

State-Movement Coalitions for Building Labor Market Systems at Scale

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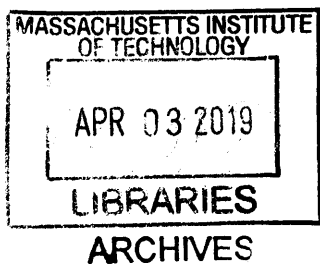
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ABSTRACT

A range of U.S. organizations such as workforce intermediaries, community colleges, and early college high schools have attempted to connect schools and employers to give young people the combination of academic, social, and technical skills, credentials, and work experience needed to launch them into careers in high-growth, high-demand fields. While these organizations have successfully connected the supply side and demand side of the labor market in particular regions, they have had difficulty building statewide labor market systems that support worker training and employment. In this 20-month field study, I examined the successful building of statewide labor market systems in four U.S. states in the context of a specific programmatic idea—the implementation of career pathways spanning from high schools to colleges to employers. I found that *state-movement coalitions* can effectively scale labor market systems statewide by using three kinds of tactics: *organizing tactics* (building statewide governance structures and modifying governance processes over time), *cultural tactics* (providing new frames and building social accountability), and *political process tactics* (creating new policies and piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders over time).

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Rapid rates of technological change and increasing globalization have led to widespread concern around building U.S. worker skills and connecting workers to jobs (e.g. Osterman 2000; Rousseau and Batt 2007; Holzer 2008; Waddoups 2016; Weaver and Osterman 2017). On the demand side of the labor market, while well-paying jobs are disappearing for workers with very few cognitive skills or educational credentials beyond high school, broad occupational categories that are frequently considered middle-skill—such as those involving technicians, construction, installation and repair of mechanical systems, information technology, and some service categories—are growing (Holzer 2011). At the same time, on the supply side of the labor market, traditional mechanisms for individual skill development are not matched to these job categories. Historically, individuals acquired needed skills in two key ways. First, they built these skills as they moved up job ladders at their place of employment. But, as union membership and power declined and as the labor market became more volatile, employers began to invest less in training to avoid losing returns on their investments if workers left for other opportunities (Cappelli 2012; Waddoups 2016; Weaver and Osterman 2017). Second, young people historically developed skills in college. Yet, at least half of American youth now earn only a high school diploma, and career-related education in the U.S. has not been developed to its fullest capacity (Holzer 2011). In addition, there is little communication between U.S. educational institutions and employers about workforce needs and requirements, making transitions between these institutional worlds unnecessarily difficult (Holzer 2011; Osterman 2011; Osterman and Weaver 2016).

Industrial relations scholars have argued that connecting the supply and demand sides of the labor market would help to address issues such as employer uncertainty over the exact mix of skills needed, rapid rates of change in skill requirements, and the complexity and fragmentation of the education and training landscape that make it difficult for workers to navigate their options (Schurman and Soares 2010; Kochan 2013; Weaver and Osterman 2017). Partnerships among government, educators, and employers will be required to accomplish this, and a range of organizations have attempted to create such partnerships in order to provide young people with the combination of academic, social, and technical skills, credentials, and work experience needed to launch them into careers in high-growth, high-demand fields (Giloith 2004; Fitzgerald 2006; Osterman 2007, 2008).

Yet, while such programs are critical, they often have trouble achieving impact at scale (e.g. King and Prince 2015; Conway and Giloith 2014; Lowe, Goldstein, and Donegan 2011; Cappelli 2002). For this reason, some experts have suggested that more coherent workforce systems should be built at the state level (Holzer 2008; Van Horn 2005; Schurman and Soares 2010; Weir 1993). System change at the state level is important because states provide and govern the allocation of a significant percentage of funds for K-12 public education, higher education, and workforce development (Lowry 2007; Bradley 2015). In addition, states have the power to make policies that affect these areas (Osterman 2008; Schurman and Soares 2010). Yet, while some states have developed effective partnerships with non-public actors to promote alternative arrangements like regional- or sector-based training consortia (e.g. Rubin, Seltzer, and Mills 2004; Lowe et al. 2011), these voluntary programs lack cohesion and scale (Cappelli 2002). Because labor markets are fundamentally local, state-level efforts must coordinate across local efforts, and we have little understanding of how this can be successfully accomplished.

In this paper, we study how systems change to improve the function of local labor markets can take place at scale through partnerships among government, educators, and employers. We examine these dynamics in the context of a specific programmatic idea—the

implementation of career pathways—though the lessons we draw have wide applicability to a range of ideas about how governmental and non-governmental actors in U.S. states can partner to build and change labor market systems.

Our context is the efforts of four states—Tennessee, Delaware, California, and Illinois—and their partnership with the non-profit, Pathways to Prosperity, a collaboration started in 2011 between the national education and workforce development organization, Jobs for the Future, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Pathways to Prosperity is part of a U.S.-wide social movement seeking to build career pathways to help education and workforce systems meet regional talent needs, particularly in the occupational fields of manufacturing, healthcare, and information technology. Such career pathways are designed to enable young people to get started on career paths in a high-growth, high-demand occupational field while still in high school; to connect to a postsecondary certificate or degree program in the same field; and to exit with the skills, credentials, and work experience necessary to enter the labor market, while leaving open the option to continue their education later if they wanted to earn a further degree (e.g., King and Prince 2015).

Current Literature on Building Labor Market Systems

Tactics for Connecting the Supply Side and Demand Side of the Labor Market

In contrast to many other countries, particularly those in Europe, in the U.S., there are no strong, institutionalized mechanisms for connecting employers with young people seeking jobs (e.g. Bassi and Ludwig 2000; Eichhorst, Rodriguez-Planas, Schmidl, and Zimmermann 2015). Instead, in each state, a patchwork of different kinds of organizations—including community colleges, labor unions, worker centers, and employer associations—have attempted to forge connections among schools, colleges, and employers (e.g. Fine 2006; Fitzgerald 2006; Osterman 2007; Zirkle 2012; Osterman and Weaver 2016). In addition, intermediaries in the form of regional workforce development boards and One-Stop career centers provide a set of services to job seekers as part of the public workforce system (Benner 2003). Another set of efforts takes place through vocationally-oriented programs at schools and colleges, including career academies, youth apprenticeships, and vocational high schools, which form connections with local employers for recruitment and development purposes (Lerman and Rauner 2012). Whatever their origins, this set of government, educator, and employer actors works to connect both sides of the labor market through a “dual customer” approach by mediating the relationship between individuals seeking viable, local employment opportunities, on the one hand, and specific regional employers, on the other (Fitzgerald 2004; Giloth 2004).

Workforce intermediaries of all types connect both sides of the labor market by engaging in a common set of tactics that we categorize as organizing tactics, cultural tactics, and political process tactics. First, intermediaries use *organizing tactics* by forging connections between regional educational institutions on the supply side and regional employers on the demand side of regional labor markets, and increasing the scale of individual programs as resources become available (Giloth 2004; Lowe et al. 2011). On the supply side, they provide long education and training periods and high levels of support to clients via individualized case management assistance and financial supports and services, like transportation and child care, as well as job placements during and after the period of training (Poppe, Strawn, and Martinson 2004; Lautsch and Osterman 1998). On the demand side, intermediaries appeal to employers with a business proposition, rather than with a public relations or welfare proposition (Osterman and Batt 1993; Osterman 2008). They help to identify specific skills and qualifications that are most attractive to employers in their region (Lowe et al. 2011) and to maintain training programs that stay in step

with constantly changing employer needs (Fitzgerald 2006; Lautsch and Osterman 1998). Some intermediaries take sector-based approaches, building networks in a particular industry to develop deep knowledge of the markets, technology, and labor market circumstances of that industry (Osterman 2007; Roder and Elliott 2011).

Second, intermediaries engage in *cultural tactics* by trying to change widely-accepted role expectations for educational organizations and employers, which suggest that educators are not responsible for the career prospects of students but only for their basic academic and social training, and that employers are not expected to provide general skills training to their workforce or any training to non-employees. One way that regional intermediaries try to overcome these siloed role expectations is by putting forth goals based on local data that are designed to forge a common identity for educational organizations and employers in particular regions (e.g. Glover and Bilginsoy 2005). For example, the Boston Private Industry Council pilots innovative models for connecting educational organizations to employers within particular regions, tracks their performance, and publicizes effective ones to key stakeholders in an effort to scale successful programs across regions (Kazis 2004). Other intermediaries appeal to social norms to connect job seekers with employers, motivating employers to participate because they want to be seen as contributing to their communities, despite uncertain financial returns from their involvement (e.g. Bassi and Ludwig 2000, pg. 230).

Third, intermediaries engage in *political process tactics* by creating situated agreements to specify stakeholder responsibilities among regional actors, organizing state and non-profit funding streams, and advocating for new public policies. Intermediaries help regional educational organizations and employers navigate the fragmented federal funding environment and garner funds to provide services to job seekers and employers. For instance, both the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership (Rubin, Seltzer, and Mills 2004) and the Bio-Work community college training program in North Carolina (Lowe et al. 2011) provide training to incumbent workers which, in turn, helps fund their other activities related to employers' production processes and workforce needs. In addition to organizing funding streams, intermediaries advocate for new public policies. They seek to secure funding for integrated systems that are underfunded through traditional public sources (Osterman and Batt 1993, pg. 464), change rules and revise performance standards (Kazis 2004), and create credits and credentials that transfer across institutions and are valued in the labor market (Schurman and Soares 2010).

Barriers to Implementing Labor Market Systems at Scale

However, while many intermediaries have achieved success in particular regions, scaling these programs statewide is a problem. Outside of health care, most intermediaries' programs are still small and of the pilot variety (Fitzgerald 2006). Programs housed in widespread institutions, like community colleges and public workforce agencies, do not successfully serve even a fraction of their target populations (e.g. Finegold and McCarthy 2010). On the supply side, students who obtain a career-related degree from community colleges enjoy high rates of return, but the fraction of students who successfully obtain these credentials is low (Marcotte, Bailey, Borkoski, and Kienzl 2005). On the demand side, both community colleges and publicly-funded One-Stop career centers are not widely utilized by employers (Giloth 2004; Osterman and Weaver 2016).

Intermediaries face organizational, cultural, and political process barriers to the scaling of their programs. Regarding *organizational barriers*, regional intermediaries often have

incomplete information about the “crazy quilt” of programs, policies, and organizations involved in career pathways efforts outside of their immediate area (Giloith 2000, pg. 347). Programs are often dependent on local knowledge transmitted through face-to-face meetings or phone calls (e.g. Fitzgerald 2004; Lowe et al. 2011). Scaling and centralizing these programs risks the loss of local knowledge and personal relationships, both of which are central to successful career pathways (Benner 2003).

Regarding *cultural barriers* to scaling, stakeholders often have taken-for-granted beliefs about education that preserve traditional practices and prevent new ones. On the educator side, an over-emphasis on subjects valued by universities can marginalize career-focused education (e.g. Lerman 2008; Eichhorst et al. 2015). On the employer side, employers face several barriers to participating in career pathways programs: 1) they often fear that they will be unable to secure the benefits of training investments as higher-skilled workers might move to other firms, 2) they are not confident that they can design adequate training for continually changing skill requirements, and 3) they don't know much about the education and training systems (Ball State University 2003, reported in Osterman 2008). The situation has been exacerbated by the ill-defined purpose of the public workforce development system, which has, at times, sought mainly to alleviate poverty and, at other times, to fill labor market needs through job matching (LaLonde 1995; Giloith 2004).

Finally, regarding *political barriers* to scaling, states often offer incentives and have regulations that conflict with the statewide implementation of career pathways (e.g. Schurman and Soares 2010). In addition, because of inadequate federal and state funding for workforce programs (King and Prince 2015; Van Horn 2005), intermediaries typically fund their programs using public or foundation training resources that can be insufficient for developing effective programs (Osterman 2008). And, jurisdictional boundaries and entrenched interests among regional actors can cause resistance to change (e.g. Osterman and Batt 1993; Giloith 2000; Osterman 2007). For instance, leaders of community colleges have raised concerns that a more centralized approach would undermine their ability to maintain deep relationships with and develop customized training and job placement for local employers (Lowe et al. 2011).

Because of these organizational, cultural, and political barriers, scholars studying labor market systems have suggested that change at the state level is important to create a more understandable, coherent, and effective workforce development system (e.g. Holzer 2008; Fitzgerald 2004; Cappelli 2002). Yet, we have little knowledge of what state-level changes are necessary, nor how such statewide change can be accomplished.

State-Movement Coalitions for Implementing Career Pathways at Scale

Tapia and colleagues (2018) have called for more integration of social movement theory and industrial relations theory, and, in this paper, we draw on insights from social movement theory to help explain how governmental and non-governmental actors can partner to build labor market systems at scale. Theorists of social movements and organizations have emphasized that influencing complex systems is difficult because it requires diverse actors to act collectively (e.g., Tapia 2013). To do this, these actors must ready themselves to expend efforts on behalf of the collective, they must begin to see traditional practices as problematic and illegitimate, and they must develop a belief that collective action efforts can be successful (see Briscoe, King, and Leitzinger 2018 for a recent review).

Social movement organizations can forge alliances with actors inside the state to help with the organizing, cultural, and political process tactics necessary for systems change. A *state-*

movement coalition comes into existence when state actors agree to apply their organizational resources and influence in ways that further the general aims of a social movement, granting the social movement both legitimacy and indirect access to the state's decision-making structures (e.g., Santoro and McGuire 1997; Stearns and Almeida 2004). State-movement coalitions can pursue the passage of particular policies (Olzak, Soule, Coddou, and Muñoz 2016), shape the issues that receive government attention (Pettinicchio 2017), affect how government work is implemented and evaluated (Banaszak and Whitesell 2017), and engage in a recursive process of provisional goal-setting and revision based on learning from the comparison of alternative approaches (Sabel and Zeitlin 2010).

In this paper, we demonstrate how the national nonprofit organization Pathways to Prosperity (PtoP), which was part of the larger U.S. career pathways movement, formed continuous coalitions with state actors in TN, DE, and CA to scale statewide career pathways, and attempted to do so in IL. State-PtoP coalitions in TN, DE, and CA used a particular set of tactics to mobilize actors from high schools, community colleges, and employers to successfully create statewide career pathways. In the absence of a continuous state-PtoP coalition, Illinois engaged in a more limited set of tactics, and was less successful with statewide scaling of career pathways.

Methods

Research Setting

We studied attempts at state-PtoP coalition implementation of career pathways in TN, DE, CA, and IL. These four states sought to scale statewide career pathways by 1) creating sequences of courses spanning secondary to postsecondary education; 2) encouraging early college and career advising; 3) garnering regional intermediary organization support; 4) building employer engagement; and 5) winning supportive state policy. Though youth career pathways, as envisioned by state-PtoP coalitions, built on previous models like early college high schools, high school career academies, and federal School-to-Work programs (e.g. Bassi and Ludwig 2000), few other efforts at the time sought statewide integration of all three components of secondary education, postsecondary education, and industry.

Data Collection

Phase 1

During Phase 1 of our study (8 months; May 2016-December 2017), the first author spent an average of two days each week at PtoP's office conducting ethnographic observations centered on understanding PtoP's facilitation of the implementation of career pathways in TN. We focused first on TN because the partnership with PtoP was well-established. The first author was given access to all archived and current documents used by PtoP staff members through their cloud-based software system. In addition, the first author was given access to the entry code at PtoP headquarters, which included permission to come and go at any time and to contact anyone at the organization.

During Phase 1, we conducted interviews with and observations of PtoP actors and TN actors at the state and regional levels who were involved in the implementation of career pathways. This included actors from the TN state government (bureaucratic officials in the state Departments of Education, Labor, Economic Development, and postsecondary governing agencies), from TN employers or employer-representatives (such as leaders of industry associations), from TN educational organizations (such as high school and community college administrators), and from TN regional intermediaries who connected educators and employers

across a small region within the state (such as chambers of commerce or workforce development boards). In our observations and interviews, we noted that the TN state actors were more involved in implementing career pathways among schools, colleges, and employers than we would have expected based on the existing literature on building labor market systems.

For this reason, we began a new phase of data collection to focus on how state actors worked together with PtoP actors to implement career pathways statewide.

Phase 2

In Phase 2 (12 months; January-December 2017), to determine which additional states to include in our sample, we used a “logic of replication” (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). Because we were interested in understanding how state actors and PtoP actors worked together to scale career pathways statewide, we selected additional states for interviews and observations according to whether or not PtoP and the state were seeking to scale pathways statewide. This sampling strategy led us to add three additional states—CA, DE, and IL—to our study.

We analyzed PtoP’s archival documents from these four states, including notes written by PtoP staff members from meetings they had conducted with state actors. These documents described, for each state, the key events, state and regional actors, programs, and stated priorities for career pathways implementation in their state. We cross-checked the chronological accounts of the work conducted in each state that were reported in these documents with reports by PtoP staff in our interviews. In CA, DE, and IL, we interviewed actors from the same kinds of organizations as we had in TN—state government, educational organizations, employers, and regional intermediaries. Where possible, we attended state-PtoP events in each of the four states, such as committee meetings, tours, and conferences. Finally, we observed (by phone) state-PtoP meetings for each of the four states. Across Phases 1 and 2, we conducted interviews with and observations of PtoP actors as they went about their daily work.

Data Analysis

Throughout the two phases of data collection, we wrote bi-weekly memos using inductive, qualitative techniques based on multiple readings of fieldnotes, interview transcripts, and other documents, as well as iterations between data and theory (Glasser and Strauss 1967). During Phase 1, which was focused on the PtoP efforts in TN, we developed an understanding of the PtoP framework and actors involved. We also developed an understanding of general and region-specific barriers to statewide scaling. As we became more attuned to the importance of the coalition that PtoP and TN state actors had formed, we identified a preliminary set of tactics that the coalition engaged in during pathways implementation.

During Phase 2, we analyzed both PtoP’s archival documents and our own interview and observation data across the set of four states. We first developed narratives of the state-PtoP tactics in each state to develop a descriptive understanding of within-case practices (Miles and Huberman 1994). Next, we analyzed cross-case patterns and identified tactics that state-PtoP coalitions in the four states used to overcome barriers to statewide scaling. When our formal data collection in Phase 2 had finished, we checked our emerging conclusions with informants from PtoP in informal meetings to ensure that these interpretations represented their experiences (Yin 2017). These checks did not affect the actions of informants during the study. See **Table 1** for a description of our data collection and analysis and **Table 2** for data collection broken down by state.

[[Table 1 near here]]
[[Table 2 near here]]

Highly Successful Scaling of Career Pathways in TN, DE, and CA, and Less Successful Scaling in IL

The state-PtoP coalition tactics facilitated highly successful scaling of career pathways in TN, DE, and CA, and less successful scaling in IL, as measured by the percentage point change over five years in 1) access: the percent of public secondary school students who attended schools in districts where career pathways were available, and 2) enrollment: the percent of public secondary school students who enrolled in at least one course in a pathway (**Table 3**). Though career pathways programs in the four states were defined slightly differently, they all shared four core components: 1) a high school career-based program of study with at least three sequential courses, that was 2) aligned to a regional college program (e.g., a community college program), 3) included intensive work-based learning experiences (e.g., student internships or co-ops), and 4) was implemented by regional consortia rather than by individual schools or districts. The access indicator demonstrates that the change in the percent of public secondary school students who attended schools in districts where career pathways were available was 97% in TN, 93% in DE, and 60% in CA, and 36% in IL. The enrollment indicator demonstrates that the change in the percent of public secondary school students who enrolled in at least one course in a pathway by year 5 was 19% in TN, 20% in DE, and 11% in CA. Enrollment data was unavailable for IL.

Because three states—TN, DE, and CA—were more successful in scaling pathways statewide during this time period, we describe the state-PtoP coalition tactics in these three states before turning to IL as a counterfactual case.

[[Table 3 near here]]

Regional Intermediary Versus State-PtoP Coalition-Based Organizing Tactics

Before the state-PtoP coalitions, regional intermediaries in the four states had engaged in regional organizing but had faced barriers to statewide scaling because of incomplete information and limited understanding of statewide needs. The state-PtoP coalitions in TN, DE, and CA helped with statewide scaling by *building statewide organizing structures* and *rapidly iterating and modifying governance processes* based on lessons learned from regional efforts.

Regional Organizing Tactics Before State-PtoP Coalitions

Regional Tactic Before State-PtoP Coalitions: Increasing the Scale of Individual Programs

Historically, regional actors had worked independently of state actors and independently of actors from other regions to *increase the scale of individual programs* as resources became available. For example, a PtoP actor told us that, before the state-PtoP coalition in CA, a CA regional intermediary had worked to implement a high school reform initiative called “Linked Learning.” In the Linked Learning model, “students [were] engaging in rigorous academics with career-infused learning [in the classroom], students [had] connections to real-world learning, . . . and students [had] postsecondary plans . . . CA [regional intermediaries] worked with high schools to improve their programs by increasing the number of employers that offered real-world

learning experiences . . . [However], Linked Learning was different from career pathways because it was focused exclusively on high schools [rather than also on colleges].”

In DE, regional intermediaries similarly focused on increasing the scale of individual programs as resources became available. For example, a DE education actor told us that a regional intermediary had worked to align community college programs to regional employers’ skill requirements. The regional intermediary also sought new resources to develop a more robust work-based learning program that included student internships. However, the education actor said: “[The colleges] had the beginnings of work connecting [the college classes] to the demand around what businesses wanted...but [weren’t trying to more broadly scale] that deeper work-based learning.”

Historical Barriers to Statewide Scaling: Incomplete Information and Regional Knowledge

Historically, it had been difficult for regional intermediaries to scale career pathways, in part, because this required spanning organizations across the state, but no regional intermediary had complete information about relevant statewide information and agencies. A TN state actor explained to us that, “Even when [regional intermediary] organizations attempted to use labor market information to prioritize programs, they might be looking at different labor info than the [TN] Department of Labor was putting out or than the economic development agency was putting out.” Actors at TN high schools were largely unaware of the specific credit requirements or program offerings at TN community college programs. Colleges tended to be better connected to employers, but this varied widely. A TN state actor said, “Every community college has advisory boards [designed to give them a view of the larger landscape of actors], but [it is unclear] what they are actually doing, and how much value is in them.” A PtoP actor explained to us that TN employers were unaware of how schools and colleges operated in terms of their incentive structures, their schedules, and the types of skills they taught to students.

In addition, regional intermediaries relied on knowledge that was based on the histories, cultures, and relationships of their own particular regions. A PtoP actor told us, “The [federal] Department of Labor has beautiful competency pyramids and standards [for industry skills]. But that doesn’t have a lot of meaning for a particular group in a region until they shape it themselves.” For example, in DE, a community college actor told us that, prior to the state-PtoP coalition, a regional intermediary had worked with a group of public and private actors to design and scale an intensive manufacturing program that included “600 hours of training” for community college students. But, the group ran into difficulties during curriculum design because employers in different areas of the state had different needs.

Statewide Organizing Tactics with the Help of State-PtoP Coalitions

State-PtoP Coalition Tactic: Building Statewide Organizing Structures

With the introduction of state-PtoP coalitions, PtoP and state actors helped to solve the problem of incomplete information by *building statewide organizing structures*. These organizing structures provided formal means of interaction among potential allies in system change efforts across the state, both inside state agencies and out in the regions. At the state level, PtoP actors worked with their initial allies within each state government to help them identify allies inside other state agencies. For example, PtoP’s initial allies in DE included the Department of Education and the governor’s office. Through these allies, PtoP developed additional connections in other state agencies, like the Departments of Labor and of Economic Development, members of which later attended PtoP events and worked closely with PtoP

actors. PtoP also helped state actors by providing them with “asset mapping” services to identify existing regional resources such as potential leaders, member organizations, and the worker skills needed by particular regional employers. Finally, PtoP identified both existing and potential new regional workforce intermediaries who could help to both convene regional governing bodies of the different stakeholders within their particular regions and serve as liaisons to state actors. PtoP worked with state actors to enlist new regional intermediaries to forge connections with each type of actor in their region—high schools, colleges, and employers—and to choose specific industries for career pathways development based on local labor market information.

In turn, state actors formed cross-agency, cross-sector steering committees at the state level, and used the information that PtoP actors gave them to set the strategic direction for and guide the day-to-day implementation of statewide career pathways. In DE, for example, a state actor told us that he and his colleagues in other state agencies had created a dual state-level governance structure with a high-level steering committee composed of state agency secretaries and non-profit and business leaders, as well as a working group composed of mid-level state actors from the various state agencies which managed the implementation of career pathways-related policies in the state.

State-PtoP Coalition Tactic: Rapidly Iterating and Modifying Governance Processes

PtoP and state actors addressed the problem of regions’ limited understanding of statewide needs by *rapidly iterating and modifying governance processes* based on lessons learned from regions. PtoP actors circulated tactics for state actors via a website that provided sample asset mapping reports and toolkits for implementing career pathways. In turn, state actors modified their governance processes as they rolled out career pathways. This allowed them to quickly test a preliminary framework, identify and solve problems with this framework, and then build the next iteration of it.

In CA, for example, state actors and PtoP actors used lessons learned from rollout experiences across the state to modify statewide governance processes for future implementation efforts. Actors from one early adopter region in CA were particularly successful in implementing career pathways. CA state actors from the Department of Education coordinated a visit to this region for other CA state actors. A PtoP actor explained to us that this visit was seen by some as a “pivotal turning point” that inspired CA state actors to develop a statewide “Career Pathways Trust” that specified innovative requirements for implementation. One of these requirements was that any new or existing regional entity—from a school district to a community college office—could manage the career pathways program in a particular region. CA state actors also learned from early efforts about the importance of developing a sequence of work-based learning courses in addition to a sequence of academic courses. A CA state actor explained to us, “[We learned that] we don’t want the work-based learning to just be an indicator where school districts collect the number of experiences that students have [and report them]. We want to put an element of quality to it, and we want a sequence. The same way that a student has to take a sequence of CTE courses, we want them to take a sequence of varied work-based learning experiences.” The state actor went on to explain how she and her colleagues had used that lesson learned to develop a new model for rollout in other regions: “So right now, [the Department of Education working group is] categorizing all of the work-based learning [experiences from the regions and] putting quality indicators and student outcomes to them [for use in further rollouts].”

Regional Intermediary Versus State-PtoP Coalition-Based Cultural Tactics

Before the state-PtoP coalitions, regional intermediaries had attempted to introduce new roles for regional stakeholders but had faced barriers to statewide scaling because of traditional beliefs about educational organizations' roles versus employers' roles. The state-PtoP coalitions helped with statewide scaling by *providing new frames* and *building social accountability* across different kinds of actors.

Regional Cultural Tactics Before State-PtoP Coalitions

Regional Tactic Before State-PtoP Coalition: Putting Forth Regional Goals

Historically, regional actors had tried to overcome siloed role expectations by putting forth regional goals designed to forge a common identity for regional educational organizations and employers. They conducted research to analyze regional labor markets, and to link educational and employer practices to regional labor market outcomes. For instance, prior to the state-PtoP coalition in TN, a regional intermediary had developed two programs designed to decrease regional student drop-out rates and to "catch [regional students] early to begin that process of [career] exploration and awareness." These included a program for industry guest speakers in regional middle schools as well as an effort to increase communication between regional schools and employers.

Barrier to Statewide Scaling: Taken-For-Granted Beliefs and Traditional Roles

Career pathways had been difficult to implement at scale because the idea of pathways ran counter to many state and local actors' taken-for-granted beliefs about the best way to educate students. For instance, a DE educator told us that many DE educators had held a taken-for-granted belief that the purpose of public high school education was to prepare all students to attend a four-year university after graduating high school. He noted that this belief had partially come from a reaction to the historic practice of "tracking" less-academically able students into vocational programs, which "disproportionately affected students of color, students of lower socioeconomic status, and special needs students, and it stigmatized vocational education—which many characterized as just shop [class]."

In addition, each type of organization involved in career pathways—high schools, colleges, and employers—had historically held traditional roles, each of which included its own set of individual responsibilities and spheres of influence. High schools' role had been to provide students with a well-rounded general education, but high schools had no responsibility for preparing students for specific career pathways that might follow after graduation. One PtoP actor told us that, implementing career pathways within high schools required rethinking "what the CTE [career technical education] side of K-12 does that could be useful to, beneficial to, what the academic side does, and vice versa." Community colleges had historically fulfilled two main roles—to educate students in terminal or transfer degree programs and to provide short-term workforce training for local industry needs. Employers had historically been responsible for doing business legally, remaining competitive, and earning a return for the owners of the firm, though some managers believed that treating their employees well and contributing to their community also constituted important aspects of the employer role. No organization had historically been responsible for helping students or families navigate the system as a whole.

Statewide Cultural Tactics with the Help of State-PtoP Coalitions

State-PtoP Coalition Tactic: Providing Frames

PtoP and state actors challenged these taken-for-granted beliefs by *providing new frames* that were culturally resonant, action-oriented, and designed to inspire collective action by diagnosing the problems with the current system, specifying who or what was responsible for the problems, and proposing collective action solutions. PtoP actors provided state and regional actors with two key frames to challenge dominant understandings and communicate the importance of career pathways. The first frame, targeted towards employers, was that there were mismatches in middle-skill industries between the skills that U.S. graduates have and the skills that employers need. The second frame, targeted towards educators, was that there were broken pathways from education to employment for teens and young adults without four-year college degrees.

State actors in TN, DE, and CA used these frames to communicate to educators and employers the importance of career pathways in economic and workforce development terms, including the importance of high school and community college actors using labor market data to plan their curricula. For example, a CA state actor described how CA state actors now required regions to create plans that articulated explicit ties between education and employment: “[Regions] had to define for us originally what the [pathways] courses were going to be [and] what kind of jobs the students would be qualifying for at the various levels of exit and entry.” Another CA state actor noted that the CA Department of Education now included an emphasis on career-readiness in its school accountability indicators: “The idea is that . . . we have a college *and* career indicator. [Before, we weren’t] using the ‘and’ because the indicator wasn’t built out enough. [It was] still really college *or* career.”

State-PtoP Coalition Tactic: Building Social Accountability

PtoP and state actors also combatted educators’ and employers’ beliefs about the limits of their own responsibilities by *building social accountability*. Because the states did not have formal authority over all of the actors involved in implementing career pathways and, therefore, could not use unilateral mandates, PtoP actors and state actors attempted to instill new identities in regional stakeholders to encourage them to see career pathways as possible, desirable, and appropriate. PtoP actors developed rubrics and templates to help states collect regional implementation data and outline each actor’s role in the collective venture. State actors used these data collection tools and repeated conversations with regional actors to promote feelings of mutual accountability and commitment to ongoing implementation efforts and to stimulate discussion of both the structure and the content of new tactics that stakeholders could use to change traditional stakeholder roles and responsibilities.

For example, in TN, we observed state actors hold “focus group” meetings in several regions, during which they asked regional actors to complete a “site observation tool.” This tool asked the stakeholders to rate their region’s progress on different elements of the career pathways framework, such as “use of data” and “outreach to employers.” During a small group discussion in this region, group members raised employer engagement as a challenge; the region needed additional employers to host high school students in summer internships as the internship program scaled up. This region focused its next several regional steering committees on what an actor from the regional intermediary described as “developing a more strategic approach to get more employers engaged” and to expand employers’ self-concepts about their involvement in high school education.

Regional Intermediary Versus State-PtoP Coalition-Based Political Process Tactics

Before the state-PtoP coalitions, regional intermediaries had engaged in regional political process tactics but had faced barriers to statewide scaling because of conflicting incentives and unhelpful regulations, as well as jurisdictional boundaries and entrenched interests. The state-PtoP coalitions helped with statewide scaling by *creating new policies* and by *piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders*.

Regional Political Process Tactics before State-PtoP Coalitions

Regional Tactic Before State-PtoP Coalitions: Creating Situated Agreements

Historically, regional actors had negotiated highly contextual agreements specifying stakeholder responsibilities. For example, an employer in TN told us about a Manufacturing Leadership Council that had been created in his region prior to the state-PtoP coalition. This council achieved a few “major victories” by developing a manufacturing pathway across the region’s colleges and universities, including a new “mechatronics Associate’s degree” at the community college that became a feeder program for the “mechatronics engineering degree” at the regional university. According to the employer, an automotive manufacturer, these programs were aligned because they allowed students to earn consecutive levels of a Siemens industry certification that was valued by multiple manufacturing employers. Similarly, in CA, a regional intermediary actor told us that his organization had helped to create an agreement between the regional high schools and the regional community college that stipulated that the regional community college would provide scholarships to students who graduated from the regional high schools and would offer preferential admission to them.

Barriers to Scaling: Unhelpful Regulations and Entrenched Interests of Regional Stakeholders

Yet, historically, career pathways had been difficult to implement at scale because of unhelpful regulations from state agencies and because of the entrenched interests of regional actors. A PtoP actor told us that cluttered policy landscapes resulting from different state implementation efforts over the years created complicated regulatory hurdles for the new types of cross-organizational partnerships that career pathways required. Some regulations also disincentivized career-focused education at both the high school and college levels. High schools had historically been governed by state accountability measures that prioritized academic proficiency—as measured by standardized test scores, Advanced Placement course enrollment, and ACT or SAT results—rather than prioritizing career readiness. For example, in TN, a regional intermediary actor told us that high school superintendents had to focus on particular academic programs, like “early literacy,” which often led career pathways to “be on the back burner.” In addition, many employers had been involved with multiple failed or short-lasting initiatives, so were hesitant to forge new partnerships. A PtoP actor told us, “We hear employers say that they are tired of “[sitting] in 43 meetings while you [educators] are talking about [curriculum] scope and sequence.”

In addition, career pathways faced barriers to scaling because doing so required reworking formal and informal jurisdictional boundaries. For example, to implement career pathways, high school actors often needed to re-align courses taught by popular teachers or community members with new labor market demands or, in some cases, retire these courses altogether. Community colleges were at risk of losing potential enrollees if high school students earned college credits or industry certifications while in high school. High schools and colleges also had existing relationships with regional employers that they felt they “owned,” and scaling

pathways required that they share these relationships with other educators. A DE state actor told us that, in order for implementation to succeed, each organization would need to “create partnerships where they don’t feel like they lost. It’s not just a win for [us at the state-level]. We need to make it a win for them [at the regional level]. Getting people not to hold on so tight to [their traditional jurisdictions] is an important component of this.”

Statewide Political Process Tactics with the Help of State-PtoP Coalitions

State-PtoP Coalition Practice: Creating New Policies

PtoP and state actors helped to address these barriers by *creating new policies*. PtoP actors assisted state actors in the policymaking process by serving as a source of analytical support for policymaking and engaging in brokerage activities across state agencies during policy implementation. State actors, in turn, passed and codified new policies in order to provide an increasingly stable, predictable, and consistent system of political incentives for regional stakeholders to form partnerships with one another.

For example, in CA, PtoP actors helped to enact a state statute establishing the CA Career Pathways Trust (CCPT), which created grants for regions to implement or expand career pathways, as well as funding several years of state support of these regions. A PtoP actor told us that “the CCPT is very much aligned with [PtoP’s] framework,” and that PtoP actors had worked with CA state actors to design the terms of the statute. He said that PtoP also “worked with them to support implementation” by playing a brokerage role across CA state agencies and running three state institutes to develop an implementation plan. During regional implementation, PtoP actors directly supported several regions in aligning their existing programs to the new statute. They also dedicated PtoP staff time to conducting a two-year evaluation report of the CCPT.

In turn, CA state actors worked to align definitions and data systems across agencies—particularly the Department of Education and the community college office—to support the implementation of career pathways at the regional level. For instance, a CA state actor told us; “[The Department of Education has] much stricter requirements around our reporting. We have FERPA, we don’t use Social Security numbers [like the community college office does] . . . We had one whole [committee] meeting focused on data and data sharing.” Another CA state actor told us about changes that took place in the way that early college credit was awarded to high school students: “In the past, community colleges wouldn’t give [high school] students [any] credit until they achieved 12 units at that community college . . . However, the community colleges . . . have tried their best to eliminate that, and just have the student get credit . . . on a transcript [so they] can take it with them [if they end up attending a different college].”

State-PtoP Coalition Practice: Piloting and Broadening the Set of Stakeholders

PtoP and state actors also worked to manage and modify existing jurisdictional boundaries and entrenched interests by *piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders over time* in response to the problems and possibilities revealed by the change process. They did this by implementing pathways incrementally, building off of areas of strength before trying to implement processes across the entire state. This allowed regional stakeholders with diverse interests to move forward using provisional settlements rather than binding themselves to particular courses of action. PtoP helped state actors make sense of issues that came up during piloting by sitting in on committee meetings and holding bi-weekly calls with their key state actor partners. Because PtoP worked across multiple states and with multiple types of

stakeholders, they were able to share information across states that helped state actors take different perspectives and keep the big picture in mind while piloting.

In DE, for example, since a manufacturing program had already been in development through the state's manufacturers association, PtoP and state actors implemented the first new pathway in advanced manufacturing. State actors in the DE Department of Education approved the curricula for this pathway and helped interested high schools implement it before broadening the set of stakeholders by introducing new pathways in IT and healthcare. Through this piloting process, PtoP actors and DE state actors learned about the divergent interests of vocational high schools (which offered only CTE programs) and comprehensive high schools (which offered mostly traditional academic subjects with some CTE courses). DE state actors wanted to build up manufacturing CTE programs in comprehensive high schools in order to make them available to the majority of public school students. A state actor told us that a vocational high school superintendent came to an early steering committee meeting and publicly said, "The elephant in the room is that we [vocational schools] have been doing this for years." According to the state actor, this high school superintendent explained that she felt career pathways would both duplicate the vocational schools' work and insinuate that they had historically failed to produce good outcomes.

A DE state actor told us that they addressed concerns like these by calling early implementation efforts provisional, first enlisting key allies who supported potentially contentious changes and involving a broader range of stakeholders over time. They convened a group they called the "CTE guiding coalition," with early supporters including high school superintendents, community college administrators, and employers. This group was tasked with vetting potential policy and programmatic changes that would allow the state Department of Education to take "calculated risks." The coalition also communicated the changes to their own constituents while they were being developed at the state level, so that "[by the time the Department] came out with a new [policy or program], . . . everybody kind of knew. It wasn't new news." This process helped to win over early resisters like the vocational high school superintendent who had initially been concerned about losing CTE courses. According to DE state actors, in a later steering committee meeting, she said, "I'm glad you're doing this, because we can't serve everyone we need to."

No Continuous State-PtoP Coalition in IL and Less Successful Scaling

In IL, before the state-PtoP coalition began, regional intermediaries had engaged in similar tactics as had the other three states and had faced similar barriers to scaling. As in the other three states, PtoP and IL state actors formed a state-movement coalition to scale career pathways. However, IL had turnover in the key state actors who were the initial allies in the state-PtoP coalition. A PtoP actor told us, "The initial agency contact in IL was in the Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity (DCEO). He then left for [a new job] . . . The next guy in IL who was leading [pathways] . . . worked out of the governor's office, [but then IL elected a new governor]."

Before the IL state actors turned over, the IL PtoP-state coalition engaged in three of the six tactics that the other three states engaged in: 1) the coalition *built a governance structure* by creating a steering committee for career pathways that developed a strategic plan for implementation, 2) the coalition *provided frames* "to build some consistency across workforce and education . . . to spin everything together and help build out a statewide career pathway system," and 3) the coalition *created new policies* by introducing a regulation, the Postsecondary and Workforce Readiness (PWR) Act to meet career pathways goals. The PWR Act called for

providing stamps on the high school diplomas of students who demonstrated mastery of technical and social competencies for a particular industry, such as healthcare or manufacturing. However, in the absence of a continuous state-PtoP coalition, IL did not engage in the organizing tactic of *rapidly iterating and modifying governance processes*, the cultural tactic of *building social accountability across regions*, or the political process tactic of *piloting and widening the set of stakeholders* (Table 4).

[[Table 4 near here]]

After the departure of the state actor allies in IL, PtoP worked with an IL non-profit actor that had long been a consultant to the IL state government. The non-profit actor helped PtoP continue to solicit government funds for membership in the PtoP Network, assist state agencies in passing and implementing the PWR Act, and present to the state steering committee during PtoP institutes and other meetings. However, by year 5 of the efforts, the change in the percent of public secondary school students who attended schools in districts where career pathways were available was only 36% in IL compared to 97% in TN, 93% in DE, and 60% in CA. The IL case demonstrates that the absence of a continuous state-PtoP coalition can limit the use of tactics required for highly successful scaling of career pathways.

[[Figure 1 near here]]

Discussion

As shown in **Figure 1**, before the state-PtoP coalitions, regional intermediaries in TN, DE, CA, and IL had attempted to scale career pathways by creating relationships among high schools, colleges, and employers but had faced barriers to statewide scaling in the form of incomplete information and limited understanding of statewide needs, traditional stakeholder beliefs about siloed responsibilities, and unhelpful regulations and entrenched jurisdictional boundaries. Continuous state-movement coalitions in TN, DE, and CA successfully scaled career pathways statewide using three kinds of tactics: organizing tactics (building statewide governance structures and modifying governance processes over time), cultural tactics (providing new frames and building social accountability), and political process tactics (creating new policies and piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders). In IL, in contrast, an initial state-movement coalition used the first tactic in each category, but then key allies within the state departed. In the absence of a continuous state-PtoP coalition, IL did not use the full range of tactics, and was less successful in scaling career pathways.

This paper makes several contributions to our understanding of when and how governmental and non-governmental actors can partner to build labor market systems at scale. First, regarding *when* actors can build labor market systems at scale, the current literature suggests that actors such as community colleges, labor unions, and employer associations can build regional labor market systems (e.g. Benner 2003; Giloth 2004; Lowe et al. 2011; Lerman and Rauner 2012; Osterman and Weaver 2016). We do not disagree. However, we show that *state-movement coalitions* are also an important lever for statewide systems change. In the absence of a continuous state-movement coalition, as the IL case shows, statewide systems change is less likely to be successful.

Second, regarding *how* actors can build labor market systems at scale, the current literature suggests that regional intermediaries can accomplish regional mobilization by using a

particular set of organizing, cultural tactics, and political process tactics. They can organize regional networks of educators and employers by forging connections between disparate groups on the supply side and demand side of regional labor markets, and increasing the scale of individual programs as resources became available (e.g. Lowe et al. 2011). They can address siloed role expectations by putting forth goals based on local data that are designed to forge a common identity for educational organizations and employers in particular regions (e.g. Kazis 2004). And they can engage in political process tactics by creating situated agreements to specify stakeholder responsibilities among regional actors, organizing state and non-profit funding streams, and advocating for new public policies (Osterman and Batt 1993; Kazis 2004; Schurman and Soares 2010). Yet, these tactics do not facilitate statewide scaling because they face the organizational barriers of incomplete information and dependence on local knowledge, the cultural barriers of taken-for-granted beliefs and norms that preserve traditional practices and prevent new ones, and the political barriers of incentives and regulations that support regional rather than statewide systems (e.g. Giloth 2000; Fitzgerald 2004; Lowe et al. 2011).

We highlight a set of organizing tactics, cultural tactics, and political process tactics that can overcome these barriers in order to scale labor market systems statewide. Regarding organizing tactics, we demonstrate that state-movement coalitions can overcome the barrier of incomplete information by *building statewide governance structures* and can overcome the barrier of local knowledge by *rapidly iterating and modifying governance processes* in response to lessons learned in early rollouts. Regarding cultural tactics, we show that state-movement coalitions can overcome the barrier of taken-for-granted beliefs about education by *providing frames* that inspire collective action and can overcome the barrier of widely-accepted role expectations by *building social accountability* across regional intermediaries, educators, and employers. Finally, regarding political process tactics, we show that state-movement coalitions can overcome the barrier of incentives and regulations that conflict with the implementation of career pathways by *creating new policies* that give regional actors leverage to make new claims and can overcome the barrier of jurisdictional boundaries and entrenched interests by *piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders* over time.

Future Research and Policy Implications

These findings raise several important questions for future research. First, while TN, DE, and CA were highly successful in implementing career pathways at scale, CA implemented them less broadly than did TN and DE. Future research could explore the ways in which states' cultures of local versus central control of education governance affect the scaling of statewide labor markets. Second, we were not able to provide rigorous quantitative evaluation of the impact of the four states' career pathways initiatives, because the states in our study did not themselves do this. Future research could explore better ways to design labor market systems at scale that can be flexible and context-dependent while also facilitating such rigorous evaluation.

Our findings also have important policy implications. While other studies have examined state-funded education and training programs (e.g. King and Prince 2015; Holzer 2008; LaLonde 2005), our study focuses on how state actors can go beyond their policymaking and funding capacities to build strong connections with intermediaries in pursuit of statewide labor market systems change (cf. Osterman and Batt 1993). We observed state actors working effectively across agency lines and across the state-region boundary to accomplish this. This suggests that state governmental staff capacity may need to be increased for the purposes of supporting and connecting local labor market system change efforts.

In sum, our study highlights the importance of state-movement coalitions for building labor market systems at scale and identifies a toolkit of mobilization tactics that these coalitions can use to successfully accomplish this. Given the current gridlock in policymaking at the federal level and the increasing regime complexity at the state level because of the divergent interests and beliefs among public and private actors, *state-movement coalitions* represent one important way forward for the education and employment systems in our country.

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Table 1. Data Collection and Analysis

Phase	Duration	Design	Data Sources	Analysis
Phase 1	8 months, May – December 2016	Ethnographic analysis of PtoP-TN partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnographic observations and interviews at PtoP office Independent 3-5 day trips and observations of PtoP 3-5 day trips to several TN regions and state offices Review of archival documents Observations at PtoP institutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Throughout phase: Bi-weekly memos, attending to tactics and themes, iterating with theory Comparison of TN regional indicators, examination of facilitators and barriers to implementation Delineation of state-PtoP coalition tactics in TN
Phase 2	12 months, January – December 2017	Cross-state case study of career pathways implementation in 8 states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of archival documents for 4 states Observations and interviews at PtoP office Observations at PtoP institutes Focused interviews with stakeholders in 4 states 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Throughout phase: Bi-weekly memos, attending to state actor tactics, iterating with theory Within-case narrative development, including event timeline based on archival data Cross-case analysis through disassembling and reassembling of data into state-PtoP coalition tactics

Table 2. Detailed Data Collection by State

Source	Phase 1		Phase 2					Total
	PtoP	TN	PtoP	CA	DE	IL	TN	
Internal Documents	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Public Documents	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Interviews	12	10	13	4	12	9	25	85
• State Actor		2		2	4	4		12
• Educator				1	2	2	3	7
• Employer		4			2	1	18	25
• Regional Intermediary		1		1	1		4	6
• Other	12	3	13	2	3	2		35
State-based Observations¹		40		3	12	4	19	78
PtoP-based Observations¹	45	31	19	2	12	3	3	115
• PtoP meetings with state/ regional actors	9	25		1	4	2	1	42
• PtoP internal meetings	22		15					37
• PtoP national institutes with state/regional actors	14	6	4	1	8	1	2	36

¹ Each observation count indicates one observation session lasting approximately 2 hours.

Table 3. Percent of Students with Access to and Enrollment in Career Pathways²

	CA	DE ³	TN ³	IL ³
Components of Career Pathways				
Industry-specific CTE courses during grades 9-12	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sequenced work-based learning experiences aligned to industry	✓	✓	✓	✓
Secondary programs aligned to regional postsecondary opportunities (degree and certificate programs)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Regional implementation structure	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year 1	2012-13	2014-15⁴	2012-13	2012-13
Total secondary students	1,964,759	39,268	258,324	619,733
Access to pathways	285,749 (14%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Enrollment in pathways	10,598 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Year 5	2015-16	2018-19⁴	2015-16	2015-16
Total secondary students	1,937,606	41,344	266,009	606,455
Access to pathways	1,444,323 (74%)	38,609 (93%)	240,188 (97%)	217,377 (36%)
Enrollment in pathways	236,911 (12%)	8,328 (20%)	50,935 (19%)	unavailable
Percentage Point Change in Access	60%	93%	97%	36%
Percentage Point Change in Enrollment	11%	20%	19%	unavailable

² State agencies in the four states had different data collection protocols, so we contacted state Departments of Education and other advocacy and nonprofit organizations that collected this type of information, and cross-referenced the data we collected from each type of organization. We included data for only those programs that met the four criteria corresponding to the components listed in the table.

³ DE, IL, and TN designed career pathways by building on career technical education (CTE) programs that had existed in the state prior to the state-PtoP coalitions. However, these states significantly overhauled the existing CTE programs by developing explicit connections to postsecondary degree programs and industry credentials, as well as engaging with regional intermediaries for regional, rather than district-level, implementation. We therefore list 0% as the starting percentage for student access to pathways, because the CTE programs that existed prior to the state-PtoP coalitions did not have these characteristics.

⁴ For DE, years 1-5 represent academic years 2014-15 to 2018-19 because the state-PtoP coalition did not begin until 2014. Year 5 numbers are projected since final enrollment is not determined until the end of academic year 2019.

Table 4. Key Conditions and State-PtoP Coalition Practices by State

	CA	DE	TN	IL
Key Conditions				
Initial state government ally	✓	✓	✓	✓
State government support from multiple agencies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Continuity of state government allies	✓	✓	✓	
State-PtoP Coalition Tactics				
<i>Organizing</i>				
Building governance structures	✓	✓	✓	✓
Rapidly iterating and modifying governance processes	✓	✓	✓	
<i>Cultural</i>				
Providing frames	✓	✓	✓	✓
Building social accountability across regions	✓	✓	✓	
<i>Political Process</i>				
Creating new policies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Piloting and broadening the set of stakeholders	✓	✓	✓	

Figure 1. State-Movement Coalitions for Building Labor Market Systems at Scale

