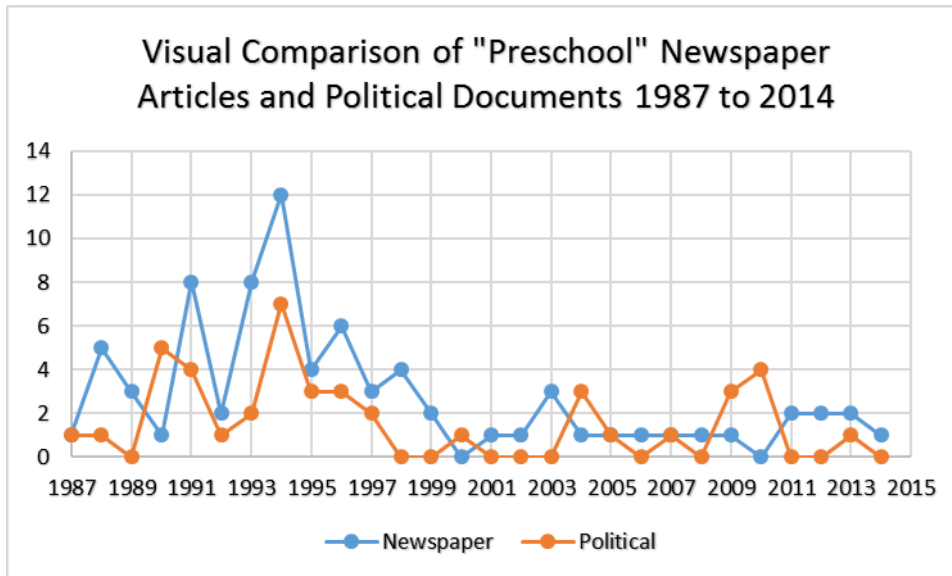


Figure 2. Visual Comparison of “Preschool” Newspaper Articles and Political Documents from 1987 to 2014

Mapping the continuum of the “preschool” discourse by periods of increases, decreases, peaks, and turning points in the newspaper and political documents from 1987 to 2014, I identified six critical time periods of discourse activity: 1987-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-2001, 2002-2006, 2007-2008, and 2009-2014. The time periods allow for a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena.

At the beginning of the research period, all five newspaper prototypes and two political prototypes were represented. Fifty two percent of the total newspaper articles and 49% of the political documents were published from 1987 to 1994, which coincided with the introduction of the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Program and then passage of the Early Childhood Block Grant in 1994.

By the end of the research period, four prototypes were represented in the newspaper articles but the “Learner of the 21st Century prevailed; the “Arizona Citizen” was the only political document represented. Thirteen percent of the newspaper articles

and 21% of the political documents were published from 2007 to 2014, which coincided with the time period leading to the funding cut to the Early Childhood Block Grant in 2010 (see Table 7 and Table 8).

Table 7

Type of Newspaper Prototype by Period of Time

Newspaper Prototypes:	Number of Newspaper Articles 1987-1989	Number of Newspaper Articles 1990-1994	Number of Newspaper Articles 1995-2001	Number of Newspaper Articles 2002-2006	Number of Newspaper Articles 2007-2008	Number of Newspaper Articles 2009-2014
Community and Family	3	5	4	0	0	1
Evidence-Based At Risk Children	3	7	4	4	1	1
Learner 21st Century	1	5	2	1	1	5
New Knowledge	1	8	5	1	0	1
Last Resort	1	6	5	1	0	0
Total Number of Newspaper Articles by Critical Years	9	31	20	7	2	8
Percent of Total Newspaper Articles Sample (n = 77)	12%	40%	26%	9%	3%	10%

Note: n = 77 newspaper articles. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learner of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort.”

Table 8

Type of Political Prototype by Period of Time

Newspaper Prototypes:	Number of Political Documents 1987-1989	Number of Political Documents 1990-1994	Number of Political Documents 1995-2001	Number of Political Documents 2002-2006	Number of Political Documents 2007-2008	Number of Political Documents 2009-2014
Community and Family	1	6	0	0	0	0
Evidence-Based At Risk Children	1	6	0	0	0	0
Learner 21st Century	0	3	9	3	1	0
Arizona Citizen	0	4	0	1	0	8
Total Number of Political Documents by Critical Years	2	19	9	4	1	8
Percent of Total Political Documents Sample (n = 43)	5%	44%	21%	9%	2%	19%

Note: n = 43 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learner of the 21st Century,” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

The newspaper and political prototype “Community and Family” was to assist children in the early stages of learning and the family structure to become self-sufficient, independent, and healthy. The State was responsible for ensuring fiscal responsibility was maintained with no duplication of Head Start. The preschool was considered an extension and addition of childcare/daycare services. State support was deemed necessary to ensure all children had access. Collaboration between the State, education, business, and community was needed. The “Community and Family” prototype was not present in the political documents after 1994 or in the newspaper articles after 1997. In 2010, it reappeared after a 15 year absence in the newspaper articles.

The goal of the newspaper and political prototype “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” was to help at-risk children in the early stages of learning to improve subsequent attendance, achievement, and retention in elementary school. Preschool was

considered a good investment, ensuring at-risk children became taxpayers of the future rather than welfare recipients. It required ongoing evidence that any program enacted was effective. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper and political prototype ceased in the political documents by 1994, but continued in the newspaper documents until 2009. In some respects, the “Last Resort” newspaper prototype paralleled this prototype. Preschool, if absolutely necessary, was only for at-risk children, but the parent(s) were ultimately responsible for their child(ren).

The “New Knowledge Community” supported children who could benefit from preschool. State support was acceptable, but other sources of funding were also an option, because children were the ultimate responsibility of the parent(s). The “New Knowledge Community” newspaper prototype and “Learner of the 21st Century” newspaper and political prototype moved the notion of welfare of children to a secondary position, advancing future economic productivity of children to the central stage. The dominance of the “Arizona Citizen” political prototype by 2009 through 2013 added a patriotic flavor to political documents that enhanced the role of the Arizonan citizen while denigrating non-Arizonans. Preschool remained an important component to prepare Arizona citizens from kindergarten through college. The child(ren) was/were now the responsibility of the parent(s), not the State. The analysis showed that, by the end of the period studied, the “Learner of the 21st Century” was predominant in the newspapers, and the “Arizona Citizen” dominated the political documents. A synopsis of the aggregate of typical features of the newspaper and political prototypes appears in Table 9.

Table 9

Overview of Newspaper Article and Political Prototypes

Code	Community and Family (CF)	Last Resort (LR)	Evidence-Based At-Risk Children (EBAR)	New Knowledge Community (NKC)	Learner of the 21 st Century (L21C)	Arizona Citizen (AC)
None for caring parents (LRP1)		x				
Safe place for children (CFP1)	x					
At Risk Children to attend (EBARP1)			x			
All Children Could Benefit (NKCP1), (ACP1)				x		x
All children must attend to be competitive in the 21 st Century (L21CP1)					x	
Improve the quality of family life and child's future success CFP2)	x					
A bigger problem exists, e.g. poverty (LRP2)		x				
Investment to improve society – lower crime, teen pregnancy, school retention (EBARP1), (NKCP2)			x	x		
Investment to produce productive workers (L21CP2), (ACP2)					x	x
State to pay/help all (CFS1)	x					
State to pay for At Risk (LRS1), (EBARS1)		x	x			
State and Business to help At Risk (NKCS1)				x		
State to only pay when possible (L21CS1)					x	
State Not responsible to pay (ACS1)						x

Words are important to understand because they represent the way we think (Lakoff, 1987). The way we think shapes language and language shapes the way we think. In turn, language has political force (Lakoff, 1987). Fairclough's (2000) discourse analysis aims to produce a better understanding of the changes in contemporary society. Texts are not only seen as the effects of linguistic structures (nouns and sentences), they are also considered to be part of the social events in society that are constrained by the social structures and practices in place. The causality associated with texts is not mechanical or a matter of regularity. Instead, texts constitute a complex form of causality largely dependent on context that contribute to establishing, maintaining, and/or changing social relations of power, domination, and exploitation (Haig, 2010).

By incorporating the prototypes, the different points of view in the newspaper articles and political documents on the concept of "preschool", were uncovered. If all viewpoints are contemplated and understood, policy reconciliation can occur for the betterment of society (Stone, 1988/2002). Discourse legitimizes ideas and actions by shaping the flow of knowledge (Fairclough, 1992). Politics are, however, about more than deliberation and argumentation, they are also about power (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012) and the dialectical interaction of discursive and non-discursive elements (Fairclough, 2000). Societal and political barriers exist. Next, the policy debate of preschool is presented. First, a brief historical account of Arizona pre-1987 is provided to better situate the policy debate of preschool.

Brief Historical Account of Arizona, Pre-1987

In 1864, Arizona was the first territorial legislative body to allocate a sum of \$1,500 to support mission schools. Three years later, towns were empowered with the

authority to collect taxes to support public schools, and the following year the Tucson School became the first public school in the territory. By the 1870s, the legislature required communities to collect property taxes to support their schools, and by 1900, there were a total of 428 public schools, with an enrollment of 16,500. Arizona became a state in 1913 and in 1948, the Tucson Community School began offering preschool and kindergarten.

In 1965, under the Economic Opportunity Act, the federal government established Head Start to address the academic achievement of poor minority children. The federal government had concerns about the state's commitment to racial, economic, and educational justice. One component of the program provided the opportunity to attend preschool to four year old children who met the enrollment requirements. However, since it was not an entitlement program, once the yearly allotment of money was spent, children and families were placed on a waiting list for services.

In 1976, the Phoenix Washington Elementary Schools was one of the first school districts in Arizona to begin a preschool program. In 1981, HB2005 expanded the role of school districts and provided a formal definition of a community school. School districts were allowed to accept gifts and grants and expend the money per the donor's intent. Community schools were defined as any school engaged in a community school program and allowed school districts to provide educational programs to children and adults.

In 1981, Ronald Reagan was elected president of the United States. He served two consecutive terms (1981-1989) and promoted a pro-market mentality by propelling the idea individual liberty was associated with democracy, freedom to consume, and free markets (George, 2005). In 1983, the US Department of Education published '*A Nation*

*at Risk*⁷ reported on the failures in America's classrooms. Shortly thereafter, individual state governors became more involved in education issues. That same year saw the passage of Arizona's HB2359, which established a set of standardized accounting principles to handle school district money (school district funds, investment of fund, and issuance of warrants) and began promoting after-school activities for school age children of working parents. In 1985, HB2314 allowed school districts to contract with other outside vendors to provide student after-school activities in K-8 on school property. Additionally, SB1077 authorized \$15 million to be dispersed to districts based on their K-3 population for special academic assistance. The bill responded to the large number of school dropouts in Arizona. Likewise a nationwide report documented that the number of fathers working with a wife who stayed home had decreased from 60% in 1950 to 11% by 1980 and 7% by 1985. By 1986, the federal government expanded the 1976 federal Education for All Handicapped Act to include children from birth to 21 years old. In response, the Arizona Legislature passed Session Law 1986, Chapter 388, §1, establishing the special education preschool program. This was 4 years before the 1990 American Disabilities Act mandated all states provide preschool programs to the disabled (see how a bill becomes a law and the role of the Executive Branch in Arizona in Appendix G and Appendix H). Together, all of local, state and federal events began to lay the foundation for preschool policymaking.

The policy debate of preschool on the concept of "preschool" is discussed using the six critical time periods of discourse activity: 1987-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-2001, 2002-2006, 2007-2008, and 2009-2014, overlooking the acting governor(s); the local,

federal and state policies enacted, and the relevant newspaper and political prototypes of each time period.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 1987-1989

The discourse on preschool in the newspaper articles varied widely between 1987 and 1989 (none was found in the *Arizona Daily Star* from 1987 to 1990) and served as the precursor to the 1990 passage of HB2259 that established the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project covering fiscal years 1990 through 1994, the state funded at-risk preschool program and the passage of SB1079. An addendum to the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project expanding the at-risk preschool program to an additional 33 preschools and required the Arizona Department of Education to conduct an evaluation of the preschool program in 1991.

The governors, 1987-1989. Evan Mecham served one year as Governor of Arizona (1987-1988). He did not serve long enough to have a direct impact on the concept of “preschool”, and one can only speculate what may have taken place had he remained in power. The little uncovered about Mecham suggested he saw nothing wrong with the structure of education; rather, he believed the quality of education needed to improve.

Mecham, an automotive dealership owner, was serving as the seventeenth Governor of Arizona. He defeated Carolyn Warner, who had served three terms as State Superintendent of Education. Mecham did not form any education, family, or childcare committees during his 1 year in office, and none of the ten executive orders he signed pertained to education. However, an understanding into his view on education can possibly be summed from a letter written on April 4, 1987 found in the Arizona Archives

from Mecham's administration in what he called "plain talk". Though he focuses primarily on the universities role in education, he also notes the following:

Over 60 percent of our state spending by legislative appropriation goes to education. One of the most important goals of my administration is the desire for excellence in education in Arizona at all levels. Since the biggest debate on education funding will center around the Universities' budgets, this column will center on that subject. Structurally we have an excellent system. The difficulty now is how to improve the quality of education for the future while slowing down the rapid spending increases of the past (Mecham, 1987, April 4).

He begins his letter stating 60% of the State general fund is spent on education to convince the reader the State is an important payee for education, but it becomes evident in the next sentence that he feels the universities' budgets are at issue. He continues to state that the system is structurally in excellent condition, indicating he has no intention of changing the system, he only intends to change the funding. He clearly sees nothing wrong with the structure of the education system in Arizona. He goes on:

The difficulty now is how to improve the quality of education for the future while slowing down the rapid spending increases of the past. I know that we can do both but first we must become better informed about the real facts of our education spending. The "more is better" syndrome, if allowed to continue, can send us into financial difficulty without greatly improving quality (Mecham, 1987, April 4).

Mecham was impeached on April 4, 1988, by the State House of Representatives and convicted by the State Senate for misallocation of campaign funds. Rose Mofford, the then-Secretary of State, took over the position as per the law. She was the first female to serve as Governor of Arizona. Mofford, an educator with a master degree in education counseling, had been elected to serve three terms as Secretary of State. She was originally appointed Secretary of State in 1976 by Governor Bolin who came to power when Governor Raul Castro resigned to become Ambassador to Argentina. Governor Bolin died while serving as governor in 1978; however, Mofford was not allowed to become governor because she had not been elected by the people (Bruce Babbitt, then Attorney General, became governor), though she went on to be elected three additional times to the office of Secretary of State. By all accounts she seemed genuinely concerned on behalf of children, families, teachers, and the state of Arizona.

During Mofford's reign, caring for members of the community at the local, state and federal level was part of the discourse. Caring was not just a feeling of empathy, it meant taking responsibility, acting powerfully and courageously to ensure the well-being of the entire community. As governor, she contributed to the "Community and Family" political prototype and reinforced the "Community and Family" newspaper prototype. In 1988, she formed the Office of Women's and Children's Services. In February of 1990, she attended the National Governors' Association meeting. She returned to Arizona vowing to devote her final few months touring 90 Arizona schools to support national education goals. Mofford added three specific goals to Arizona's educational goals: (1) attract the best teachers by increasing salaries; (2) raise the image of the teaching profession; and (3) reward excellence in schools. She had set in motion the

professionalism of teachers in Arizona. She was not an avid speaker but an insight into her thoughts while serving as governor can be found in a portion of her final State of the State Address in 1991: “It has been my primary goal as governor to help children, our families, the disadvantaged and our elderly population. You have responded and together we have made the challenge” (Mofford, 1991).

Mofford’s political rhetoric aligned well with the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper and political prototypes. It appeared to open the door to preschool policy. Both prototypes subscribed to state-funded preschool for at-risk children. Her willingness to serve as a public servant and her non-dogmatic tone as a leader allowed multiple discourses to occur during her term. People were able to disagree, come together multiple times, contribute, and form alliances (or not). It was discourse that could change policy (Fairclough, 2000). Mofford did not run another term, and Fife Symington came to power in 1991.

Local, 1987-1989. Locally, a number of initiatives concerning preschool were taking place. The Guadalupe School District started a preschool program in an effort to lower high school dropout rates. Their program emphasized cultural aspects of Hispanics, Yaqui Indians, and Anglos. That same year, Terry Goddard, Mayor of Phoenix, formed a partnership with Sunrise Preschool, a preschool company that entered the Arizona market in 1982 to provide City of Phoenix employees with childcare and preschool services at a discounted rate. The Phoenix Parks and Recreation and Phoenix Public Library also sponsored children aged 2 to 5 years old in a series of preschool readiness classes. Both the City of Phoenix and Guadalupe School District made a concentrated effort to accommodate families, workers, and children. Other municipalities followed.

The Phoenix Washington Elementary Schools expanded the preschool program opened in 1976 (they were the only district in Arizona and 1 of 12 selected in the nation to participate in the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development Early Childhood Consortium to study early childhood education programs in the country), to 20. Of these, five were Head Start programs. Chandler School District also added preschool programs, and by 1990 the Glendale Elementary School District offered children 3 to 4 year olds community education preschool. The Mesa High School began to offer students a vocational program to train preschool aides. The high school students spent half the school day at the high school and the other half at Mesa Vo-Tech. The expanding preschool program indicated, on a local level, the need to offer such programs was increasing.

Federal, 1987-1989. Federally, the Family Support Act of 1988 tied welfare participation to education, job training, and work to subsidize families with children. The Better Child Care Act of 1989 was also passed, which allotted \$2.5 billion in the first year to state and federal agencies to fund parents who put their children in day-care centers. Though these federal policies were not directly related to preschool, they attest to the federal government's belief that low-income working families needed help with their children. The federal policies helped to solidify the "Evidence-Based for At-Risk" political prototype and "Community and Family" newspaper prototype in Arizona. Table 10 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 1987 and 1989.

Table 10

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 1987-1989

Federal Legislation	Family Support Act	Better Child Care Act	
Year	1987	1988	1989
Arizona Legislation	Laws 1987, Chapter 245	HB2217	

Note: See Appendix I for additional details

State, 1987-1989. On a State level, under Law 1987, Chapter 245, the Joint Legislative Committee on Goals for Arizona’s Educational Excellence formed a list of three goals to improve pupil achievement at grades 3, 8, and 12: (1) high school graduation rates, (2) rates for post-school employment, and (3) college enrollment. The legislature appeared to be concerned with student achievement in the state. However, the then-Governor of Arizona Evan Mecham, did not appear to have similar concerns. In December of that year, he requested a cut of \$25.7 million in education spending.

The newly elected Superintendent of Education, C. Diane Bishop, publicly denounced his plan. She stated as an elected official she was beholden to the people of Arizona and not the governor. She declared she would not cut local spending in the K-12 schools, and instead, would cut the administrative staff in her department if she had to. This stood as a testament of her support for education funding at the local level in Arizona.

As aforementioned, 4 months later, on April 4, 1988, Governor Mecham was impeached by the State House of Representatives and convicted by the State Senate for misallocation of campaign funds. Rose Mofford, Secretary of State, next in line for the gubernatorial position, became the 18th Governor. Arizona is one of the few states that

does not have a lieutenant governor and changed from a Republican to a Democratic governorship when Mofford began serving the remainder of Mecham's three-year term.

Arizona was ranked the worst in the nation for preventing the death of a child under a year old, 12th in the country for jailing their youth, and 48th in the nation regarding high school graduation rates. At the end of the 1991-1992 school year, of the 5,111 students scheduled to graduate high school, only 2,658 did. Concerns about education from educators, businesses, and nonprofit organizations were escalating. Something had to be done. The following year, the Legislature passed HB2217 that initiated a 4-year pilot education project aimed at K-3 at-risk children in 33 block grants (22 programs provided additional assistance to at-risk children enrolled in K-3, and 11 programs focused on at-risk youth in 7-12) costing \$4.5 million. The statutory requirements ensured an evaluation of the pilot projects that the Morrison Institute for Public Policy at Arizona State University was selected to perform.

In 1989, State Superintendent of Education Bishop, formed a State task force to assess education in Arizona in response to a report she had written in 1988 (See Appendix J for the role of the Arizona Department of Education). The task force, primarily composed of educators, suggested launching preschool programs throughout the Arizona public school system in addition to the funding already being provided to at-risk children enrolled in K-3. The preschools were to be paid by federal grants and a "sliding fee" tuition schedule based on family income. The task force also attempted to equalize funding between school districts, but their efforts were unsuccessful.

Concurrently, the Children's Action Alliance, a nonprofit organization, collaborated with a group of business, government, community, and childcare leaders to

develop a plan to improve early childhood education called Success by Six. Anthony Madson, an attorney and developer who ran for governor in 1986 but was defeated, incorporated the Arizona Business Leadership for Education (ABLE) which grew out of a joint task force including Motorola, Phelps Dodge, APS, SRP, Southwest Gas, and Honeywell, to assess Arizona education. ABLE believed in local control within the school system and pushed to remove the majority of regulatory powers of the Arizona Board of Education and State Department of Education. ABLE supported parental school choice and school vouchers.

There was no doubt that concern regarding children, families and the community existed in Arizona. The “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper and political prototypes worked in tandem during this time period. Preschool was identified with self-esteem and self-image, and it was the responsibility of the government to help those families unable to afford sending their child(ren) to preschool. Businesses needed to be flexible and provide help to their workers with families. The government was seen as the primary social actor ensuring social equality. The “Community and Family” newspaper and political prototype wanted to ensure children were nurtured and protected, while the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper and political prototype wanted to ensure at-risk children attended preschool to improve high school retention rates. Though the other newspaper and political prototypes differed on which children needed to be helped or should be helped by the government, this lack of consensus in the newspapers aided in a strong discourse. The time was ripe for legislation.

Overview of prototypes, 1987-1989. All five newspaper prototypes, “Community and Family,” “Last Resort,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of 21st Century” appeared in the newspapers. The “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes dominated (defined by the highest number of articles/documents appearing in that time frame studied) (see Table 11).

Table 11

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 1987-1989

Newspaper Prototypes (n=9)	CF (3), EBAR (3), L21st (1), NK (1), LR (1)
Year	1987-1989
Political Prototypes (n=2)	CF (1), EBAR (1), L21st (0), AZCIT (0)

Note: n = 9 newspaper articles and 2 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

The “Community and Family” prototype considered preschool an extension of childcare/daycare services for children of low- and middle-income parents. The role of the State was to ensure all children had access. According to the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype, preschool was beneficial for at-risk children, and the “Last Resort” newspaper prototype shared this sentiment with skepticism. The “Last Resort” prototype did not believe preschool could overcome problems of poverty, drug, and alcohol abuse and other social ailments. Attributes of the “New Knowledge Community”

newspaper prototype and “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype were found during this time period. Not until the early 1990s, however, did the “New Knowledge Community” prototype and the “Learner of the 21st Century” consistently appear in newspaper articles. “Learner of the 21st Century” did not appear in the political documents until the mid-1990s. Between 1987 to 1989, the newspaper discourse was well represented, while the political discourse centered only on the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes. Overall, the consensus in the newspaper and political prototypes supported the state paying for preschool for at-risk children.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 1990-1994

The discourse on preschool in the newspaper articles from 1987 to 1989 served to help along the 1990 passage of HB2259 (see Appendix K) establishing the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project that covered fiscal years 1990 through 1994, the state funded preschool program for at-risk children. The following year, SB1079 expanded the Preschool Pilot Project to an additional 33 preschools and included a stipulation that the preschool programs be evaluated by the Arizona Department of Education (see Appendix K). Thereafter, the continued newspaper and political discourse helped to pass the Arizona School Improvement Act of 1994, which contained an allotment of money for at-risk preschool children.

The governors, 1990-1994. Governor Mofford remained in power until 1991, when Fife Symington became governor. He had run his governorship campaign promising to improve the lives of children. During his campaign he, as did Mofford, represented himself as the “Community and Family” prototype which further legitimized the “Community and Family” prototype. During his terms as governor, the logic of the

“Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes began to transition to the logic of the “Learner of 21st Century” prototype. It was not until Governor Napolitano’s administration that the “Learner of 21st Century” prototype dominated the political documents.

Symington, a prolific writer, contributed to the newspaper regularly. He was a proponent of Milton Freidman’s school choice, associating it with equal opportunity. During his term, he formed eight advisory task forces related to education and families, one of which was the Task Force Education Reform Advisory Committee, which he led. Symington was known to have a strong personality, but his appearance in his speeches, interviews, and the written language characterized him as a polite, cooperative, open, and relaxed person. His leadership style did not seem to match his actions. Nevertheless, the newspaper and political discourse changed during his terms.

A quote from Symington’s State of the State Address in 1995 provides insight into his philosophy: “The federal government in our times is much less and so much more than it was ever meant to be. The greater its size the smaller its surface. The more it demands the less it delivers. To paraphrase Churchill, our federal government has become all powerful only to become impotent (Symington, 1995).” Symington strongly supported local control.

Local, 1990-1994. None covered in the documents researched.

Federal, 1990-1994. On the federal level, family and children were a high priority. In 1990 President George H. W. Bush declared in his Presidential Address “It is not acceptable to just let American education sit where it is today” (Presidential Address, 1990). He prognosticated that, by the year 2000, every American pupil would leave

grades 4, 8, and 12 demonstrating competence in English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; thus, every child must start school ready to learn. However, these clearly articulated education goals received no federal funding.

In 1993, the federal government passed the Family and Medical Leave Act requiring employers to provide job-protection and unpaid medical and family leaves. Clearly, the federal government believed businesses also needed to be responsible for their employees. Family and children were part of the conversation at a federal level. The federal government appeared to be concerned with families and children, and businesses were being held accountable. The federal policies coincided with the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk” and “Community and Family” prototypes to hold businesses accountable. Table 12 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 1990 and 1994.

Table 12

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 1990-1994.

Federal Legislation	Child Care Grant Disabilities Act			Family & Medical Leave Act	
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Arizona Legislation	Prop. 103 HB2259 HB2565	SB1079	Prop.106 SB1096 HB2281		HB2279 HB2585 HB2369 HB2002

Note: See Appendix K for details.

State, 1990-1994. Arizona’s education leaders began to discuss assessment, excellence, and teacher professionalism 11 years prior to the enactment of No Child Left

Behind after Governor Mofford attended the National Governors Association meeting in February of 1990. She returned to Arizona vowing to devote her final few months in office touring 90 Arizona schools to support the national education goals along with three additional goals specific to Arizona: (1) attracting the best teachers by increasing salaries, (2) raising the image of the teaching profession, and (3) rewarding excellence in schools. In order to assess and measure the progress of these goals, a new set of tools was necessary. The “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype appeared only in newspapers while the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes remained in both newspapers and political documents.

Later that year, the Arizona Legislature established a 4-year at-risk preschool pilot program with Governor Mofford’s approval on June 14, 1990 of HB2565. An appropriation of \$500,000 was allocated to the Department of Education to provide preschool grants to school districts through a competitive process. The pilot program supported 10 preschools to 4-year-old children at risk of failing in school.

In keeping with the “Community and Family” prototype, the preschool pilot program was intended to help all families with children who did not qualify for Head Start and could not afford to send their children to preschools. The legislature allowed the public schools to determine their own definition of “at-risk” preschoolers as long as they had a system in place to track the outcomes of the children receiving assistance. By the end of Governor Mofford’s term in office, she sought to cut the education budget by \$35 million and called a special legislative session.

Then-Speaker of the House Jane Hull, Republican of Phoenix and future governor of Arizona, stated she had mixed feelings on the education cuts. Superintendent Bishop

once again denounced the governor's desire to cut education spending. Bishop stated in the *Arizona Republic/Phoenix Gazette* "I cannot support that in any way, shape or form" (Flannery, 1989, January 5, p. 18). Though state funding was cut, education and at-risk K-3 and preschool funding were not impacted. The sequence of events revealed the fragility of the programs. Though education funding was not cut, those events indicated even Mofford was not immune to the financial instability of the state.

In 1990, Symington ran his gubernatorial political campaign promising to improve the lives of children, which represented the "Community and Family" prototype. It paid off, and he became the 19th governor of Arizona. That same year Arizona was ranked 30th in the nation in per capita income and at the very bottom of the list in prevention of deaths of children. The state jailed more of its youth than 48 other states and only 17% of Arizona's eligible 4-year-olds were enrolled in Head Start. Childhood immunizations and crime plagued the state and the concern for the welfare of children and families continued to escalate.

As Governor Symington came to office in 1991, SB1079 expanded the Preschool Pilot Project to an additional 33 preschools, and included a stipulation that the preschool programs had to be evaluated by the Arizona Department of Education (see Appendix K). It also allowed school districts, applying for the at-risk grant money, to subcontract with federally funded at-risk programs, childcare centers serving government subsidized children or other similar programs serving at-risk children. Philosophically, the bill matched the logic of the "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" political prototype.

Governor Symington immediately formed the Task Force on Education Reform. This task force was comprised of a 41-member-panel of educators, politicians, and

business leaders, many of the members of ABLE, and the re-elected State Superintendent, Bishop. Governor Symington appointed himself the leader. The task force's goals included improving Arizona's graduation rates, boosting student achievement, and increasing the number of children coming to school ready to learn. As demanding as those goals were, Symington informed the Task Force that he did not want proposed reforms costing the state money.

Nonetheless, the task force proposed funding preschool programs to underprivileged 4-year-old children, and to replace the school district property taxes with a uniform education state tax. They believed inequality in income and the accompanying poverty mattered most. It was an attempt to equalize the money available to schools with tax rates higher in wealthier neighborhoods and lower in poorer neighborhoods. Governor Symington opposed the tax equalization recommendation.

Bishop made it clear that test scores were not the same as children being more likely to remain in school and learn better. She saw preschool as the factor determining student retention rather than improving test scores. The task force also supported teacher training, school decentralization, and open enrollment. The work of this task force qualified Arizona to join 28 other American states incorporating school reform goals based on President Bush's request to the National Governors Association that they assist disadvantaged children in their states (Presidential address, 1990).

In 1992, the legislature requested a set of preschool standards from the Arizona Department of Education. In turn, the Arizona Department of Education partnered with the Children's Action Alliance, the Arizona child-advocacy agency collaborating with a group of businesses, government, community, and childcare leaders to develop a plan to

improve early childhood education. In August of 1993, they unveiled a 50-page report that included guidelines for teachers and teacher aide qualifications, curriculum, linguistic and cultural integration, parent involvement, staff development, and health, nutrition, and social services. It was presented to preschools, but the State could not force facilities to incorporate these new guidelines. No statute or law had passed. It was at this time that the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype began to emerge more often in the newspapers than did the “Community and Family” and ‘Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper prototypes.

In the final year of Governor Symington’s first term, no education reform legislation had passed. Politically, Symington needed to deliver on his promise to improve the lives of children during his term if he had any hopes of being re-elected for a second term. In January 1994, the Success by Six legislation, originally coined by United Way of America, was proposed to the Arizona House of Representatives.

It included three programs: Health Start, to be run by the Arizona Department of Health Services, which would give children a healthy start with prenatal care and immunizations; Healthy Families, to be run by the Arizona Department of Economic Security, which would give children a fair start by preventing abuse and neglect, and a preschool program to serve at-risk children. All the programs served children who did not qualify under Head Start and were not considered disabled under the Education for All Handicapped Act. Discourse related to these program represented the “Community and Family” political prototype and “Community and Family” newspaper prototype.

The Success by Six bill had Governor Symington’s approval, along with that of 59 of the 90 legislators. The House Education Committee approved the bill. However,

Speaker of the House Mark Killian sent the bill to the Appropriations Committee headed by Chairman Robert Burns, rather than to the legislature to be voted on.

Representative Burns owned Rainbow Elementary School Preparatory, a Glendale daycare center. In 1989, the House Ethics Committee ruled he could not vote on legislation regarding childcare centers because of the possible conflict of interest. Yet, he still held the power to refuse to hear the Success by Six legislation, which he exercised. Senator Carol Springer, the Senate Appropriations committee chairwoman, also opposed the original Success by Six legislation, stating she would not let it be heard in the Senate even if the House approved it.

In response, a demonstration was held in Sun City, a retirement community, in opposition to Representative Burn's refusal to hear the bill. Representative Burns and Senator Springer claimed they were concerned public schools receiving at-risk preschool funding would be in competition with private daycare centers offering preschool facilities. Additionally, they were concerned illegal immigrants would benefit from the programs offered by the Success by Six legislation: an emergence of the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype. The bill came to an abrupt end, or so it seemed. The "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" and "Community and Family" political prototypes came to the forefront with undertones from the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype. The "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" prototype wanted to be certain any investment made into a preschool program proved to be beneficial and cost effective; fiscal responsibility was a priority, and duplication of Head Start and special education preschool programs was frowned upon. The "Community and Family" prototype was concerned with the health and welfare of the child(ren) and family. This prototype

understood preschool was not the end-all solution to crime and teenage pregnancy, but, rather, one component needed to integrate health, social, and educational services. Some expressed concern that healthcare agencies would not deny care to illegal aliens and that these same children would have access to the preschool programs. The “Arizona Citizen” prototype wanted to ensure illegal immigrants would not benefit from the preschool programs.

By April 1994, the original Success by Six legislation bill was altered. The preschool education component was removed, and the Health Start and Healthy Families programs retained. The revised Health Start and Healthy Families legislation was renamed the Arizona Children and Families Stability Act, but it would not pass through to the legislature.

By June 1994, Speaker of the House Representative, Killian, Governor Symington, Representative Burns, and Representative Gerard, a Success by Six sponsor, brokered revised Success by Six legislation with Senate Majority Leader, Patterson, House Majority Leader, Brenda Burns, and House Education Committee Chairwoman, Graham. The revised Arizona Children and Families Stability Act included a passage excluding illegal immigrants from the Health Start and Healthy Families programs, while adding a Family Literacy program. The “Arizona Citizen” political prototype arose once again.

The “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype became more prevalent in the political documents. It asserted that the new competitive world required that all children attend preschool. Governor Symington used the message to help propel his political agenda towards choice, standardization, and accountability in the school system. An

educated workforce was necessary for Arizona to be globally competitive. As in the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype, proven economic returns were demanded.

The preschool component of the original Success by Six legislation was added to the Arizona School Improvement Act (ASIA). ASIA required open enrollment, parental involvement, choice, and school vouchers. The addition of preschool to the ASIA bill was possibly a political move to ensure the bill would pass through the House and Senate, given the widespread support of preschool. The school vouchers were not supported by the Arizona Education Association that felt the use of vouchers was contrary to this nation’s separation of religion and state. Though the vouchers were removed from the final ASIA bill, free market logic and choice had entered into education in Arizona, as evidenced with the at-risk preschool funding component including private daycare centers. In the 9th Special Session, June 1994, the Arizona Children and Families Stability Act and Arizona School Improvement Act passed in the House and Senate (then, Representative Jan Brewer, voted “yes”). It was now up to the Arizona Department of Education to implement the preschool program.

Overview of the prototypes, 1990-1994. Between 1990 and 1994, the newspaper discourse continued to include all five of the newspaper prototypes, “Community and Family,” “Last Resort,” “At Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of 21st Century.” In the political discourse, the logic of the “Learner of the 21st Century” and “Arizona Citizen” political prototypes arose for the first time (see Table 13).

Table 13

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 1990-1994

Newspaper Prototypes (n=31)	CF (5), EBAR (7), L21st (5), NK (8), LR (6)
Year	1990-1994
Political Prototypes (n=19)	CF (6), EBAR (6), L21st (3), AZCIT (4)

Note: n = 31 newspaper articles and 19 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

The general agreement was that children were to attend preschool, thus ensuring they become effective, productive workers. Opinions differed, however, about who should pay. The State must pay preschool according to the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype, while the parent(s) were responsible for their own child(ren) according to the “Arizona Citizen.” As in 1987 to 1989, the newspaper prototypes were all represented in the newspaper articles, and all the political prototypes were represented in the political documents between 1990 and 1994.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 1995-2001.

The newspaper and political discourse on preschool in the newspaper articles from 1995 to 2001 continued to evolve. During this time, the passage of HB2004 Laws 1995, 1st Special Session, moved the preschool funding out of the Arizona School Improvement Act and into the block grant to full-day kindergarten, K-3, dropout

prevention, and the gifted program, along with a series of House and Senate bills to reconfigure the at-risk block grant.

The governors, 1995-2001. Governor Symington remained in office until 1997. He resigned from office after being indicted on 23 counts related to defrauding lenders and investors in his real estate development company. Secretary of State Jane Hull became the governor. Unlike Governor Mofford, Hull ran a “second” term and became the first elected female governor of Arizona. Hull’s philosophy did not appear to differ from Symington’s.

Governor Hull had been an elementary school educator. A proponent of education and school readiness, she proposed \$0.60-cent sales tax hike to fund education, but it never passed the Senate Education Committee and thus was never voted on. In 2000, she supported Proposition 300, which approved a raise in tax to benefit K-12 schools. She enacted 95 executive orders, of which 5 were on education, but none pertained to preschool. A quote from her 2001 State of the State Address provides some indication of her views on education overall:

Seven new schools are built and filled with students, and another 125 new schools have been approved. The rest of our K-12 schools are on the way to having their deficiencies addressed. Now it is up to the school districts to make sure that these facilities are properly maintained. We heard that we should concentrate on the education in the classroom, not the classroom itself. We decided to do both, to provide a quality education in a sound classroom (Hull, 2001).

Governor Hull clearly approved local control of education with government support. She promoted educational choice, set in motion by Symington, and supported Mofford's goal of teacher professionalism, along with education standards and accountability. Symington and Hull set the stage for Governor Napolitano.

Local, 1995-2001. In 1997, Tucson passed an \$8.5 million bond to fund the childhood facilities in the Amphitheater Elementary School District, and the Tempe Union High School financed the Tempe Community Council to ensure that funding for preschool programs in the district would continue through the end of the year. Tucson also implemented a Native American education program the next year: packets of books, pencils, and crayons were sent to the preschool age siblings of Native American students. In 1999, the Pima Association of Governments began providing grants to preschools. Notably, many school districts were proponents of preschool and using Federal Title I money (school districts have wide discretion in determining the use of Title I monies), local bonds, and/or grant money to cover part of the costs. The importance of preschool continued to expand as the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype in newspapers increased.

Fight Crime, a nonprofit organization of 500 law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and crime victims, joined in the call for early childhood prevention programs. They wanted all children to have access to educational preschool. The *Arizona Republic* also ran a series of feature stories on "Caring for Kids" in 1999, written by medical professionals. It was the first time a series of articles had been written by medical professionals. The articles examined current research on the benefits of early childhood education to all children. The series was followed with coverage on a report from the

Morrison Institute for Public Policy at Arizona State University. The article pronounced economic change was taking place, “a revolution determined by knowledge-power and e-commerce, internet-driven speed and intensifying competition” and called upon a campaign, similar to the one in Georgia, that “earmarked \$216 million a year to ensure every 4-year-old in the state could attend preschool” (Muro, 1999). It reported the estimated dollar amount the state of Arizona would have to invest in preschool for all children, which was well above the \$20 million the state of Arizona earmarked towards preschool education.

Federal, 1995-2001. In 1995, the US Department of Labor released research that indicated 57% of women in the US with children less than 6 years of age worked outside the home, compared with 12% in 1950. Undoubtedly, life had changed. The discourse of preschool availability located on work premises declined immediately, following the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995 by local terrorist, Timothy McVey. However, this did not diminish the need for preschool and daycare centers to house children while their parents worked. The responsibility of businesses to their employees with children was no longer called upon; instead it was the responsibility of the working family to determine what to do with their children.

President Clinton heightened the need to reform welfare so people could return to the workplace. His actions were followed by the federal government passing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act in 1996, which restricted the welfare system to ensure recipients of the program could not rely on government assistance to enable a certain lifestyle, and the passing of the Workforce Investment Act of 1998, which mandated the creation of a one-stop workforce system in each state. The

Act was designed to improve the quality of the workforce and enhance the competitiveness of the nation, thus reducing welfare dependency. In response, the Governor’s Council on Workforce Policy (Council or GCWP) was created; the council was to provide guidance to the Governor and the Arizona State Legislature regarding workforce development issues.

Though these federal policies were not directly related to preschool, they attested to the ongoing desire of the federal government to get people off of welfare and working in the economy. Unlike the federal policies prior to 1994, these policies helped to fuel the emerging “Learner of 21st Century” political prototype. Table 14 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 1995 and 2001.

Table 14

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 1995-2001

Federal Legislation	Personal Responsibility & Work Opportunity Act			Workforce Investment Act		No Child Left Behind	
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Arizona Legislation	HB2004	HB2001	HB2162 SB1001	Laws 2998, 4th Session	HB1006	HB2398 Prop. 203 Prop. 301	SB1516

Note: See Appendix L for details.

State, 1995-2001. In 1995, the passage of HB2004 Laws 1995, 1st Special Session, moved the preschool funding out of the Arizona School Improvement Act and into the block grant for full-day kindergarten, K-3, dropout prevention and the gifted program. Governor Symington was re-elected and sworn in the following year. Arizona

also had a new Superintendent of Education, Lisa Graham, former House Education Committee Chairwoman.

As the preschool program was implemented, many of the public schools encountered problems. They lacked room and/or funding to renovate the rooms necessary to house preschoolers, and the grant monies could not pay for school renovations, only covering curriculum and teacher costs. To make matters worse, there were no private preschools located in poverty-stricken areas to serve the at risk preschoolers. As a result, the Head Start schools became approved providers. In 1996, HB2001 removed the drop-out prevention and gifted programs out of the at-risk block grant.

Distribution of the grant money was determined by the Arizona Department of Education with oversight from the Joint Legislative Budget Committee. The Arizona Department of Education determined eligibility and funding by using the number of children meeting the free and reduced lunch criteria. This resulted in larger schools having an advantage over smaller schools in poverty-stricken areas. This was particularly problematic to the smaller schools that were generally located in the outlying, rural areas of Arizona.

A school that had 70% of their student population receiving free and reduced lunch subsidies might receive \$3 million, while a small populated, rural school with 100% of the student population receiving free and reduced lunch might only receive \$25,000; barely enough to cover the salary of a teacher. Not to mention, the needs of children living in rural areas are often more challenging than children living in the suburbs and cities. Since recipients of the block grant were allowed to determine the way

to allocate the money between programs it is not surprising for preschool programs declined between 1995 to 2001.

Prior to 1995, the total grant dollars given to schools could only be used for preschool programs. However, once the legislature placed the preschool component into the block grant covering all at-risk programs (pre-kindergarten, full day kindergarten and K-3), the schools were allowed to determine the allocation of the money. Public schools allocating the grant money to a preschool program were required to provide a list of private and Head Start programs to the parents of children qualifying under this program, thus guaranteeing parental choice (Arizona Department of Education, 2001).

Unlike the preschool component of the block grant, the kindergarten and K-3 programs did not require additional outlays of money, i.e., such as building renovations, so were not subject to competition from private preschool facilities and Head Start. It only made sense that qualifying schools use the block grant towards their full day kindergarten and K-3 programs. They did not need to allocate additional money to do renovations and were not facing competition. This was a classic example of an enacted education policy failing to consider the full realm of issues the schools faced in the implementation of the preschool program.

The year 1996 proved to be a turbulent one. Arizona was experiencing a budget deficit and a proposal to cut the at-risk preschool program was proposed. Though the program was not cut, it exposed the fragility of the program's funding base. That same year, the Mesa Public School District attempted to lower the age children were allowed to enter kindergarten. However, in 1997, Janet Napolitano, the then-Attorney General,

confirmed it was against the Arizona State Constitution to pay for children below the age of 5. In response, the Mesa Public School District began its own preschool programs.

SB1001 Laws 1997 allowed any monies not used for preschool services to be used for K-3, and HB2162 renamed the block grant to the State Block Grant for Early Childhood. It included funding all-day kindergarten, K-3, and preschool programs. A year later, under Laws 2998, it was renamed the Early Childhood Block Grant.

On June 14, 1996, Governor Symington was indicted on 23 counts related to defrauding lenders and investors in his real estate development company. He remained in power as governor. Later that year, the voters of Arizona passed the Voter Protection Act. The Act ensured the Legislature could not undo legislation passed by the voters of Arizona without a revised bill being put back on the ballot on which the voters of Arizona could vote.

By September 4, 1997, Governor Symington was convicted on 7 counts (the US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit overturned this in 1999, and President Clinton issued a pardon in 1999). Within an hour and a half after the verdict, Symington resigned as governor. Secretary of State Jane Hull became the governor of Arizona. The role of the government continued to be the assurance of fiscal responsibility. Detailed information on who was benefiting from preschool programs was requested. Assessments were demanded to provide evidence the preschool program was working, and eligible prospective parents were given a choice. Efficiency, choice, and accreditation of preschools began, and the transition from looking after children to children becoming productive assets was in full swing, with the latter metaphor more common in politics at this point.

By 2001, the government reported 65% of mothers and 96% of fathers with a child under the age of 6 were working. The passage of the federal legislation No Child Left Behind (NCLB) required student achievement to be tracked, schools to hire and retain highly qualified teachers as defined by degree and/or certifications, and federal funds denied to states that did not incorporate these stipulations. The Title I component of NCLB allowed the federal funding to be allocated to support preschool. Preschool to include all children, rather than only at-risk children, was also becoming a widely accepted concept in both the newspapers and the political documents.

Overview of the prototypes, 1995-2001. A multitude of newspaper prototypes continued to appear in the newspapers. In 1998, the *Arizona Republic* devoted a special series over several weeks to the growth and wellbeing of children. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype and the “New Knowledge Community” newspaper prototype were becoming more dominant. The “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” deemed preschool was for at-risk children to minimize crime, teenage pregnancy, and other social issues. The “New Knowledge Community” newspaper prototype propagated at-risk children would benefit along with all children (see Table 15).

Table 15

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 1995-2001

Newspaper Prototypes (n=31)	CF (4), EBAR (4), L21st (2), NK (5), LR (5)
Year	1995-2001
Political Prototypes (n=19)	CF (0), EBAR (0), L21st (9), AZCIT (0)

Note: n = 20 newspaper articles and 9 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort,” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

The “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes and “Arizona Citizen” political prototypes no longer appeared in the political documents as the logic of the “Learner of 21st Century” political prototype became more pronounced. Preschool was no longer viewed as a place to ensure children were safe and family life improved, as represented by the “Community and Family” prototype, rather, preschool was to ensure the creation of a productive workforce in the political documents.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 2002-2006.

The newspaper and political discourse on preschool in the newspaper articles from 2002 to 2006 continued. While no legislative bills passed, the First Things First 2006 voter initiative to increase the quality of and access to the early childhood development and health system passed (53% to 47%). The voters enabled a new

governmental entity devoted to the health, care, and education of children from birth to age five.

The governors, 2002-2006. Governor Hull remained in power until 2003, when Governor Napolitano was elected. She had served as Attorney General of Arizona between 1999 and 2002. Napolitano served one full term and resigned during her second term to join President Obama's administration in 2009.

Napolitano believed the future of Arizona depended on an educated workforce, insisting the new competitive world required citizens good in math and science. She promulgated the view that the changes going on in the world were irreversible and inevitable. Like Governor Symington, she was a prolific writer and contributed to the newspapers on a regular basis. Governor Napolitano subscribed to the virtues of liberal capitalism, good governance, and civic democracy. The need to catch up with the rest of the world was necessary. It was the State's obligation to ensure this took place. Arizona had to become a more productive and efficient state if it were going to survive.

She enacted 154 executive orders, of which 11 were on education. Napolitano also formed the P-20 Council, which was created to advise the Arizona Department of Education, State Board of Education, and legislature on education issues. It was made up of representatives from First Things First, the State Board of Education, the Arizona Board of Regents, and community colleges; ex-officio members of the Arizona legislature; tribal leaders; business leaders; and philanthropists. Education was known to be a top priority for Governor Napolitano, yet no new preschool legislation was proposed between 2003 and 2009. The voter-initiated Proposition 203, to create First Things First

to improve access to early childhood development and health systems, was passed by the voters.

Napolitano's mantra included advancing early childhood education to ensure Arizona became competitive worldwide. She represented the "Learner of 21st Century" prototype. The primary difference between the "Learner of the 21st Century" and "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" prototypes was who should pay and attend preschool. To the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype, it was of imminent importance that all children attend preschool, but the state should only fund it whenever financially able. The "Evidence-Based At-Risk Children" prototype supported at-risk children attending preschool, and felt the state should fund it. A quote from Napolitano's final State of the State Address in 2009 sums up much of her logic: "Generations to come will not remember us for how we balanced the budget, how we expanded or contracted the size of the government. Instead they will remember how we educated our children, how we protected our seniors, how we built a new economy and how we made this wonderful state an even better place to live" (Napolitano, 2009). This quote re-emphasizes Napolitano's point that the budget must come second to the growth and wellbeing of the state. She had no problem with a budget deficit. Arizona's future depended on the growth of its productive workforce. The state had to be ready for the 21st century. Motivated by the welfare and longevity of the state, the logic of the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype continued to grow in the political documents. Children began to be seen as necessary commodities to ensure Arizona became competitive nationwide and worldwide. She re-enforced a positivist discourse and government.

Education became Governor Napolitano’s signature issue. She supported early childhood education and propelled the idea that it was necessary to ensure that competition, achievement, and production took place in Arizona. It prepared children to become productive members of society. She subscribed to the idea that the world had changed. Knowledge was the answer to ensure economic growth and development, thus, concomitantly, decreasing welfare dependency. Economic benefits outweighed the costs of early childhood education.

Local, 2002-2006. None covered in the documents researched.

Federal, 2002-2006. In 2003, First Lady Laura Bush visited Phoenix to discuss the importance of the federal early-childhood block grants and remained an advocate of early childhood education during her husband’s presidency. In 2006 the Teacher Incentive Fund was enacted to support school efforts in performance-based teaching and principal compensation systems in highly needed schools (see Table 16). It indicated the ongoing call for performance in education at a federal level that paralleled the Arizonan “Learner of 21st Century” prototype.

Table 16

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 2002-2006

Federal Legislation	Teacher Incentive Fund				
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Arizona Legislation	Prop. 104		Prop. 102 Prop. 105		HB2874 Prop. 203 Prop. 300

Note: See Appendix M for details.

State, 2002-2006. Governor Napolitano approved all-day kindergarten during her administration and subscribed to the necessity of high-quality teachers as defined by education. The sentiment that other people's children were not their responsibility increased, but the belief that incompetent parents needed help with their children remained. At-risk preschool assistance continued to be associated with incompetent parents who could not help their children succeed in school, thus the State had to do so. Minority students, with their low test scores, were also singled out as the source of the problem of Arizona's poor achievement on standardized tests rather than the result of the system in place. These sentiments had tones of both the "Last Resort" and "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" prototypes. Table 12 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 2002 to 2006.

The political discourse was centered on ensuring economic growth in Arizona. In 2007, the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, in its support of early childhood education programs, possibly expanded this thinking. They argued preschool education was a good return on investment. In Arizona, the political sentiment was that fiscal responsibility could wait. Arizona needed to catch up in the new knowledge-based economy. The government must invest in education (to include preschool) and ensure there were proven economic returns. Governor Napolitano brought a "new" language to Arizona. Only countries/states in which the entire population is comprised of highly educated and skilled citizens would succeed. She believed people had to conform to the new competitive world, one necessitating an educated workforce and education must start immediately. The need for an education populace led to increased accountability and demands on teachers, and called for accredited preschools. The responsibility rested with

the teacher to produce more utilitarian and productive students. Detailed information on who benefited from preschool programs was demanded. Assessments were required to provide evidence that the preschool program was working, and eligible parents were to be given choices. Parents needed to be able to decide where to send their child to preschool under the Early Childhood Block Grant. Napolitano represented the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype.

Governor Napolitano was re-elected to a second term and became the first female to head the National Governors Association. Her mantra was “Innovation America.” In 2005, the Arizona Department of Education established academic standards in science, social studies, fine arts, and math for 3- to 5-year-olds and offered free training in early childhood education. The “Learner of 21st Century” prototype remained predominant in the political documents.

In 2006, HB2874 increased kindergarten funding to full days. However, it was up to the individual school district to fund classroom facilities, which frequently created financial hardships at the local level. Proposition 203 was also passed by the voters of Arizona that year. It provided funding to First Things First to improve accessibility and create quality early childhood development. The First Things First initiative was funded by an \$0.80 per-pack-tax on cigarettes, and an appropriated non-general funding which ensured the money was set aside specifically for First Things First. An oversight panel, named the Arizona Early Childhood and Health Board, was created and made up of appointments from the governor with approval by the state Senate. The board established geographic regions that were then represented by 11-member councils made up of an array of community leaders from different fields, such as business, philanthropic

organizations, health care, and education. The program was funded with approximately \$150 million, which was to be used to fund health clinics and daycare teacher training, in order to increase teacher salaries, and provide literacy and community outreach programs on behalf of low-income children and parents. No specific funding was allotted to fund preschool.

After the passage of First Things First in 2006, little discourse on preschool took place in the political documents, and the newspaper discourse declined.

Overview of the prototypes, 2002-2006. The discourse in both the newspaper and political documents narrowed during this time frame. The newspaper article prototypes continued to revolve around the “Last Resort,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” and “Learner of the 21st Century” (see Table 17).

Table 17

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 2002-2006

Newspaper Prototypes (n=7)	CF (0), EBAR (4), L21st (1), NK (1), LR (1)
Year	2002-2006
Political Prototypes (n=4)	CF (0), EBAR (0), L21st (3), AZCIT (1)

Note: n = 7 newspaper articles and 4 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort,” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

By the end of 2005, the “Last Resort” newspaper prototype never appeared again in the newspaper articles. The political discourse continued with the “Learner of the 21st

Century” prototype and the “Arizona Citizen” prototype reappeared in 2005 after an 11-year absence.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 2007-2008.

After the passage of First Things First the discourse of preschool experienced a lull in both the newspaper articles and political documents.

The governors, 2007-2008. Governor Napolitano continued in power, during which time a decline in newspaper and political discourse took place. Between 2007 to 2008 no legislation or voter propositions were proposed.

Local, 2007-2008. None covered in the documents researched.

Federal, 2007-2008. No federal or state legislation of significance was passed during this time period. Table 18 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 2007-2008.

Table 18

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 2007-2008

Federal Legislation	No Legislation relevant was passed	No Legislation relevant was passed
Year	2007	2008
Arizona Legislation	No Legislation relevant was passed	No Legislation relevant was passed

Note: See Appendix N for details.

State, 2007-2008. In 2008, the economic downturn placed Arizona in a precarious position. The state faced a budget crisis, and decisions had to be made. Arizona was heavily impacted by the housing crisis, ranking fourth in the country in housing foreclosures (RealtyTrac, 2014). The state was also contending with undocumented

workers, drug trafficking, and border issues. Preschool was not a topic of high concern during this time period.

This absence of discourse between 2007 to 2008 on the topic of preschool at the federal, state, and local levels may have contributed to the ease with which the Early Childhood Block Grant was ultimately eliminated in 2010.

Overview of the prototypes, 2007-2008. The only newspaper prototypes were the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” and the “Learner of the 21st Century” while the only political prototype represented by the “Learner of the 21st Century” (see Table 19).

Table 19

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 2007-2008

Newspaper Prototypes (n=2)	CF (0), EBAR (1), L21st (1), NK (0), LR (0)
Year	2007-2008
Political Prototypes (n=1)	CF (0), EBAR (0), L21st (1), AZCIT (0)

Note: n = 2 newspaper articles and 1 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort,” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

Policy Debate of Preschool, 2009-2014.

The newspaper and political discourse on preschool in the newspaper articles continued, but at a minimal level, which may have contributed to the HB2001 Laws 2010 suspending the funding of the Early Childhood Block Grant indefinitely. As of 2014, the

State has not begun funding the ECBG, though the program still exists. It simply remains unfunded.

The governors, 2009-2014. In 2009, Governor Napolitano stepped down to serve as Secretary to the Department of Homeland Security under President Obama. Secretary of State Janet Brewer was sworn in as governor. Brewer was a long-standing politician. She had served several political positions, and, while serving as one of the 1990 House representatives, had voted to approve the At-Risk Preschool Pilot program. During her term as governor, Brewer enacted 54 executive orders, of which 8 were on education.

She maintained the P20 Council initiated by Napolitano. She renamed it the Arizona Ready Education Council. In 2010, Brewer approved the Arizona State Board of Education adoption of the Common Core Curriculum. Brewer then applied to receive the competitive, federal grant program Race to the Top and signed HB2732 requiring testing of all 3rd-graders to determine eligibility into 4th grade. The following year her office bid for the Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge. Arizona was not selected as a winner. In 2014, Brewer supported the Arizona Department of Education's grant application for the federal Preschool Development Grant. On December 10, 2014, Arizona was awarded \$20 million. The Early Childhood Block Grant still remains unfunded by the State Legislature.

Brewer incited a patriotic, neoliberal flavor. The word "we" began to mean the people of Arizona, but in an exclusionary fashion, that was as aforementioned, racist in nature. Her proclaimed priorities were securing the border, the executive budget, Arizona school choice, and judicial appointment. An insight into Governor Brewer's thinking

follows from a caption of an emergency cabinet address she gave regarding the budget crisis in 2009:

I want all of you—and all Arizonans—to know that I am extremely optimistic about our State’s future.... The population growth in school children, university students, health care and welfare populations and inmates in our state prisons that fundamentally rules out simplistic solutions like rolling the state budget back to levels five, six or more years ago... We owe it to the citizens of this state—our children and grandchildren—to adopt and approve a solution....The cost of incarcerating these criminal aliens is NOT Arizona’s responsibility. By federal law, the cost of their incarceration is the responsibility of the FEDERAL government. Even worse, Congress will likely reduce support funding from last year’s level. This is an INSULT to Arizona taxpayers: First, the federal government refuses to secure our border and allows criminal aliens to enter the state. Then, Arizona taxpayers pay for the prosecution of these criminal aliens. And then the federal government sticks us with the bill for their incarceration. We cannot afford to be their hosts—and we no longer will be.... I am restating my Arizonans-only directives to state agencies to ensure that public benefits are only provided to those who are legally in this country and reside in this state. This is especially urgent when we are denying benefits to our own citizens. My efforts on this front have been assisted by the recent passage of a law strengthening the screening process for welfare applicants and other

persons. Since the effective date of this new law last month, the Arizona Department of Economic Security alone reportedly has referred to the federal government over 750 names of persons who could not document their legal status in this country (Brewer Cabinet Address, 2009)

Governor Brewer's primary concern was to balance the budget and stop "criminal aliens" from receiving services she contended they did not deserve. Though she was not a prolific writer as Symington and Napolitano, she released numerous press releases to maintain her voice and viewpoints. Brewer advanced Napolitano's mission to prepare children for future educational achievement, to ensure future generations spawned usable skills and competencies in the new competitive global arena, but she never qualified that preschool education is the only way to ensure this. Brewer advanced the logic of the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype as the state faced one of its worst budget crisis in history.

Local, 2009-2014. None covered in the documents researched.

Federal, 2009-2014. In 2010, the federal government would implement Race to the Top which was a competition amongst states. The winners of the federal funding received monies to prepare students for college and the global economy, and to build data systems measuring student achievement and recruitment of the best teachers, as defined by student achievement. Though this policy was not related to preschool, it indicated the federal government's focus was now preparing students for college, a parallel to the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype and "Arizona Citizen" political prototype. In 2011, the Race to the Top Early Learning challenge was implemented. It, too, was a competition amongst states. The winners received funding to build statewide systems to

raise the quality of early learning and development programs. In 2014, the Preschool Development Grants were implemented to aid states with no preschool programs or aid states to expand preschool programs. Table 20 provides a political snapshot of Arizona and the federal government between 2009 and 2014.

Table 20

Arizona and Federal Political Snapshot 2009-2014

Federal Legislation	Race to the Top	Race to the Top	Race to the Top Early Learning		President Obama Proposes Plan for Early Childhood	Preschool Development Grant Program
Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Arizona Legislation	Common Core Standards	Prop. 100 Prop. 302 HB2001 AZ Joins Common Core	AZ applied for Race to the Top - EL but did not win	Prop. 204	SB1447 Executive Order	AZ Implements Common Core and receives \$20 million in federal preschool development grant money

Note: See Appendix O for details.

State, 2009-2014. The tax reductions passed in Arizona in the 2000’s did not prepare the state for the almost \$2.4 billion budget shortfall in 2010 (Charney, 2009). The largest categorical expenditure in the general fund was K-12 education spending, which was nearly \$4.4 billion (44% of the state budget) and approximately \$12 million (0.2%) was the ECGB preschool funding in Arizona. Arizona was once again facing a budget crisis.

Governor Brewer announced a five-point plan to address this shortfall. The five points involved (1) reforming the budget process; (2) focusing on long-term needs and resources; (3) reducing the general fund by \$1 billion; (4) providing tax reform to attract businesses and more jobs, and (5) imposing a temporary tax increase to bridge the

revenue gap shortfall. The legislature responded to the fiscal crisis by placing Proposition 302 on the voting referendum. The Voter Protection Act of 1998 ensured a proposition voted on by the people of Arizona could only be revoked by the people of Arizona. The people of Arizona were asked to allow the movement of the monies from First Things First to the general state fund. Supporters (Representative Pearce, Arizona Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Goldwater Institute, Arizona Tax Research Association and Arizona Farm Bureau) of the proposition believed it would redirect the money to the legislature that could help children in K-12 rather than the “narrow population” represented by First Things First. The state government argued they could redirect the money to keep children from suffering further reductions in programs that received state support, including K-12 education, universities, low-income health clinics, and prison spending. The opposition (Arizona Indian tribes, Arizona Education Association, League of Women Voters in Arizona, Arizona Public Service, Children’s Action Alliance, and Pima County Pediatric Society) disagreed, and the people of Arizona voted the measure down.

In 2010, Governor Brewer signed SB1070, the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act. It added new state requirements to identify, prosecute, and deport illegal immigrants. Though court injunctions ensured the majority of the provisions were never enacted in Arizona, the political focus shifted to immigration reform. This new sense of a state right-based nationalism, and the apparent need to survive financially, facilitated funding cuts.

The “Arizona Citizen” political prototype matched well with the socio-economic times. Unlike the “Learner of 21st Century” prototype and the ‘Evidence-Based for At-

Risk Children' newspaper prototype that advocated for at-risk preschool government spending, the "Arizona Citizen" advocated that parents were parties responsible for their own child(ren). Neither the "Learner of the 21st Century" and the "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" newspaper prototypes aligned well with the current budget crisis. Governor Brewer represented the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype, and by 2009 the "Learner of the 21st Century" ceased in the political documents; however, it remained in the newspaper documents. By 2009, the "Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children" newspaper prototype ceased. By 2010, the primary issue in both the newspaper and political discourse was not whether preschool was beneficial to children. Both the "Learner of the 21st Century" and "Arizona Citizen" conceded preschool was beneficial. The difference between the prototypes was whether the government was financially responsible to pay for preschool. For one moment in 2010, when the state was facing tremendous financial hardship, the remaining newspaper prototype and political prototypes coincides and funding for the Early Childhood Block Grant was cut. As aforementioned, Arizona was awarded \$20 million on December 10, 2014, but, by the end of 2014, the state legislature still had not funded preschool.

Overview of the prototypes, 2009-2014. Preschool received scant attention in the newspapers and political documents between 2009 and 2014, as discussion to cut the funding of the Early Childhood Block Grant took place, in contrast to the plentiful discussion during the programs implementation. The little that preschool was discussed was represented primarily by the "Learner of the 21st Century" in the newspaper articles, while the "Arizona Citizen" replaced the "Learner of the 21st Century" in the political documents (see Table 21).

Table 21

Type of Prototype by Type of Newspaper Article and Political Document 2009-2014

Newspaper Prototypes (n=8)	CF (1), EBAR (1), L21st (5), NK (1), LR (0)
Year	2007-2008
Political Prototypes (n=8)	CF (0), EBAR (0), L21st (0), AZCIT (8)

Note: n = 8 newspaper articles and 8 political documents. CF represents “Community and Family,” EBAR represents “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” L21st represents “Learners of the 21st Century,” NK represents “New Knowledge Community,” LR represents “Last Resort,” and AZCIT represents “Arizona Citizen” prototype.

A new reality appeared to exist. It was no longer a reality of caring and nurturing children. Instead, it was about producing a productive labor force of Arizona citizens. By 2014, the diverse and lively discourse of the late 1980s and 1990s on the concept of “preschool” had dissipated. The “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype in the newspaper dominated, while the “Arizona Citizen” prototype dominated in the political documents. The discourse in the newspapers and political documents could be seen as more congruent than at any time throughout this research. Both the newspaper and political prototypes agreed that the purpose of preschool is to ensure that children become productive members of society and are prepared for the future challenges and competition with the rest of the world.

My goal was to use Haas and Fischman’s (2010) model to identify prototypes about “preschool” to capture the ambiguities and paradoxes ignored in the rational model of policymaking. Prototypes captured the values, ideologies and attitudes behind the

discourse of “preschool.” Prototypes provide a window into the unconscious thoughts of the authors of the editorials, op-editorials, opinion letters and political documents. The newspaper and political prototypes revealed multiple “truths” of the concept of “preschool” in the newspaper and political documents existed between 1987 and 2014.

Multiple “Truths” of the Concept of “Preschool”

In this research it was assumed policymaking was the dialectical interaction of discursive and non-discursive elements (Fairclough, 2000). By incorporating the Haas and Fischman (2010) model to identify prototypes differences in values were revealed. Incorporating prototypes offered a way to gain insight into the underlying unconscious thoughts of the authors in the editorials, opinion-editorials, opinion letters and political documents. It provided a viable way to uncover the underlying moral basis that even the writers and politicians may not have been aware.

In the words of Stone (1988/2002) “a type of policy analysis that does not make room for ambiguity in politics can be of little use in the real world” (p.157). Haas and Fischman’s (2010) model to identify prototypes allowed for differences to exist, opening the door to great insight. It provided a way to capture the values of the concept of “preschool” in the newspaper and political documents, which helped to minimize ambiguity. Prototypes allowed differences to be revealed; providing a way to interpret complex phenomena in a meaningful and relevant way.

Since collaboration is necessary in policymaking (Stone, 1988/2002), an understanding of the conflicting perceptions, interpretations, and values of others is needed (Stone, Patton, & Heen, 1999). Understanding the basis from which people are making decisions can make a difference to political behavior and outcomes: thus, in

policymaking, it is critical that all viewpoints are considered and understood if policy reconciliation is to occur (Stone, 1988/2002). If understanding other people's point of view does not occur, policymaking is more likely to become stalled by ideological debate and inaction. If the intent of policymaking is to improve the world as known in the present reality, to ignore the conscious and unconscious dimensions will not negate their existence; rather, a lack of acknowledgment, understanding, and integration of all pertinent points of view will reduce the chance of resolution.

Policymaking takes considerable effort, and certain social and historical constructs limit the actors and events involved (Marx, 1852/1972; Ortega, 1961). Socio-power, patronage, and control of wealth and resources all work in tandem with political power (Fairclough, 2000), but so does morality (Lakoff, 2008; Stone, 1988/2002). To amputate the sociological, psychological, and cognitive considerations from the decision-making process does not result in effective policy (Brooks, 2012).

Theories and philosophies of politics can obscure important realities of political life (March & Olsen, 1989). Prototypes provided an empirical approach that captured the underlying beliefs and values of the newspaper and political actors. By revealing differences in values, prototypes uncovered the policy debate of preschool in Arizona and offered understanding of motivations, rather than simply tracing the story through historical sequence and the logic of cause and effect.

Understanding value-laden differences can help facilitate negotiation and compromise, thereby increasing the likelihood of policy reconciliation (Stone, 1988/2002). This values-focused process is important in policymaking because understanding and greater consensus for the common good offer hope that a better life

can emerge in our democracy. Decisions are not based only on facts, but also on values, feelings and convictions. In essence, people make judgments based on the facts as they understand them, which means their personal goals, moral values, and sense of what is best for others as well as themselves (Stone, 1988/2002; Yankelovich, 1999; Haas & Fischman, 2010; Fishman & Tefera, 2014). To negate such knowledge and assume society processes information like computers and mathematical models borders on the inhumane (Lakoff, 1987). Following is a discussion of the inter-relational cross-over that existed between the newspaper and political documents that effected the policy debate of preschool, and in less than 30 years, the newspaper and political prototypes narrowed to one.

An Inter-Relational Cross-Over Between the Newspaper and Political Documents Existed and Narrowed to One in Less than 30 Years

In this research the newspaper and political texts were not only considered linguistic structures (nouns and sentences) but were also believed to have an ideological effect that contributed to establishing, maintaining, and/or changing social relations of power, domination, and exploitation (Fairclough, 2000; Haig, 2010). Language is considered to be part of the social events in society constrained by social structures and practices in place. Language has political force (Lakoff, 1987). By incorporating prototypes, a viable way to untangle differing viewpoints of the concept of “preschool” in Arizona was possible. Cognitive linguistics provided the conceptual content that explained why people are emotional (Lakoff, 1987; 2008) and the discourse analysis provided the mechanism to better understand the changes in society (Fairclough, 2000). It provided a way to interpret complex phenomena in a meaningful way. The prototype

approach brought to life an empirical application of two separate analyses: cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis (Haas & Fischman, 2010; Hart, 2011). In turn, cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis allowed for a better understanding of the contemporary Arizonan discourses about preschool. Van Dijk (1997) stated “who controls public discourse, at least partly controls the public mind, so that discourse analysis of such control is at the same time inherently a form of political analysis (p.44).” I agree, as such, the newspaper and political documents studied were assumed to be contributors to the preschool policy debate in Arizona. I did not, however, predict that one prototype appearing in the newspaper and political documents on the concept of “preschool” would continue to decline between 1987 and 2014.

Since prototypes develop both from direct experiences and from secondary experiences received from others (Lakoff, 1987), I believed the newspaper and political document prototypes would interact and affect one another. The brain organizes and provides access to the system of concepts used in thinking and will change when ideas are repeatedly activated (Lakoff, 2008); thus, the more a prototype was used in the newspaper and/or political documents, the more it was confirmed in Arizonan society (Lakoff, 1987; 2008; Haas & Fischman, 2010). Repeated prototypes became naturalized. Though the same use of language explains the legitimization of certain prototypes, it does not explain why certain prototypes suddenly became more dominant in the newspapers or political documents. The policy debate on the concept “preschool” provided insight.

The impeachment of Evan Mecham brought Rose Mofford to power. During her term from the late 1980s and early 1990s, an environment of cohesiveness and solidarity existed. People agreed to disagree. A number of local initiatives concerning preschool

were taking place, and, at a federal level the Family Support Act of 1988 and Better Child Care Act of 1989 were signed into law. Though these federal policies were not directly related to preschool, they attest to the federal government's belief that low-income working families needed help with their children. The socio-economic and political atmosphere of the time was conducive to a government that acted as the facilitator to ensure government, business, community and educators worked cohesively to improve the quality of family life.

The "Community and Family" and "Evidence-Based for At Risk Children" prototypes were the only ones represented in the political documents. These same prototypes were also prevalent in the newspapers along with the "Last Resort," "New Knowledge Community," and "Learner of the 21st Century" prototypes. As there was less diversity of prototypes in the political documents than in the newspaper articles, the overall consensus was that preschool was good for children, though good for *which* children differed by prototype. The coalition of businesses, educators, legislators and governor resulted in the passage of the 1990 At Risk Pilot Program, the 4 year temporary preschool program for at-risk children. The process could be described as American pluralism at its best: multiple entities working together for a common goal.

The bill defined "at risk" as children needing additional help to learn, but the language of the bill was vague enough to allow for multiple interpretations. Vaguely stated goals permit passage of laws and statutes, thereby only passing down any remaining conflict to the administrative agency for interpretation and implementation (Stone, 1988/2002). For the At-Risk Pilot Program, the individual school receiving the state money decided the way money could be used.

The following year, 1991, the at-risk preschool program was expanded to an additional 33 preschools. The Arizona Department of Education was required to conduct an evaluation of the preschool program to determine which individual school programs were effective. This addendum legislation used elements of both the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” political prototypes. Governor Symington also came to power that year. A prolific writer and orator, Governor Symington, related to people by personalizing his thoughts and views in his public discourse. Symington ran for governor promising to reform education, and, once in office, immediately formed a Task Force of a 41 member-panel of educators, politicians, and business leaders. His combined gregariousness and oratorical skills were eminent. He used pithy quotations from leaders such as Winston Churchill to gain support to use less government oversight and more local control. Set against the social reality of Arizona’s jailing more of its youth than did 48 other states, and 30th in the nation in per capita income, and Arizona’s being at the bottom of the list in prevention of deaths of children, he ran his campaign as a proponent of the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” political prototypes.

Symington appealed to people’s morals, rather than to their rational selves by expressing an ethical vision of improving the lives of children and their families. He created a picture of a better and more secure life for everyone. Symington did not narrow his political rhetoric to helping only those who needed help; rather, he explained to the people the way everyone could benefit. Symington’s appeal appeared to match the concerns of politicians at the federal level, who placed family and children as a high priority, with the 1993 federal Family and Medical Leave Act requiring employers to

provide job protection and unpaid medical and family leaves. Clearly, the federal government believed businesses also needed to be responsible to their employees. In the rhetoric and the policymaking, American pluralism seemed to endure. Family and children remained part of the conversation at a federal level, as it had been during Governor Mofford's previous term.

Four years later in January 1994, the Success by Six legislation was proposed to the Arizona House of Representatives. This legislation became a political fiasco. Governor Symington called an unprecedented nine special sessions to ensure the legislation passed. He could have remained uninvolved in this legislation, but chose to become heavily involved. It was his final year of his first term, and he needed to deliver on his promise to improve the lives of children if he had any hopes of being re-elected a second term. Certainly, self-interest played a role in his actions, but his desire for parental choice did too.

Late in the summer of 1994, the responsibility of the preschool program was moved into the Arizona School Improvement Act (ASIA). ASIA supported parental choice, charter schools and open enrollment. Adding the preschool program to the ASIA bill certainly assisted in the passage of ASIA. This new legislation questioned the role of the government. The public choice theory had entered into the political realm.

The following year, 1995, the preschool program was removed from ASIA and placed into the existing At Risk Block Grant. The At Risk Block Grant funding increased from \$2,603,400 to \$22,908,400 but the \$20,305,000 allocated specifically to preschool was now shared with full-day kindergarten to 3rd grade, dropout prevention, and gifted program support. It was a political move that hindered the growth of the state preschool

funding program. Schools were more inclined to use the grant money for K-3, since the preschool programs required renovations within the schools that were not covered by the grant. It was left up to the school districts to determine to which program to apply and left to the Department of Education to disperse and administer the grant money, with review by the Joint Legislature Budget Committee. The Department of Education changed the definition of “at risk” to income level rather than those needing help to learn.

By the end of 1995 the “Community and Family” and “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototypes were no longer detected in the political documents, but they remained in the newspapers. The political documents no longer subscribed to American pluralism as they had during Governor Mofford’s term and Governor Symington’s first term. Symington had espoused the “Community and Family” prototype during his first campaign, but by the end of his first term espoused to the logic of the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype, which supported more local control and parental choice.

Governor Symington was re-elected in 1994. He now contended that the role of the government should be limited and that parents should be allowed to choose where their child(ren) go to school. His new positions were congruent with the federal 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act that converted what had been long-term welfare benefits to a mixture of short-term assistance and job training programs. It was becoming an unchallenged assumption in politics that self-interest and self-regulation was a normal, unobjectionable, and unavoidable part of our nature (Lawson, 1997; Stephens, 1991). In 1997 Symington resigned while under investigation due to financial fraud in his real estate development business.

Then-Secretary of State Jane Hull became governor, giving Arizona a second unelected governor in less than a decade. Hull took command quickly. Not a prolific writer or orator, she had a quiet, businesslike presence and appeared to share views similar to Symington's. The logic of the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype continued to grow in both the newspapers and political documents, advocating for less government control and more local and parental control. The public choice theory continued to question the pluralist role of the State.

Governor Hull supported legislation to increase the funding to the early childhood block grant, but that legislation did not go any further than the Education Committee. Unlike Governor Symington, who called the legislature into session nine times to pass legislation, Hull did not try again, and it is unclear why not. Perhaps the time was not right, perhaps she was not diligent enough, or perhaps her primary emphasis on improving and expanding transportation in Arizona was more important. However much one speculates on the reasoning, it is clear: no additional funding was provided to the Early Childhood Block Grant and neither Governor Hull nor any other legislator attempted to increase funding. The lack of legislator support prevented further preschool policymaking, other than the block grants being renamed the Early Childhood Block Grant (ECBG), with a number of administrative changes to ensure preschools were licensed and credentialed. The era of standardization, credentialing, and oversight began, which was in line with the 2001 federal legislation No Child Left Behind.

Hull ran for governor after completing Symington's second term and won. The growth of the "New Knowledge Community" newspaper prototype and "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype advanced during her term. From 1995 to 2003, the emerging

“Learner of the 21st Century” prototype and “New Knowledge Community” newspaper prototype reinforced one another. These prototypes also worked well with the federal Workforce Investment Act of 1998 which mandated states to create a one-stop workforce system.

The newspaper and political prototypes framed preschools as a good economic investment, but only the “Learner of the 21st Century” deemed all children should attend preschool. The logic of the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype that began appearing more often during Governor Symington’s second term and was maintained during Hull’s term became even more predominant when Janet Napolitano was elected governor in 2003.

Though no preschool legislation passed during Governor Napolitano’s term, the “Learner of the 21st Century” prototype became more prevalent in the newspapers. The “Learner of the 21st Century” newspaper and political prototype subscribed to the idea that all children should attend preschool, while the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” prototype that appeared only in the newspapers asserted that just at-risk children should attend preschool. In 2006, the voter-initiated Proposition 203, which would increase the quality of and access to early childhood development and health system, was approved. The voter proposition aligned well with the “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children” newspaper prototype to help children in need.

Governor Napolitano’s insistence and ongoing message that Arizona must catch up with the world by ensuring they had a productive workforce in the future reinforced preschool education. Napolitano represented change as abstract, external and an unquestionable process, just as Bill Clinton had argued in his 1996 book *Between Hope*

and History. As she did this, children began to be objectified, and her words moved away from family and children.

Napolitano created a sense of fear and urgency. The good of the family and the need to ensure equal opportunity were not considerations the government needed to entertain. Rather, Napolitano centered improving the economic status of the state rather than the people within the state. She represented an elitist political perspective. It was up to the ruling class to ensure that economic growth and development occurred in Arizona. A lack of emotion existed in the language she used as she spoke about the need for productivity, efficiency, and competition. In 2009, as the state faced the worst budget crisis in its history, Governor Napolitano stepped down as governor to serve in President Obama's administration. A political event that could not be ignored by the new Governor.

In the socio-political maelstrom created by the 2008 recession, Governor Jan Brewer came to power. She was a long-standing Arizona politician, she was not a prolific writer or orator. She used press releases to maintain her public voice, activating a moral foundation that incited a patriotic, market-driven capitalist social discourse. According to Brewer, cheaters, slackers, and free riders were not to be tolerated; such behavior needed to be halted, and punishments implemented. She subscribed to the public choice theory that the state government could not effectively serve as the guardian. It was an easy argument because the State had a budget crisis. Brewer insisted the longevity of Arizona was at stake, as Napolitano had but Brewer's rationale was different. While Napolitano called for more government involvement, Brewer called for less.

Napolitano's language use paved the way for an easy transition in the political documents of Brewer's governorship from the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype to the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype, because children had already begun to be thought of as productive assets rather than living, breathing creatures of this world. The word "we" now meant the people of Arizona in an exclusionary sense. The government was no longer deemed responsible to taking care of children; instead, the parents and community were.

Though the "Learner of the 21st Century" prototype had become self-reinforcing during Napolitano's term, the distressing economic times did not coincide with that prototype. It became easy for Governor Brewer to incite the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype, insisting the government could not afford to continue paying "criminal aliens" or programs that were the responsibility of the parent(s). She never explicitly stated it, but in many ways she implied that there were too many illegal immigrants receiving government assistance, and it had to stop. In the atmosphere of the "Arizona Citizen" prototype cutting state funding was easy.

As the "Arizona Citizen" political prototype replaced "Learner of the 21st Century" in the political documents, funding the Early Childhood Block Grant was cut in 2010; nevertheless, the program remained. The "Arizona Citizen" prototype aligned with the single remaining newspaper prototype, the "Learner of the 21st Century" which did not require the government to pay for preschool if parents were financially unable. By 2010, one prototype remained in the newspaper documents, the "Learner of the 21st Century" and one in the political documents "Arizona Citizen." Through to the end of the period covered in this research, both remained. Little discourse took place in the

newspaper or political documents concerning the concept of “preschool” between 2010 and 2014.

Notably, in 2011, Governor Brewer, with the assistance of First Things First, the 2006 voter approved proposition to increase the quality of and access to early childhood development and health system, applied for the Race to the Top Early Learning challenge. Arizona was not selected as a winner. Brewer apparently saw nothing wrong with the federal government funding preschool for at-risk children, a position linked to her reasoning that the state should not be responsible for those criminal illegal immigrants. Three years later, in 2014, the Arizona Department of Education, with Governor Brewer’s approval, applied for the federal Preschool Development Grant, and received \$20 million towards the funding of preschool on December 10, 2014.

As this research shows, a single event or circumstance did not lead to one dominant prototype in the newspapers and political documents, rather, the prototypes resulted from an ever-changing confluence of events, individuals and institutions. The newspaper and political prototypes were bound to the socio-economic and political times. Politics is a complicated intertwining of institutions, individuals, and events (March & Olsen, 1989). The institutional structure within which politics occurs, as well as the style of the leader, influenced what can and cannot take place in policymaking (Fairclough, 1999, 2000; March & Olsen, 1989), which is what happened in Arizona.

Summary

My goal was to use Haas and Fischman’s (2010) model to identify prototypes about “preschool” to capture the ambiguities and paradoxes ignored in the rational model of policymaking. My research questions were: (1) What are the prototypes about the

concept of “preschool” among influential newspapers; (2) What are the prototypes about the concept of “preschool” in political documents; and (3) What are the similarities and differences among the prototypes regarding the concept of “preschool” in influential newspapers and political documents? The analysis presented identified five newspaper prototypes which include: “Last Resort,” “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “New Knowledge Community,” and “Learner of 21st Century” and the four political prototypes, three of which were aligned with the newspaper prototypes: “Community and Family,” “Evidence-Based for At-Risk Children,” “Learner of 21st Century,” and a fourth prototype the “Arizona Citizen.”

Both newspaper and political preschool prototypes framed concerns about ideas of family, community and state, which assisted in the framing of the newspaper and political discourses that influenced the following key legislative actions: the 1990 passage of a pilot program for at-risk preschool children; the 1991 expansion of the at-risk preschool program to an additional 33 preschools and requirement that the Arizona Department of Education conduct evaluations of the preschool programs, the 1994 passage of the Arizona School Improvement Act (ASIA), the 1995 removal of the preschool funding component of ASIA from the At-Risk Block Grant, the 1997 renaming of the block grant to the Early Childhood Block Grant (ECBG), the 2003-2009 administrative re-structuring of the ECBG, and the 2010 elimination of funding. In Chapter 5, I discuss the limitations of this research and its contribution to the field, and provide conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The identification of prototypes provided an empirical means to capture the richness and diversity of the educational policy debate about preschool in Arizona ignored in the prevailing rational policymaking model. Prototypes offered the mechanism to not only uncover the changes in the concept of “preschool” but also gain insight into the causes of the changes. As the ideas of “preschool” changed, the impetus for the direction and boundaries of debate, the actors involved and institutional transformation became possible. Haas and Fischman’s model allowed me to critically look at the relational interaction between the newspaper and political discourses.

Paraphrasing Fischman and Haas (2012), ethical positioning, issues of consciousness, and ideological conflicts matter and little progress can be made by ignoring the unconscious and automatic levels of thinking, which are not easily dissuaded with rational and factual arguments alone. Prototypes allow the uncovering of simultaneous existence and contextual complexities while classical categories search for a single truth. Studying the dialogue in newspaper articles and political documents using Haas and Fischman’s model captured the changes in the concept of “preschool” that took place between 1987 and 2014.

An analysis of how the newspaper and political actors changed over time was possible which is critical to understand who pushed for what and how the actors knew what to push for (Mehta, 2013). In turn, the social and political environment around the issue of preschool was reshaped. Paraphrasing Mehta (2013), once a changed definition of a problem comes to the fore, it has the potential to reshape virtually every aspect of the

politics governing the issue. Ideas help understand how and why the newspaper and political actors were able to expand their purview (Mehta, 2013).

Prototypes provided insight into the values, ideologies and attitudes behind formal discourses. Unlike classical categories that search for singular ways of thinking and simplified explanations for problems, prototypes allow insights into the complexities of emotional landscapes. A value-aware approach allows unheard voices to become part of the discourse. Rather than seeking an outcome that agrees with a particular position, an environment of new possibilities and opportunities could open up and thrive (Yankelovich, 1999). However, limitations in this research existed.

Biases existed, as such, attention to the role played by political actors such as newspaper editors who determined what was printed, and the person taking the committee meeting notes (prior to recordings) in the Senate and House were at liberty to decide what was to be included, were considered. Fairclough (1995) suggested an investigation into how people read newspapers articles be undertaken, to determine the effects newspaper discourse may have on its audience, thus opinion letters were included in this research.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is that little dialogue was uncovered in the House and Senate committee meeting notes. I was informed by both Senate and House researchers that this is not uncommon, because much of the dialogue between participants, particularly on controversial issues, occurs outside of the official committee meetings. It was more broadly important to include the Gubernatorial State of the State Addresses, Executive Orders, Proclamations, Memos, and Press Releases. They provided additional insight into the political documents. The leader's communication style

conveyed certain values that could enhance the political message, and provided a view of the full range of political concerns and policies (Fairclough, 2000). The governors who told compelling stories regarding their beliefs (or appear to believe) assisted in legitimization of specific political and newspaper prototypes. The inclusion of the Governors enhanced the understanding and analysis of the political documents on preschool. Limitations exist in this research, however, the approach undertaken offers a way to discern the interaction of the newspaper and political discourses.

I was able to identify values, prejudices and political ideologies in newspaper and political documents as well as the inter-relational cross-over between the newspaper and political documents, and find that in less than 30 years, multiple prototypes narrowed to one. Another relevant finding of this study is that more research is needed to better understand the precise role the governors of Arizona have played in political and newspaper discourses. People in positions of power can influence the order of discourse as well as the social order (Fairclough, 1989/2015). Closer scrutiny of political speeches and texts could enhance the understanding of both the political practices and political struggles. In the time period researched, the governors assisted in legitimization of specific political and newspaper prototypes, but more analysis may offer greater understanding.

This research incorporated public opinion letters to investigate newspaper prototypes of the concept of “preschool” new forms of social media such as blogs, magazines, facebook and twitter may provide more nuanced insights into contemporary prototypes concerning the concept of “preschool.” Researching other forms of social media that allow individuals to voice their thoughts and concerns, will provide a vehicle

to see if only one voice is being served in the newspaper and political documents. Further research on media and political prototypes related to the concept of K-12, separated by public, charter, and private schools, may help us better understand education policy in that multifaceted arena. Likewise, a comparative analysis of political and media discourse in all educational arenas would shed light on values and decision-making processes essential for determining the most sound approaches to conceptualizing, developing, passing, and implementing successful educational reforms.

Though preschool education and education as a whole may not shape the course of human life, and cannot solve the problems of poverty, lack of employment, lack of healthcare, alcoholism, drug abuse, and so many other social ailments, education matters. It matters because, as Shaul (1970/1996) wrote in the forward to the classic book “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” written by Freire (1970/1996) “Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world (p.16).”

Also, education matters because, as Lakoff (2014) wrote:

Education is essential for democracy, and not merely because civics and civic responsibility have to be taught. Education is fundamentally about freedom. If you are not educated, you are not free. First, you will lack the knowledge and skills to function effectively in a free society. Second, you will not be aware of the opportunities for fulfillment in life. Third, you will not be free to participate meaningfully in creating and maintaining the

conditions for freedom through citizenship. Fourth, you will not be knowledgeable enough to become and stay healthy, and without health you cannot be free (pp. viii-ix).

No doubt, education matters. Education may not be the silver bullet to solve all societal ailments, but it can make a difference to children, families and entire communities. Social and political barriers exist, but cannot be overcome until citizens are made aware of those barriers, demand a structure and system that promises justice and equity. As Martin Luther King, Jr., (1967) stated “our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.” Citizens’ personal and collective agency can and must ensure that children matter.

This research offers an approach to discern the interaction of the newspaper and political discourses, to analyze and critically dissect policymaking. Prototypes help to uncover the ideological positionality of newspapers and political productions; by shifting from the classical categories to prototype-based categories, a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding, and clearer connection to theory and practice is possible. If we truly want to live in a democracy, the answer a politician may have to a question, and the feelings of the electorate, must be understood (Westen, 2007). A democratic society should encourage the active participation of its citizens which means citizens must be able to discern the information presented to them intelligently (Fischman & Haas, 2012; Kellner, 1995; Lakoff, 1987). In order to change the world, one must first understand the existing reality in which they live.

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APPENDIX A
OVERVIEW OF CENTRAL PRESCHOOL RESEARCH TOPIC BY AUTHOR AND
FINDINGS

Central Preschool Research Topic	Authors By Chronological Order of Research Topic	Findings of Research Topic
Head Start (federal program establish in 1964) Note: 1995 Early Head Start established by U.S. Department of Health and Human Services focused on infant to 3-year-olds and parents (home visitations, center-based education, and combined programs)	Zigler & Trickett 1978	Argued cognitive assessments may not be the correct measures for success of Head Start.
	Barnett, 1993, 1998, 2012	Many of the studies may have been biased due to selection bias and attrition.
	Currie & Thomas, 1993	Positive and persistent effect on test scores of White and Hispanic but not African-American children when controlling for parent effects (compared children with same parents. One child attended Head Start and the other did not).
	Department of Health & Human Services, 1995 Gilliam & Zigler, 2001 Kaffer, 2003 Burke & Muhlhausen, 2013 Muhlausen, 2014	Improved cognition was found to fade out by 3 rd grade.
	Zigler, 2010	“Head Start cannot single-handedly fix broken families, raise incomes, quell neighborhood violence, improve health care and nutrition and provide the multitude of enriching experiences middle-class children have before they set foot in preschool.”

Central Preschool Research Topic	Authors By Chronological Order of Research Topic	Findings of Research Topic
Societal Benefits	Lally, Mangione, & Honig, 1988	Adulthood delinquency decreased.
	Schweinart, Barnes, & Weikart, 1993	
	Carneiro, Heckman, & Vytlačil, 2010	
	Cunha & Heckman (2010)	Adult earnings increased for those involved in early childhood education.
School Readiness/Cognitive and Language Ability		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cognitive Development and School Readiness 	Barnett, 1998	Reviewed 38 early childhood studies before age 5 (15 preschool programs were center based and 23 were provided by Head Start). Found cognitive benefits of preschool lasted at least through grade 3.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Jersey Abbott Preschool Program 	Lamy, Barnett, & Jung, 2005	Sampled 2072 children across 21 Abbott districts and compared those beginning at age 3 to those at age 4. Those beginning at age 3 had significantly improved early language, literacy and math skills upon entry into kindergarten.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tulsa, Oklahoma near-universal pre-K 	Dawson, 2005 Gormley, 2010, 2008 Gormely, Gayer, Phillips &	Children enrolled at age 4 led to significant increases in kindergarten readiness for middle to

Central Preschool Research Topic	Authors By Chronological Order of Research Topic	Findings of Research Topic
Family/Peer Effects	<p>Lee & Bryk, 1989 Rumberger & Palardy, 2005 Schechter & Bye, 2007 Perry & McConney, 2010 Konstantopoulos & Borman, 2011</p> <p>Reid & Ready, 2013</p>	<p>low-income children, particularly for Hispanic children.</p> <p>Socio-economic composition of the class was almost twice as important as the student's own socio-economic status.</p> <p>Critiqued the Perry & McConney (2010) study that assessed language growth of two groups of low-income children (one with high ratios of low-income children and the other with children from economically mixed income levels) for its small sample size. Reid & Ready studied 2,966 children and found the composition of children's classroom suggested preschool was an important aspect for student success.</p>

APPENDIX B

FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 1801-2014

Year Federal Major Education Actions⁷

- 1801 President Thomas Jefferson's call for free public elementary education went unheeded
- 1820 13 of the 23 states incorporated an education provision
- 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision held "separate but equal" was constitutional, which led to "Jim Crow" laws
- 1910 US had the largest education system in the world
- 1929 Works Progress Administration employed unemployed teachers to work in childcare facilities
- 1935 Aid to Dependent Children Title, IV, of the Social Security Act provided financial support to poor, widowed mothers so that they could remain home with their children
- 1941 Public Works Law, Title II, of the National Defense Housing Act allowed working women during WWII to house their children at the Works Progress childcare facilities
- 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision declared separate schools for black and white students as unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment
- 1955 Brown v. Board of Education (2nd Decision) Supreme Court ordered desegregation to be carried out by local district courts with "all deliberate speed," but no specific time frame was provided
- 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religions, sex or national origin and outlawed the "Jim Crow" laws
- 1964 Economic Opportunity Act created Head Start to address the academic achievement gap in poor, minority children. The federal government was concerned about the states' commitment to racial, economic, and educational justice. It is not an entitlement program: once the funds are used people are placed on a waiting list
- 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided funds for primary and elementary schools emphasizing equal access, high standards, and accountability through 1970. It was reauthorized every 5 years until No Child Left Behind replaced it in 2001
- 1968 Handicapped Children's Early Education Program was established by Congress to stimulate the development of experimental preschool programs for children with special needs

⁷ Prior to the establishment of the US Federal Government, the Old Deluder Satan Act of 1647 required towns in Massachusetts to set up a school or pay a larger town to support the education of their children.

Year Major Federal Education Actions

- 1974 Title XX, Social Security Act provided childcare for the working poor or the potential recipients of welfare
- 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act (known today as Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act) mandated free public education for all children eligible from 3 to 20 years old and was expanded to include 21 year olds in 1986
- 1982 Job Training Partnership Act was created to help unemployed, young adults and other groups facing barriers finding work. Components under the Act included classes to obtain a general educational development certificate, English as a second language classes, on-the-job training, and re-training
- 1983 'A Nation At Risk' is published calling for a school movement to increase teacher salaries based on professional competition, market sensitivity, and improvement in student performance
- 1986 Education for All Handicapped Act established federal monies to assist states in developing educational programs for preschool handicapped children (states had until the 1991-1992 school year to adhere)
- 1986 Immigration Reform Control Act established a once in a lifetime opportunity for individuals residing in the US illegally to file for amnesty and become legal residents and ultimately citizens. Of the approximately 3 million applications, 83,000 were filed in Arizona. Arizona received federal grant money totaling \$39,066,014 in 1988-1989 to help fund public assistance, public health, and education programs for which new immigrants were eligible
- 1988 Family Support Act tied welfare participation to education, job training, or work by subsidizing childcare
- 1990 The nation's governors opened a debate on education goals on February 24, 1990, President Bush announced in his State of the Union address that by the year 2000, American pupils would leave Grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competence in such subjects as English, mathematics, science, history, and geography
- 1990 Child Care and Development Block Grant was established to improve the Family Support Act of 1988 to provide funding for childcare, after-school programs, and improvement of quality programs for the poor
- 1990 American with Disabilities Act provided civil rights protection for those with disabilities, and required pupils with disabilities to be educated in the least restrictive environment

Year Major Federal Education Actions

- 1993 The Family and Medical Leave Act required employers to provide employees job-protected and unpaid leave for qualified medical and family reasons
- 1995 Early Childhood Head Start within the US Department of Health and Human Services was created to focus on infant to 3-year olds and their parents
- 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, also known as Welfare-to-Work, restricted the welfare system so that recipients could no longer depend on government assistance for a lifestyle. Long-term assistance was converted to a mixture of short-term assistance and job training programs. The Child Care and Development Fund consolidated separate funding sources to provide childcare for mothers transitioning from welfare to jobs, and provided financial incentives to states that reduced births outside of marriage. Success was defined by reducing welfare rolls and increasing employment rather than quality of life
- 1998 Workforce Investment Act replaced the 1982 Job Training Partnership Act. It mandated the creation of a “one-stop” workforce system in each state, along with a workforce investment board to oversee each workforce system. The goal was to improve the quality of the workforce, enhance the competitiveness of the nation, and reduce welfare dependency
- 2001 No Child Left Behind (continuation of the 1965 Elementary and Education Act) required student achievement to be tracked, schools to hire and retain highly qualified teachers as defined by degree and/or certifications, and denied states federal money if they did not incorporate these stipulations (unlike the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965)
- 2006 Teacher Incentive Fund supported school efforts in performance-based teacher and principal compensation systems in high needs schools
- 2009 National Governor’s Association convened a committee to determine common core standards sponsored by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, among others
- 2010 Race to the Top competition for funding to prepare students for college and the global economy and to build data systems that measure student achievement and recruit the best teachers and principals as defined by student achievement (45 states, to include Arizona, signed on to the Common Core Standards, but four states have since withdrawn and another 30 states are reconsidering their initial adoption)
- 2011 Race to the Top Early Childhood Challenge was passed to improve early learning systems, thus ensuring children are ready to succeed in kindergarten, particularly those most in need
-

Year Major Federal Education Actions

- 2013 President Obama proposes a plan for early childhood education in his February 12, 2013, State of the Union Address nothing comes of his plan but the Preschool Development Grant programs
- 2014 Preschool Development Grants were designed for states that currently serve less than 10 % of 4-year-olds and have not received a Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge grant. Expansion Grants are for states currently serve 10% of four-year-olds or have received a Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge
-

APPENDIX C

PILOT PROGRAM AND EARLY CHILDHOOD BLOCK GRANT

Year	Legislative Session	Amount of General Appropriations Budget State Board of Education & Superintendent of Public Instruction
1987	38 th	No program
1988	38 th	No program
1989	39 th	\$1,100,000 Pilot program (K-3 only)
1990	39 th	\$1,911,000 Pilot program (included preschool pilot program)
1991	40 th	\$1,911,000 Pilot program
1992	40 th	\$ 955,500 Pilot program
1993	41 st	\$2,602,800 Pilot program expanded into two phases 1993 and 1994
1994	41 st	\$2,603,400
1995	42 nd	\$22,908,400 Expanded the At-Risk Preschool Pilot program. Department of Education was responsible for devising and allocating the money for at-risk preschoolers and full-day kindergarten to improve drop-out rates
1996	42 nd	\$22,908,400
1997	43 rd	\$14,464,000
1998	43 rd	\$19,483,000 (re-named Early Childhood Block Grant)
1999	44 th	\$19,488,300
2000	44 th	\$19,489,500
2001	45 th	\$19,492,600
2002	45 th	\$19,486,000 Office of Auditor General did not evaluate the program after 2001
2003	46 th	\$19,408,600

Year	Legislative Session	Amount of General Appropriations – Budget- ‘State Board of Education & Superintendent of Public Instruction’
2004	46 th	\$19,408,600
2005	47 th	\$19,415,200
2006	47 th	\$19,424,600
2007	48 th	\$19,446,300
2008	48 th	\$19,457,100
2009	49 th	\$19,438,100
2010	49 th	No Funding for the existing program Governor Brewer directed the Department of Education to stop funding the program arguing First Things First should fund it
2011	50 th	No Funding for the existing program
2012	50 th	No Funding for the existing program
2013	51 st	No funding for the existing program
2014	51 st	No funding for the existing program

APPENDIX D
OVERVIEW OF ARIZONA

Measure	Arizona
Statehood	February 14, 1912
Primary political parties	Republican and Democrat
Political leaders (2014)	Governor: Republican Secretary of State: Republican Attorney General: Republican Superintendent of Public Instruction: Republican US Senators: 2 Republican US House: 5 Democrats and 4 Republicans
Population (US Census, 2012)	6,626,624 estimate
Population growth rate from April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2013 (US Census, 2012)	3.7%
Ethnic groups (US Census, 2012)	57.1% White 30.2% Hispanic or Latino 5.3% American Indian & Alaska Native 4.5% Black or African American 3.1% Asian 0.3% Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 2.5% Two or more races
Foreign born persons (US Census, 2012)	13.6%
Major religious group (ARDA, 2014)	Catholic
Official languages (US Census, 2012)	English (Proposition 103 amended the Arizona State Constitution to include English as the primary language in 2006)
Language other than English spoken at home (US Census, 2012)	26.9%
Percentage of population by age (US Census, 2012)	6.7% 0 to 4 9.8% 5 to 11 4.2% 12 to 14 4.1% 15 to 17 10.0% 18 to 24 50.5% 25 to 64

14.8% 65 and over

Measure	Arizona
State education expenditures (% of student total expenditure) (NEA, 2014)	36%
GDP (US Census, 2012)	\$261,000 million
High school graduate or higher (persons over 25) (NEA, 2014)	85.4%
Bachelor's degree or higher (persons over 25) (NEA, 2014)	26.6%
Estimated number of districts 2012 (Elementary and Secondary (NEA, 2014)	227
Estimated teacher salary 2012 (NEA, 2014)	\$48,691
Median income (2008-2012) (US Census, 2012)	\$50,256
Person's below poverty level (2008-2012) (US Census, 2012)	17.2%
% of Children 4 Years Old enrolled in Head Start (Kids Count, 2012)	13%

APPENDIX E

KID'S COUNT NATIONAL COMPARISON OF CHILDREN AGES 3 TO 4 NOT
ATTENDING PRESCHOOL IN ARIZONA

Location	Number and Percent of Children Not Attending Preschool	2003-2004	2005-2006	2007-2008	2009-2010	2011-2012
US	Total Number	4,381,000	4,387,000	4,234,000	4,325,000	4,385,000
	Total Percent	54%	53%	53%	54%	54%
	• Percent of White	51%	50%	50%	50	51%
	• Percent of Black or African American	49%	49%	50%	51%	51%
	• Percent of Asian or Pacific Islander	50%	49%	48%	48%	48%
	• Percent of American Indian	57%	59%	59%	58%	59%
	• Percent of Hispanic or Latino	64%	63%	63%	63%	63%
Arizona	Total Number	133,000	135,000	123,000	124,000	123,00
	Total Percent	68%	67%	68%	67%	67%
	• Percent of White	58%	57%	57%	59%	59%
	• Percent of Black or African American		73%			
	• Percent of Asian or Pacific Islander					
	• Percent of American Indian			66%	64%	63%
	• Percent of Hispanic or Latino	78%	77%	78%	77%	77%

Source: Kids Count

APPENDIX F
CONSTITUTION OF ARIZONA, ARTICLE 11, SECTION 1 AND ARTICLE 11,
SECTION 10

Constitution of Arizona, Article 11, Section 1

1. Public school system; education of pupils who are hearing and vision impaired

Section 1. A. The legislature shall enact such laws as shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of a general and uniform public school system, which system shall include:

1. Kindergarten schools.
2. Common schools.
3. High schools.
4. Normal schools.
5. Industrial schools.
6. Universities, which shall include an agricultural college, a school of mines, and such other technical schools as may be essential, until such time as it may be deemed advisable to establish separate state institutions of such character.

Section 1. B. The legislature shall also enact such laws as shall provide for the education and care of pupils who are hearing and vision impaired.

Constitution of Arizona, Article 11, Section 10

10. Source of revenue for maintenance of state educational

Section 10. The revenue for the maintenance of the respective state educational institutions shall be derived from the investment of the proceeds of the sale, and from the rental of such lands as have been set aside by the enabling act approved June 20, 1910, or other legislative enactment of the United States, for the use and benefit of the respective state educational institutions. In addition to such income, the legislature shall make such appropriations, to be met by taxation, as shall insure the proper maintenance of all state educational institutions, and shall make such special appropriations as shall provide for their development and improvement.

Source: Arizona State Legislature

APPENDIX G

ARIZONA STATE LEGISLATURE, HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

Arizona State Legislature: How a Bill Becomes a Law

A bill is introduced in the House by a member, a group of members, a standing committee or a majority of a committee, after being written in proper form by the Legislative Council.

The bill is assigned a number, first read and referred by the Speaker to the appropriate Standing Committees and to the Chief Clerk for printing and distribution.

Committees consider the bill, which may include hearings, expert testimony and statements from the citizenry, and report recommendations to the Whole House. The Committee on Rules determines if the bill is constitutional and in proper form.

The committee on Rules places the bill on the active calendar and the Speaker sets the order in which measures will be considered.

The Committee of the Whole, the informational session of entire House membership acting as one committee, debate, amend and recommend on the calendared bills.

Third Reading House-Roll Call. Every member present must vote (unless excused) and no member may vote for another member. If passed by the House, the bill goes on to the Senate.

The House Bill is first read in the Senate and laid over 1 day.

The bill receives its second reading and the President refers it to the appropriate Standing Committees.

Standing Committees consider the bill, which may include hearings, expert testimony, and statements from the citizenry and the Committee reports its recommendations to the entire Senate.

The Committee on Rules' agenda becomes the calendar for Committee of the Whole and after 5 days the President designates which measures are to be placed on the Active Calendar of the Committee of the Whole.

The Committee of the Whole, the entire membership of the Senate acting as one committee, debates the amendments and recommendations on the calendared bill.

Third Reading Senate – Names are called alphabetically and unless excused, each Senator present must vote on each measure. If passed by the Senate (either in identical form or amended) the bill is sent back to the house. If the bill identical to the measure passed by the house, the bill goes to the Governor.

If the bill comes back to the house amended, in a different form, the bill may be accepted in its new form and sent to the Governor, or the bill may be rejected and sent to a Conference Committee.

A Conference Committee is made up of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House and Senators appointed by the President of the Senate. In Conference committee the bill is discussed and “mended” to come to a compromise. The committee creates a Conference Committee Report that is sent back to each House for adoption and after Final Passage, the bill is sent to the Governor.

When the bill reaches the Governor, the bill has been passed by both the House and the Senate and many now be signed by the Governor.

The Governor may allow the bill to become law without a signature if he/she takes no action within five days, or ten days after adjournment. If this happens the bill becomes effective ninety days after adjournment of the legislature.

If the Governor vetoes the bill, it is returned to the House stating the reasons for the veto. The House and Senate may then override the Governor's veto by a two thirds vote or three-fourths in the case of an emergency measure.

Source: Arizona State Legislature

APPENDIX H

ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION, EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF

ARIZONA

Executive Branch of Arizona

Governor of Arizona. Head of the executive branch of Arizona's government and the commander-in-chief of the state's military forces. The governor enforces state laws and has the power to approve or veto bills passed by the Arizona legislature. The governor convenes the legislature and has the power to grant pardons, except in the case of treason and impeachment.

Secretary of State. Responsible for filing official administrative rules of state agencies. Maintains the rules of state agencies adopted under the Arizona Administrative Act. If elected, is second in line to the governor, since Arizona does not have a lieutenant governor.

Attorney General. Serves as the chief legal officer of the state and is mandated to follow the State constitution. Provides and represents legal advice to most state agencies. The attorney general, if elected, is third in line to the governor which has occurred once in the State when attorney general, Bruce Babbitt, became governor after the death of Wesley Bolin, who had succeeded Raul Hector Castro, until he resigned to serve as ambassador to Argentina under President Carter.

State Treasurer. Responsible for protecting the taxpayer money by serving as state's bank and fiduciary agent, providing investment management, financial information and services.

Superintendent of Education. Serves as the chief executive official for the state's state education agency.

State Mine Inspector. Enforces the state mining laws that protect mine employees, residents, and the Arizona environment.

Source: Arizona State Legislature

APPENDIX I

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 1987-1989

1987-1989**Governor Evan Mecham (Republican), 1987-1988**

A high school graduate, Mecham served 1 year as governor and was impeached by the State House of Representatives and convicted by the State Senate on April 4, 1988, for lending \$80,000 of inaugural funds to his automotive business. He enacted 10 executive orders, none of which pertained to education.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

None.

Governor Rose Mofford (Democrat), 1989-1991

An educator with a master's degree in education counseling, Mofford served the remainder of Mecham's term. She enacted 79 executive orders, 2 of which concerned children and women. She signed HB2565, the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project, on June 14, 1990.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

Office of Women's Services (Executive Order 1990-1994)

Office for Children (Executive Order, 1988-22)

Secretary of State

Rose Mofford (1977-1988)

James "Jim" Hyrum Shumway (1988-1991)

Attorney General

Bob Corbin (1979-1991)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

C. Diane Bishop (1987-1994) (Democrat) she did not run for re-election in 1994 but became Governor Symington's educational advisor, 1995-1997

Arizona State Treasurer

Ray Rottas (1983-1991)

State Mine Inspector

James H. McCutchan (1979-1988)

Douglas K. Martin (1989-2006)

United States President Ronald Reagan (Republican), 1981-1989**United States President George H.W. Bush (Republican), 1989-1993****Federal Policy**

1988 Family Support Act tied welfare participation to education, job training, or work by subsidizing childcare

1987-1989

1989 Act for Better Child Care (HR30) gave \$2.5 billion in the first year to state and federal agencies to fund parents who put their children in day-care centers

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions,⁸ and Senate and House Policy Initiatives⁹

1987 Laws 1987, Chapter 245, established the Joint Legislative Committee on Goals for Arizona's Educational Excellence to recommend a list of statewide goals in three areas: pupil achievement at grades 3, 8, and 12, high school graduation rates and post-school employment and college enrollment rates PASSED

1988 HB2217, Laws 1988, 2nd Regular Session, Chapter 3808, pp. 1264-1266. Amended section 1 of ARS 15-715 which initiated a 4-year pilot education project for K-3 at-risk children in 33 block grants (22 programs providing additional assistance to at-risk children enrolled in K-3 and 11 programs focusing on at-risk youth in 7-12) or \$4.5 million. Unlike SB1077, the statutory requirements ensured an evaluation of the pilot projects. The Morrison Institute for Public Policy at ASU was selected to perform the evaluation. It would later be combined with the 1990 At-Risk Preschool block grant under the 'Early Childhood block Grant' in 1996 PASSED.

⁸ Ballot Propositions numbered in the 100s – authorize changes in the state constitution; numbered in the 200s – changes to state law that were placed on the ballot by initiative (either your friends and neighbors gathered signatures or some special interest paid for that process); numbered in the 300s – laws placed on the ballot by the Legislature or laws enacted by the Legislature that were targets of referendum drives. The Governor cannot strike down voter propositions but can strike down passed HB and SB bills

⁹ Statute laws can be amended with a new HB or SB from the Legislature OR by a vote by people OR by a proposition sent down to the people from the House or Senate

APPENDIX J

ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND STATE BOARD OF
EDUCATION MISSIONS

The Arizona Department of Education's Mission

To serve Arizona's education community, ensuring every child has access to an excellent education.

The Arizona Department of Education and its chief position, a publicly elected state Superintendent of Public Instruction, were created upon the ratification of the Arizona Constitution. The job of the state superintendent is to "superintend" the K-12 public education system in Arizona through the state department of education. As stated in the state constitution, this involves providing for the students of Arizona a uniform public school system including kindergarten schools, common schools, high schools and normal schools.

As of September 2013, the Arizona K-12 public education system is comprised of the following:

- The Arizona Department of Education, the State Board of Education, 15 County Education Agencies and hundreds of district and charter governing boards
- 230 School Districts, 406 charter holders and 13 Joint Technological Education Districts
- Over 2000 public schools, including over 1500 district schools and over 500 charter schools
- Over 60,000 certified teachers
- Over 1,000,000 students

State Board of Education Mission

To aggressively set policies that foster excellence in public education.

The State Board of Education was created by the Arizona Constitution and charged with the responsibility of regulating the conduct of the public school system. The Board is composed of the following 11 members: the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the president of a state university or state college, 4 lay members, a president or chancellor of a community college district, a person who is an owner or administrator of a charter school, a superintendent of a high school district, a classroom teacher and a county school superintendent. Each member, other than the Superintendent of Public Instruction, is appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate. Members are appointed to a term of 4 years.

In addition to its general regulatory responsibilities, Arizona law charges the Board with numerous other duties. The primary powers and duties of the Board are articulated in [A.R.S. § 15-203](#).

For the purposes of federal law, the State Board of Education also serves as the State Board for Vocational and Technological Education.

Source: Arizona Department of Education

APPENDIX K

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 1990-1994

1990-1994

Governor Rose Mofford (Democrat), 1989-1993

An educator with a master's degree in education counseling, served the remaining term of Governor Mechem. She enacted 79 executive orders two of which were on children and women. She signed into law HB2565, the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project, on June 14, 1990.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

Office of Women's Services (Executive Order 1990-1994)

Office for Children (Executive Order, 1988-22)

Governor Fife Symington, III (Republican), 1991-1997

A business man with a bachelor's degree in art history. Symington served 6 years as governor and stepped down on September 4, 1997, during his second term, within an hour and half of his conviction on seven criminal counts related primarily to defrauding lenders and investors in his real estate development company. As governor, he enacted 141 executive orders of which 6 were related to education. He formed the Governor's Task Force on Education Reform in 1991, naming himself the chair.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

Arizona Head Start Collaborative Advisory Council (Executive Order, 1996-10)

Family Friendly Advisory Task Force (Executive Order, 1994-14)

Arizona Head Start Collaborative Advisory Council (Executive Order, 1996-10)

Family Friendly Advisory Task Force (Executive Order 1994-14)

Office for Children (Executive Order, 1993-23)

Task Force on Education Reform (Executive Order, 1991-9)

Executive Orders 92-13 and 92-14 are included the federal Early Childhood Block Grant Act of 1990, outlining what the State is to do and placing the jurisdiction under the Department of Economic Security)

Secretary of State

James "Jim" Hyrum Shumway (1988-1991)

Richard D. Mahoney (1991-1995)

Attorney General

Bob Corbin (1979-1991)

Grant Woods (1991-1999)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

C. Diane Bishop (Democrat) did not run for another term. Instead, she served as Governor Symington's educational advisor (1995-1997)

Lisa Graham (Keegan) (Republican) was elected in 1994 and then re-elected in 1998; she stepped down in 2001 to work for a research center (1995-2001)

1990-1994

Arizona State Treasurer

Ray Rottas (1983-1991)

Tony West (1991-1998)

State Mine Inspector

James H. McCutchan (1979-1988)

Douglas K. Martin (1989-2006)

United States President George H.W. Bush (Republican) 1989-1993

United States President Bill Clinton (Democrat) 1993-2001

Federal Policy

- 1990 The nation's governors open a debate on education goals on February 24, 1990 when President Bush announced in his State of the Union address that by the year 2000, American pupils will leave Grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competence in such subjects as English, mathematics, science, history, and geography
- 1990 Child Care and Development Block Grant established to improve the Family Support Act of 1988. It provided funding for childcare, after-school programs and improvement of quality programs for the poor
- 1990 American with Disabilities Act provided civil rights protection for those with disabilities and required pupils with disabilities to be educated in the least restrictive environment
- 1993 The Family and Medical Leave Act required employers to provide employees job-protected and unpaid leave for qualified and medical and family reasons

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions and Senate and House Policy Initiatives

- 1990 Proposition 103 an initiated constitutional amendment was a classroom improvement program to provide \$100/student per fiscal year to improve basic reading, writing, and mathematics skills. It would have pumped \$5.8 billion more into public schools over a 10-year period FAILED
- 1990 HB2259 39th Legislature, 1990, 2nd Regular Session required school districts to provide educational programs for all handicapped children who are not receiving such services from the Department of Education. The bill covered "moderately developmentally delayed" children, which included limited English proficient pupils PASSED
- 1990 HB2565 originally presented under SB1442, whose primary focus was on standard tests Laws 1990, 2nd Regular Session, Chapter 345, §4, P. 1502.

1990-1994

- Enacted ARS15-1251 which established the At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project for fiscal year 1990-1991 through 1993-1994. This 4 year temporary program allowed the schools to determine the method undertaken to determine what an “at-risk” child was PASSED
- 1991 SB1079 Laws 1991, 1st Regular Session, Chapter 251, pp. 1238-1239. Amended Laws 1988, Chapter 308, Section 9; Amending Laws 1990, Chapter 345, Section 1, 2, & 4. Repealing Laws 1990, Chapter 345, Section 3. Amended ARTS15-1251. The Arizona Department of Education was to conduct evaluation of at-risk preschools and set up a state Early Childhood Advisory Council. The program also expanded to 33 at-risk preschools. A Joint Legislature Committee was established to study funding and programs for at-risk pupils and for the purpose of developing proper funding methods. It allowed school districts applying for the at-risk grant money to subcontract with federally funded at-risk programs, childcare centers serving government subsidized children, or other similar programs serving at-risk children PASSED
- 1992 Proposition 106 Legislatively-referred constitutional amendment to raise the debt limit of school districts from 15% to 20% of district’s taxable property value FAILED
- 1992 SB1096 Laws 1992, 2nd Regular Session, Chapter 305, pp. 1839-1841. Amended Laws 1990, Chapter 345 and Laws 1991, Chapter 251, Section 5. Amended ARS15-1251 the pilot status of the at-risk program was removed and three technical changes to the state’s school finance laws – PASSED
- 1992 HB2281 40th Legislature, 1992, 15-771, made revised changes to ensure compliance with the Federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act PASSED
- 1994 HB2279 (original Success by Six) – the bill would pass in the Health Committee, however, the House Speaker, Mark Killian, sent the bill to the Appropriations Committee headed by Representative Burns. He would not hear the HB, so it never made it to the Senate. The House could have overridden his decision with a 3/5 vote to have it heard on the floor FAILED
- 1994 HB2585 – the original Education Reform Bill to allow parental choice, school vouchers, charter schools and the At-Risk Preschool program which was removed from the original Success by Six bill (HB2279). The bill passed in the House Education Committee, however, the House Speaker, Mark Killian, sent the bill to the Appropriation Committee headed by Representative Burns. Burns would not hear the bill, so it never made it to the Senate. The House could have overridden his decision with a 3/5 vote to have it heard on the floor FAILED
- 1994 HB2369 Arizona Children and Families Stability Act pared down version of the original Success by Six (HB2279). It would not include the At-Risk Preschool program which was moved to HB2002) PASSED
-

1990-1994

1994 HB2002 Arizona School Improvement Act, Laws 1994, 9th Special Session, Chapter 2, pp. 2552-2556. Amended Laws 1990, Chapter 345, Section 1 as amended Laws 1991, Chapter 251, Section 5 and Laws 1993, Chapter 77, Section 27. Amended ARS15-1251. It was the revised version of the Education Reform Bill (HB2585), which included parental school choice, charter schools, open enrollment and the expansion of the At-Risk Preschool program, but removed school vouchers. Statute Law 15-771 set up the Preschool program and Statute Law 15-182 gave the Department of Education the responsibility to fund the program. Statute Law 15-715 determined eligibility criteria for the At-Risk Preschool program PASSED

APPENDIX L

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 1995-2001

1995-2001**Governor Fife Symington, III (Republican), 1991-1997**

A business man with a bachelor degree's in art history. Symington served 6 years as governor and stepped down during his second term within an hour and half of being convicted on 7 counts related primarily to defrauding lenders and investors in his real estate development company on September 4, 1997. As governor, he would enact 141 executive orders of which 6 were related to education. He formed the Governor's Task Force on Education Reform to which he named himself chair in 1991.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

Arizona Head Start Collaborative Advisory Council (Executive Order 1996-10)

Family Friendly Advisory Task Force (Executive Order 1994-14)

Arizona Head Start Collaborative Advisory Council (Executive Order 1996-10)

Family Friendly Advisory Task Force (Executive Order 1994-14)

Office for Children (Executive Order 1993-23)

Task Force on Education Reform (Executive Order 1991-9)

Executive Orders 92-13 and 92-14 are included in the federal Early Childhood Block Grant Act of 1990, outlining the state is to do and who is responsible was put under Department of Economic Security)

Governor Jane Dee Hull (Republican), 1997-2003

An elementary educator with postgraduate work in political science and economics. Hull served Governor Symington's remaining term and was elected for a second term. She enacted 95 executive orders, of which 5 were on education.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders:

Arizona State Board on State Readiness (Executive Order 2002-16)

Head Start Collaboration Advisory Council (Executive Order 2000-18)

Character Education Commission (Executive Order 1999-13)

Commission on the Health Status of Women and Families in Arizona (Executive Order 2000-17)

Secretary of State

Richard D. Mahoney (1991-1995)

Jane Dee Hull (1995-1997)

Betsey Bayless (1997-2003)

Attorney General

Grant Woods (1991-1999)

Janet Napolitano (1999-2002)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

C. Diane Bishop (Democrat) she did not run for another term; instead, served as Governor Symington's educational advisor (1995-1997)

1995-2001

Lisa Graham (Keegan) (Republican) elected in 1994, re-elected in 1998, and stepped down in 2001 to work for a research center (1995-2001)

Arizona State Treasurer

Tony West (1991-1998)

Carol Springer (1999-2002)

State Mine Inspector

Douglas K. Martin (1989-2006)

United States President Bill Clinton (Democrat), 1993-2001

Federal Policy

- 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, also known as Welfare-to-Work, restricted the welfare system so that recipients could no longer depend on government assistance for a lifestyle. Long-term assistance was converted to a mixture of short-term assistance and job training programs. The Child Care and Development Fund consolidated separate funding sources to provide childcare for mothers transitioning from welfare to jobs, and provided financial incentives to states that reduced births outside of marriage. Success was defined by reducing welfare rolls and increasing employment, rather than improving quality of life.
- 1998 Workforce Investment Act (WIA) replaced the 1982 Job Training Partnership Act. It mandated the creation of a “one-stop” workforce system in each state, along with a workforce investment board to oversee each workforce system. The goal was to improve the quality of the workforce, enhance the competitiveness of the nation, and reduce welfare dependency
- 2001 No Child Left Behind (continuation of the 1965 Elementary and Education Act) required student achievement to be tracked, schools to hire and retain highly qualified teachers as defined by degree and/or certifications; and denied states federal money if they did not incorporate these stipulations (unlike the EEA of 1965)

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions and Senate and House Policy Initiatives

- 1995 HB2004 Laws 1995, 1st Special Session, Chapter 4, p. 2499. Amended ARS15-1251. The At-Risk Preschool Program was placed into a block grant with four other state-funded programs (full-day kindergarten, kindergarten to 3rd grade support, dropout prevention and gifted program support). The Department of Education determined the allocation of grants, with review by the Joint Legislature Budget Committee – PASSED
- 1996 HB2001 (budget) Laws 1996, 5th Special Session, Chapter 1, § 8, pp. 2036-2037. Amended ARS15-1251. The dropout prevention and gifted
-

1995-2001

- program support were removed from the state funding programs leaving the at-risk preschool, full-day kindergarten, kindergarten to 3rd grade programs to share the money. Districts could direct funding as they saw fit PASSED
- 1997 HB2162 Laws 1997, 1st Regular Session, Chapter 231, § 33, p. 2147. Amended ARS15-1251. The block grant was renamed to the State Block Grant for Early Childhood Education. The district was to determine eligibility which was now based on the number of children eligible for the federal free and reduced lunch programs in the prior school year, rather than the multi-factor calculation of risk that had previously been used. The districts were also to allow all parents to receive information for preschool and federally funded programs available to them in the area and were to allow at least 50% of the parents to use federal or private provider. Providers receiving funding through the program were to be accredited by a state board of education that provides preschool accreditation (they had until July 1, 1999 to comply) PASSED
- 1997 SB1001 (budget) Laws 1997, 1st Special Session, Chapter 1, Section 8, p. 2929. Amended ARS15-1251. Any monies not used for preschool services were to be used for K-3 PASSED
- 1998 The 1991 At-Risk Preschool Pilot Project became the Early Childhood Block Grant under Laws 1998, 4th S.S., Ch. 8, § 7, effective August 13, 1998. It would provide limited funding to preschool education programs via grants from the state of Arizona from 1996-2010 PASSED
- 1999 HB1006 Laws 1999, 1st Special Session, Chapter 4, § 14, pp. 2084-2085. Facilities were provided an eighteen month extension to be accredited by the Department of Education PASSED
- 2000 HB2398 Laws 2000, Chapter 9, § 1, p. 441. The 18-month extension was extended for any site that “demonstrate that it is reasonably working toward becoming accredited” PASSED
- 2000 Proposition 203 Initiated state statute to repeal the existing bilingual education laws except for students classified as English Learners who would be instructed in English immersion programs PASSED
- 2000 Proposition 301 Legislatively referred state statute to increase six-tenths of 1% in the rate of state transaction privilege (sales) tax for multiple school purposes PASSED
- 2001 SB1516 Laws 2001, Chapter 323, pp. 1616-1617. Amended ARS15-1251. The Auditor General Office was no longer responsible for performing the evaluations of the Early Childhood Block Grant; the Legislature Council was now responsible PASSED
-

APPENDIX M

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 2002-2006

2002-2006**Governor Jane Dee Hull (Republican), 1997-2003**

An elementary educator with postgraduate work in political science and economics. Hull served Governor Symington's remaining term and was elected for a second term. She enacted 95 executive orders of which 5 were on education.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders:

Arizona State Board on State Readiness (Executive Order 2002-16)

Head Start Collaboration Advisory Council (Executive Order 2000-18)

Character Education Commission (Executive Order 1999-13)

Commission on the Health Status of Women and Families in Arizona (Executive Order 2000-17)

Governor Janet Napolitano (Democrat), 2003-2009

A political science major with a Juris Doctorate in Law. Napolitano served 2 terms as the governor but left Arizona in 2009 during her second term to serve as President Obama's Secretary for the Department of Homeland Security. She enacted 154 executive orders of which 11 were on education. She formed the P-20 Council which was created to advise the Arizona Department of Education, State Board of Education, and Legislature on education issues. It was made up of 40 representatives from First Things First, State Board of Education, Arizona Board of Regents, community colleges, ex-officio members of the Arizona Legislature, tribal representatives, business persons and philanthropists.

Education, Family and Child Committees Executive Orders

P-20 Council of Arizona (Executive Order 2005-19)

Children's Cabinet (Executive Order 2003-4)

Arizona Statewide Youth Development Task Force (Executive Order 2004-14)

Commission on Women's and Children's Health (Executive Order 2008-18)

Secretary of State

Betsey Bayless (1997-2003)

Janice K. Brewer (2003-2009)

Attorney General

Grant Woods (1991-1999)

Janet Napolitano (1999-2002)

Terry Goddard (2002-2011)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

Lisa Graham (Keegan) (Republican)– stepped down in 2001 to work for a research center (1995-2001)

Jaime Molera (Republican) was appointed by Governor Hull to complete the term for Lisa Graham (Keegan) (2001-2003)

2002-2006

Thomas Horne (Republican) was elected two terms (2003-2011) and voted in as Arizona Attorney General in 2011, (lost in second election)

Arizona State Treasurer

Tony West (1991-1998)

Carol Springer (1999-2002)

State Mine Inspector

Douglas K. Martin (1989-2006)

United States President George W. Bush (Republican), 2001-2009

Federal Policy

2006 Teacher Incentive Fund to support school efforts in performance-based teacher and principal compensation systems in high-needs schools

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions and Senate and House Policy Initiatives

- 2002 Proposition 104 Legislatively referred state statute to authorize giving proceeds from the sale of state lands to schools PASSED
- 2004 Proposition 102 Legislatively referred constitutional amendment to allow the state to license or transfer interest in technology or intellectual property created or acquired by state universities in exchange for ownership interests and securities in a company or corporation FAILED
- 2004 Proposition 105 Legislatively referred constitutional amendment to change the State Board of Education to add two members and replace the state junior college board member with a president or chancellor of a community college district PASSED
- 2004 HB2031 Laws 2004, 2nd Session, Chapter 23, § 1, pp. 75-76. Amended ARS36-884. Amended the childcare licensing exemption to include special education preschool programs, but did not exempt district or facilities receiving state subsidized tuition PASSED
- 2006 HB2874 Laws 2006, Amended ARS 15-901.02 and allotted \$118 million to support the implementation of full-day kindergarten PASSED
- 2006 Proposition 203 Initiated state statute to create First Things First Arizona Early Childhood Development program and Health Board to be funded by a \$.80/tax on each package of cigarettes sold. To increase the quality of and access to early childhood development and health system by awarding statewide grants to address development and the health needs of children 5 years old or younger ARS8-1181, ARS42-3371 and ARS42-3372 were created. ARS8-1181 developed the Early Childhood Development and Health Fund (ECDH) and defined the fund was not subject to legislative appropriation. ARS42-3371 defined the levy and collection of tax on cigarettes, cigars, and other forms of tobacco. ARS342-3372 defined the

2002-2006

disposition of monies from ARS42-3371 to be levied and collected pursuant to the ECDH ARS8-1181 PASSED

2006 Proposition 300 Initiated state statute to limit eligibility for Arizona social programs (e.g., adult literacy) to US citizens and legal US residents PASSED

APPENDIX N

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 2007-2008

2007-2008**Governor Janet Napolitano (Democrat), 2003-2009**

A political science major with a Juris Doctorate in Law. Napolitano served two terms as governor but left Arizona in 2009 during her second term to serve as President Obama's Secretary for the Department of Homeland Security. She enacted 154 executive orders of which 11 were on education. She formed the P-20 Council, which was created to advise the Arizona Department of Education, State Board of Education, and Legislature on education issues. It was made up of 40 representatives from First Things First, State Board of Education, Arizona Board of Regents, community colleges, ex-officio members of the Arizona Legislature, tribal representatives, business personal and philanthropists.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

P-20 Council of Arizona (Executive Order 2005-19)

Children's Cabinet (Executive Order 2003-4)

Arizona Statewide Youth Development Task Force (Executive Order 2004-14)

Commission on Women's and Children's Health (Executive Order 2008-18)

Secretary of State

Janice K. Brewer (2003-2009)

Attorney General

Terry Goddard (2002-2011)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

Thomas Horne (Republican) - voted in two terms (2003-2011) and would be voted in as Arizona Attorney General in 2011 but lost in the second election

Arizona State Treasurer

David Petersen (2003-2006)

J. Elliott Hibbs (2006)

Dean Martin (2007-2010)

State Mine Inspector

Douglas K. Martin (1989-2006)

Joe Hart (2007-Present)

United States President George W. Bush (Republican) 2001-2009**Federal Policy**

None Relevant

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions and Senate and House Policy Initiatives

None Relevant

APPENDIX O

ARIZONA AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SNAPSHOT, 2009-2014

2009-2014**Governor Janet Napolitano (Democrat), 2003-2009**

A political science major with a Juris Doctorate in Law. Napolitano served two terms governor but left Arizona in 2009 during her second term to serve as President Obama's Secretary for the Department of Homeland Security. She enacted 154 executive orders, of which 11 were on education. She formed the P-20 Council, which was created to advise the Arizona Department of Education, State Board of Education, and Legislature on education issues. It was made up of 40 representatives from First Things First, State Board of Education, Arizona Board of Regents, community colleges, ex-officio members of the Arizona Legislature, tribal representatives, business personal and philanthropists.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders:

P-20 Council of Arizona (Executive Order 2005-19)

Children's Cabinet (Executive Order 2003-4)

Arizona Statewide Youth Development Task Force (Executive Order 2004-14)

Commission on Women's and Children's Health (Executive Order 2008-18)

Governor Jan Brewer (Republican), 2009-2014

A long standing politician in Arizona with a Certificate in Radiology, served the remaining term for Governor Napolitano and would be elected for a second term. She would enact 54 executive orders of which eight were on education. She would re-organize the P-20 Council created under Governor Napolitano and rename it Arizona Ready Education Council.

Education, Family, and Child Committees Executive Orders

P-20 Council was renamed to AZ Ready with new guidelines (Executive Order 2011-08)

Commission on Privatization and Efficiency (Executive Order 2010-10)

Secretary of State

Ken Bennett (2009-2014)

Attorney General

Terry Goddard (2002-2011)

Tom Horne (2011-2014)

Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction

Thomas Horne (Republican) was elected to two terms (2003-2011) and would be voted in as Arizona Attorney General in 2011 but lost in the second election
John Huppenthal (Republican) was elected in one term (2011-2014) and lost in the second election

Arizona State Treasurer

Dean Martin (2007-2010)

2009-2014

Doug Ducey (2011-2014)

State Mine Inspector

Joe Hart (2007-2014)

United States President Barack Obama (Democrat), 2009-Incumbent Federal Policy

- 2010 Race to the Top competition for funding to prepare students for college and the global economy, build data systems that measure student achievement, and recruit the best teachers and principals as defined by student achievement. Only schools that adopted the Common Core program could apply for these funds (45 states including Arizona, signed on, but 4 states have since withdrawn, and another 30 states are reconsidering their initial adoption).
- 2011 Race to the Top Early Childhood Challenge to improve early learning systems and ensure children are ready to succeed in kindergarten, particularly those most in need
- 2013 President Obama proposes a plan for early childhood education in his February 12, 2013, State of the Union address but nothing came of it except the preschool development grants
- 2014 Preschool Development Grants Development Grants and Expansion Grants funded by a joint venture between federal and private sector commitments. Development Grants are designed for states that currently serve less than 10% of 4 year-olds and have not received a Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge grant. Expansion Grants are for states that currently serve 10% of four year olds or have received a Race to the Top Early Learning Challenge grants

Arizona Educational Policy Ballot Propositions and Senate and House Policy Initiatives

- 2009 National Governor's Association convened a committee to determine common core standards
- 2010 Proposition 100 Legislatively referred constitutional amendment to increase sales tax by 1% point for 3 years PASSED
- 2010 Proposition 302 Legislatively referred constitutional amendment voted on by the people of Arizona, since it was originally enacted as a voter initiated proposition, to repeal First Things First and move the funds to the state general fund FAILED by voter initiative
- 2010 HB2001 (budget) Laws 2010, 7th Special Session, Chapter 1, §135, pp. 2610-2611. Suspended funding for the ECBG and full-day kindergarten. While the ECBG statute remained standing, the grant program to fund it was suspended and has remained unfunded through 2014 PASSED

2009-2014

- 2010 Common Core Standards the State Board of Education decides to join with 43 other states to enact the common core standards, a set of standards students are expected to learn in K-12 in the 2014 academic school year
 - 2012 Proposition 204 Legislature referred constitutional amendment to renew the 1-cent tax increase passed in 2010 FAILED
 - 2013 SB1447. Laws 2013, ARS15-797 allowed, but did not require, charter schools to provide preschool programs for children with disabilities PASSED
 - 2014 Executive Order Charter schools are not required to enroll disabled children
 - 2014 Common Core Standards formally begun in K-12
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alexia Christian Shonteff grew up with one sibling in London, England. She earned a bachelor's degree in economics from Arizona State University and continued on for a master's degree in economics. With more than 20 years of professional experience in small family businesses, healthcare, and higher education, she decided to return to school for a doctoral degree. The program changed her life. This dissertation not only serves as the final achievement of Alexia's doctoral studies at Arizona State University but also as the celebration of a new chapter in her life.