In a policy landscape marked by budget cuts and competing priorities, struggling schools strive to improve performance with limited resources. As in many parts of the country, state funding for turnaround initiatives in North Carolina has declined steadily since the conclusion of its $400 million federal Race to the Top (RttT) grant. Since then, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (NCDPI) has restructured its turnaround supports three times (see Figure 1).

**FIGURE 1:** Timeline of NC supports for low-performing schools.

In August 2015, the North Carolina State Board of Education engaged in a five-year federal partnership grant with Vanderbilt University, the RAND Corporation, and the Education Policy Initiative at Carolina (EPIC).1 Research partners planned to evaluate the effectiveness of NCDPI’s supports to 75 of the state’s lowest-performing schools under the North Carolina Transformation (NCT) initiative. During the course of the evaluation, a significant budget cut prompted the transition to a tiered model, with reduced supports provided by NCDPI’s Educator Support Services (ESS).

Researchers conducted three rounds of site visits between spring 2016 and spring 2018, which spanned both NCT and ESS (as well as the pause in between). They gathered data from teacher focus groups and interviews with school and district leadership from 71 of the 75 low-performing schools that received services under NCT.

Empirical analyses showed that state supports yielded some positive results under the state’s RttT services (Turning Around the Lowest Achieving Schools, or TALAS),2 but not under NCT.3 The qualitative data provide important context, drawing on the perspectives of teachers, principals, and district leaders to explore factors that impact turnaround efforts. Their experiences varied in many respects but shared a common thread—the *discontinuity of supports, in combination with high levels of educator turnover, undermined turnaround efforts.*

The purpose of this brief is to explore the effects of discontinuity and turnover on turnaround initiatives. In the following sections, we present a timeline and description of state supports, review findings, and discuss policy implications.
TIMELINE OF SUPPORT PROVISION AND DATA COLLECTION

From 2015 through 2018, diminishing resources necessitated reductions in NCDPI supports for low-performing schools and districts. Though the support components remained consistent over time—a comprehensive needs assessment and unpacking of findings, assistance with school improvement planning, and teacher, principal, and district-level coaching—the intensity of those supports, and the number of schools and districts receiving them, declined significantly over that period.

Qualitative data collected between spring 2016 and spring 2018 capture experiences of low-performing schools as NCDPI transitioned between TALAS, NCT, and ESS. The sequence of support restructurings and data collection is summarized above (see Figure 2) and described in more detail below.

For the 2015-16 school year, state policymakers revised the statute on low-performing schools and districts, identifying 581 schools and 16 districts as low performing. To continue some of the work previously funded under RttT, NCDPI rolled out on-site coaching supports for 75 of those schools (mostly in rural districts) under the NCT initiative.

The first round of data collection occurred in spring 2016, just a few months after these changes took effect. The second round took place during the following school year (2016-17).

In July 2017, state funding for NCT was drastically reduced. During the fall, NCDPI suspended supports while it revamped the program. In February 2018, NCDPI launched ESS, adopting a tiered support model that included direct state supports for 11 districts and 32 schools, only some of which had received supports under the prior model.

The third round of data collection took place in March-April 2018, just a few months (in some cases, weeks) after the ESS coaches began visiting schools and districts.

Over the summer of 2018, North Carolina enacted another round of budget cuts, and NCDPI suspended ESS services. For the 2018-19 school year, new federal guidelines for supporting low-performing schools took effect under the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). In 2019, NCDPI launched District & Regional Support (DRS), which is developing a catalog of supports at the time of this publication.
Over the course of three school years, teachers, principals, and district officials in 71 of the 75 low-performing schools that received services under NCT shared their perspectives on the implementation and effectiveness of NCDPI’s supports. The research team conducted more than 400 interviews and focus groups that explored school context, the provision and perception of NCDPI supports, and barriers to school improvement.

Qualitative data collected over this period provide insights into the lived experiences of teachers, principals, and district leaders as they navigated reductions in supports (see Figures 3 and 4).
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Educators’ experiences were diverse, reflecting the context of their students, schools, and districts, the individualized nature of NCDPI’s supports, and the differential impact of shifts in North Carolina’s turnaround programs and priorities.

Yet educators repeatedly returned to a common theme when discussing the culture and context of their schools, the impact and sustainability of supports, and barriers to improvement—that the discontinuity of supports, in combination with high levels of educator turnover, undermined turnaround efforts.

In the next section, we provide background information about school turnaround and define the key components of educational infrastructure needed to support successful turnaround.

SCHOOL TURNAROUND AND EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

School turnaround is commonly defined as an effort to rapidly and dramatically improve the academic performance of students in low-performing schools. Rather than targeting a single aspect of school operation, turnaround indicates a whole-school effort to address the range of challenges faced by low-performing schools.

Scholars have asserted that weak educational infrastructure is a major barrier to school turnaround. Further, they submit that a “first order goal” of school turnaround is building a highly developed, coordinated infrastructure. Key components of educational infrastructure include:

**CULTURE:** the core beliefs that drive the key functions of the school, including high expectations for students and teachers, an orderly, caring environment, a sense of professional responsibility among staff, healthy and motivated students, and engaged families and communities.

**COMPETENCIES:** the combination of knowledge and skills that teachers and principals must possess to meet student and school needs. For teachers, competencies include content knowledge, lesson planning, instructional delivery, classroom management, and student assessment. For principals, competencies include the leadership skills needed for “the creation of a culture in which leadership is distributed and encouraged with teachers, which consists of open, honest communication, which is focused on the use of data, teamwork, research-based best practices, and which uses modern tools to drive ethical and principled, goal-oriented action.”

**SYSTEMS AND PROCESSES:** the structures that support high quality instruction and efficient school operation, for example: curriculum alignment, common assessments, consistent instructional and administrative practices, formal mechanisms to support ongoing collaboration and professional development, and the use of data to monitor student progress, differentiate instruction, identify school improvement needs, and track school performance.

In the next section, we provide details about the supports provided by NCDPI.
In theory, NCDPI supports (as designed) might have been able to address some deficiencies in key components of educational infrastructure.

The comprehensive needs assessment (CNA) involved interviews and focus groups with teachers, principals, students, and parents, as well as classroom and school observations. NCDPI coaches reviewed findings with school leaders and staff to inform improvement plans across multiple dimensions:

1. Instructional excellence and alignment
   a. Teaching and learning
   b. Support for student achievement
2. Leadership capacity
3. Professional capacity
4. Planning and operational effectiveness
5. Family and community support

NCDPI coaches worked with teacher and school leaders to develop and refine school improvement plans (SIPs) to address the challenges and concerns identified by the CNA.

Coaching was provided at three levels:

1. District transformation coaching for district leaders (in some districts)
2. School transformation coaching for principals and other school leaders
3. Instructional coaching for teachers

NCDPI hired former principals and teachers to provide coaching to school leaders on strategic planning, resource allocation, and distributed leadership, and instructional coaching to teachers. Coaching was tailored to the needs of the schools and their staff (based on the CNA and the school improvement plan) and was intended to be intensive enough to change practices.

In practice, diminishing resources triggered the elimination of, or reduction in, school- and district-level supports. Though research suggests that building school-level educational infrastructure requires sustained efforts over a period of seven years, North Carolina cycled through two turnaround initiatives in less than three years. Furthermore, those two initiatives had different eligibility criteria so that only some schools were served by both. The detrimental effects were emphasized consistently in interviews and focus groups: discontinuity of supports disrupted turnaround efforts.

“... if we continue to have turnover, then eventually [...] those that do remember [the practices learned from the instructional coach] may not be here, so it may go back to square one.”

– ES Teacher

In parallel, educator turnover drained institutional memory and undermined efforts to establish the components of educational infrastructure needed to support successful school turnaround.

“... we know we need help and need the kids to grow [...] and if we do it in moderation at a steady pace, we will see growth. Instead of BAM, BAM, BAM, give us time to really implement it and get into the groove of using it.”

– MS Teacher

In the next section, quotes from teachers, principals, and district officials illustrate the impact of discontinuity and turnover on turnaround efforts through their effects on key components of school-level educational infrastructure.
Culture is shaped by shared values and norms, beliefs and expectations. A strong school culture has “overlapping and cohesive interactions” among school and district leaders, teachers, staff, students, and families. Scholars have shown that a strong school culture is positively correlated with higher levels of student achievement and teacher retention and enhances curriculum, instruction, and professional development at the school.

Intentional replacement of low-performing school leaders and teachers with higher performing ones can produce positive changes in culture and performance. However, chronic, unintentional turnover generates uncertainty and funnels time and energy away from other priorities to focus on reestablishing relationships.
Principal Turnover

The research literature shows that principal turnover negatively affects teachers’ perceptions of their schools\(^20\) and that the resulting instability can damage the sense of shared purpose or trust that had previously been established.\(^21\) Chronic principal turnover can lessen teachers’ and communities’ support for new school leaders.\(^22\) Data collected from interviews and focus groups in North Carolina support these findings.

The principal turnover rate in the 75 low-performing schools served under NCT is 24 percent.\(^23\) In interviews, educators described how principal and assistant principal turnover destabilized school culture, requiring adjustments to different leadership styles, administrative practices, expectations, and priorities.

“Administration turnover [...] makes a big difference because [principals] want to come in and change everything. Every two years, we’ve had a different principal. We haven’t had any consistency at all in the last 10 years.”

– HS Teacher

“This is my third year teaching. This is my third different [assistant principal] and I’ve liked each of them. It’s just hard to not have that consistency at an admin level just because everybody works in a different way.”

– ES Teacher

“I could leave this year [...] and this school unfortunately would not be able to sustain. I want to get this school to a level of sustainability so that whether I’m in place or not, it runs.”

– HS Principal

Teacher Turnover

The research literature describes how teacher turnover hinders the building of “sustained, trustful relationships” among parents, teachers, students, which is critical in establishing a strong school culture.\(^24\) Teacher turnover disrupts instructional continuity,\(^25\) fosters distrust, and frays bonds between school administrators and staff.\(^26\) Findings from North Carolina support these conclusions.

The teacher turnover rate in the 75 low-performing schools served under NCT is 29 percent.\(^27\) Teacher turnover in low-performing schools has been shown to converge with instabilities among students, such as chronic absenteeism and students transferring in outside of typical feeder patterns.\(^28\) In interviews and focus groups, educators explained how teacher turnover affected school culture.

Educators underscored the detrimental effects of turnover on school culture, emphasizing how turnover destabilizes relationships between students, teachers, and administrators.

“I think the high teacher turnover impacts us [because it affects] the culture of the school. If you have frequent turnovers, then the community begins to think that teachers don’t care, they’re just here for a minute then they’re gone.”

– MS Principal

“We talk a lot about standards, but if you can’t reach a little bit of the heart of that student, unpacking the standards don’t matter at all because they’ve got to like you to learn from you.”

– ES Teacher

“Since we had such a large turnover, trying to give people assignments to be accountable for was really hard. It’s gone down the drain.”

– MS Teacher

“My English department [chair...] is in his fourth year, lateral-entry. [...] Everyone else in the English department turned over. I hired four new teachers and they are all lateral-entry.”

– HS Principal
Effective coaching is built on trust. Repeated reshuffling of coaching assignments and roles, coupled with diminished on-site coaching presence, hampered efforts to build that trust.

“When you’re talking about coaching, you’re talking about growing people [...] being able to know somebody well enough and build a relationship with somebody you can trust.”
– ES Principal

“...forming those relationships with those teachers is, I think, the biggest key. They’re more willing to listen and more receptive if it’s somebody who they’re comfortable with coming in their classroom and working with them directly.”
– District Official

Though educators generally valued the coaching they received, they asserted that the intensity of supports, particularly under ESS, was insufficient to meaningfully build competencies. Under ESS, 61 of 75 schools that had formerly received school-level supports saw them transition to the district or disappear entirely. Only 14 received direct, school-level supports under both NCT and ESS. Support reductions also meant NCDPI coaches visited those schools less frequently under ESS than they did under previous initiatives. Coaches had less time to become familiar with the school’s culture and engage in activities that educators reported were helpful, for example: co-teaching, modeling, and providing iterative feedback.

“...forming those relationships with those teachers is, I think, the biggest key. They’re more willing to listen and more receptive if it’s somebody who they’re comfortable with coming in their classroom and working with them directly.”
– District Official

On average, low-performing schools have less experienced principals and more novice and alternative-entry teachers than higher performing schools. These educators are often still building the competencies required to meet student and school needs. Under both NCT and ESS, NCDPI coached teachers and principals to build instructional and leadership competencies.

Effective school leadership has been found to be directly correlated with student achievement and teacher satisfaction and retention. A number of leadership practices have been directly tied to school improvement, such as "instructional leadership, building a learning climate at the school, supporting teacher improvement, and implementing strategies to recruit and retain effective teachers.”

Competencies are the “combination of knowledge (factual and experiential) and skills” required to meet student and school needs. Teachers’ and school leaders’ knowledge and skills are central to educational infrastructure.

Teacher competencies such as strong content knowledge, effective lesson planning, high quality instructional delivery, classroom management, and student assessment have all been found to significantly impact student achievement.

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Discontinuity of Supports

Discontinuity of supports disrupted efforts to establish the relationships necessary to build competencies. The transition from NCT to ESS involved a pause in supports, reductions in support levels, and turnover and reassignment of coaching staff. In interviews and focus groups, teachers and principals emphasized that

“Effective coaching is built on trust. Repeated reshuffling of coaching assignments and roles, coupled with diminished on-site coaching presence, hampered efforts to build that trust.”

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Turnover

At most schools, educators identified turnover as a significant barrier to school improvement. When discussing the impact and sustainability of supports, they described how **investments in individual competencies are lost each time an educator leaves**, ultimately slowing turnaround momentum. This finding is consistent with research regarding the impact of turnover on school reform efforts that focus on increasing teacher effectiveness—schools have little choice other than to replace departing teachers with individuals who have little to no knowledge of the reform efforts.

“**I think when you have to bring in new teachers, then it’s like starting over because they don’t know what we’ve done in the past to get to where we are.”**

– ES Teacher

**Turnover requires principals to focus on recruitment rather than building competencies.** Principals and district officials described the difficulties of convincing new teachers to work at low-performing schools—teachers often work longer days, with higher stress and for lower pay, and carry the stigma of working at a school labeled “low-performing.” The experience of North Carolina school leaders aligns with research that shows how recruitment detracts from other responsibilities.

“I take a lot of flak for being a low-performing school, it’s hard. When I go to a job fair, first thing I’ll say is, right now, we’re rated an F, we’re a low-performing school. I weed out. It’s so hard.”

– ES Principal

When you interview most people, the location […] and the stigma of having 27 low-performing schools in this district is hard to get people to commit to this area.”

– District Official

Due to recruitment challenges, novice and alternative-entry teachers, long-term substitutes, and vacancies are common in low-performing schools. Novice teachers—those with less than three years of experience—represent 32 percent of the teacher workforce in the 75 low-performing schools served under NCT.

“Of my staff, 25 of them are [beginning teachers…] All of our end-of-year evaluations are due and for a [beginning teacher] you have to do three minimum 45 minute observations, plus a peer observation, plus the mentor has to sign off on everything. The paperwork is insane. I met with a principal who said she could only support up to two [beginning] teachers a year. Beyond that, she said I just don’t have the capacity to support them. I have 25.”

– HS Principal

Turnover often means that less experienced, less qualified instructors teach vulnerable student populations. In tested subjects, this directly affects metrics that assess school performance.

“You can’t ask a novice teacher to unpack standards when they have no idea what a standard even is.”

– MS Teacher

“The highly skilled teachers that really could move the needle with those kids choose to work in places that teaching is easier.”

– District Official

Early career teachers earn less money and may work two jobs to make ends meet. Alternative-entry teachers—who represent 24 percent of teachers in the 75 low-performing schools served under NCT—take classes at night or online until they complete their certification. Though the certification process is intended to help build competencies, it also adds to teachers’ workload and stress level.

“A lot of our younger teachers work two to three jobs to make ends meet […] A lot of our teachers are lateral entry, so they work a second job and they have to take classes.”

– MS Principal

Beginning teachers require more support and supervision as they develop competencies, further reducing the principal’s capacity to focus on turnaround.

Site visit data provide unique insights into the many ways discontinuity and turnover thwart efforts to build competencies in low-performing schools. **Discontinuity of supports** disrupts coaching relationships—productive relationships are built on trust and require frequent, ongoing opportunities to engage. **Educator turnover** forfeits coaching gains, increases the proportion of novice and alternative-entry teachers at low-performing schools, and forces principals to focus on recruitment and supervision of new hires.

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– HS Principal
Systems and processes support high quality instruction and efficient school operation. Key structures include curriculum alignment, common assessments, consistent instructional and administrative practices, and formal mechanisms to support ongoing collaboration and professional development. Systems and processes depend on consistent, school-wide use of data to monitor student progress, differentiate instruction, identify school improvement needs, and track school performance.

When researchers asked about the impact and sustainability of turnaround supports, North Carolina educators identified some changes to systems and processes that they felt were key to sustaining school improvement efforts. They viewed systems and processes as less vulnerable to turnover than investments in building individual-level competencies.

Educators described how supports focused on curriculum alignment and common assessments helped them pace students through tested content within and across grade levels. Consistent schoolwide instructional practices kept students and staff on task. Professional learning communities and other settings for collaboration support development of sustainable systems and processes.

“[The instructional coach helped us ask] what do the standards require the students know and be able to do and ultimately understand? From her leadership, we took our team through that whole process for every standard for ELA […] We did a major overhaul of the elementary ELA units that are now on a management system that we use and all teachers have access to it and it’s broken down by grade level and we have it for reading and writing.”

– District Official

“From a math perspective, […] we talked about vertical alignment all the time, [the instructional coach] gave resources from elementary school all the way to Math 3.”

– MS Teacher

“[We need to make] sure that our teachers are teaching the standards and determining that through walkthroughs and observations and feedback that we give them.”

– ES Principal

“…what are [professional learning communities] all about? Talking about strategies, data, differentiation, how are we going to group our kids.”

– MS Teacher

“I have a responsibility to create […] systems […] to manage those processes. So that when an administration changes or teacher changes that there is already this system and process that is in place.”

– MS Principal

“…keeping in mind that we may lose staff, we’ve put systems in place so that when they leave and we get new people in, they will automatically get exactly what my teachers have already received.”

– ES Principal
Data-driven decision making ensures accountability and maintains momentum of improvement efforts. Teachers and principals described the value of a school-wide focus on looking objectively and collaboratively at data.

“I think in the areas where you saw improvement, you would also see that those content area teams really looked at data in their instructional discussions.”
- MS Principal

“…data training helped focus us in terms of how to look at that data analytically and how to use it to truly drive and not just that conversation we were having about students, but what that data really means and how it frames our instruction.”
- MS Principal

Low-performing schools and districts in North Carolina are required to use NCStar for improvement planning. NCStar is a web-based tool that guides a district or school team in charting and managing the improvement process. In conjunction with complementary administrative practices, NCStar can provide a platform for embedding data use into sustainable school systems and processes.

“[NCStar uses] the indicators to identify our leverage points and then keeps us all on the hook to ensure that we’re hitting those goals throughout the year. And we’re doing what we said we were going to do and that’s really helpful and it creates a platform for us to upload our evidence as we go. So we can use those as pressure points.”
- HS Principal

“With the different initiatives, we have been flooded. There were just so many initiatives going on at the same time that you felt like a jack of all trades and a master of none.”
- MS Teacher

“Sometimes, it’s like, we are going to do this because it’s great, and that because it’s great. We are going to do five different things because they are great. Which one of them is the best thing?”
- ES Teacher

Systems and processes enable schools to manage day-to-day operations as well as school improvement efforts and other initiatives. Low-performing schools often juggle multiple initiatives related to district, state, and federal directives and priorities. Some overlap with NCDPI’s turnaround work. All add to the confluence of demands placed on low-performing schools.

“In our leadership meetings and we meet twice a month, we begin with looking at our [NCStar] indicators and seeing where we are in terms of progression and then figuring out which ones we need to address for our next meeting or what we need to do in between then.”
- ES Principal

Both competencies and systems and processes are needed to improve school performance. In schools with high turnover, educators’ insights suggest that turnaround supports focused on systems and processes have more lasting effects than those focused on individuals’ competencies alone.

In the next section, we consider the policy implications of these findings.
Data collected from interviews and focus groups suggest that discontinuity of supports, especially when coupled with turnover, may adversely affect turnaround efforts. Overwhelmingly, educators asserted that discontinuity and turnover stymied attempts to establish a strong school culture and maintain a team of teachers and school leaders with the requisite competencies. By comparison, they perceived improvements in school-level systems and processes to be relatively stable in the face of discontinuity and turnover. These findings provide context for an emerging line of inquiry around turnover as a suppressor of turnaround effects and contribute new insights into how educators at low-performing schools experience discontinuities in turnaround supports.

As the state pivots to support low-performing schools under ESSA, these findings imply that NCDPI should expand the focus on building school-level systems and processes, consider strategies to reduce educator turnover, and support schools and districts in recruiting highly effective educators to replace those who leave. In combination, these steps could mitigate the effects of turnover and discontinuity on turnaround efforts.
STRATEGIES

Instability is a constant, and school and district leaders often have to deal with the consequences of that instability before state and local policymakers can act. In interviews and focus groups, educators shared strategies they’re pursuing to try to mitigate turnover. Though many have not yet been evaluated, these early steps showcase innovations that schools are adopting and point to the need for additional research about their effectiveness.

Schools and districts described some of the ways they were trying to mitigate turnover within low-performing schools, including:

1. **Experimenting with compensation strategies such as:**
   - Providing salary supplements for teachers at low-performing schools
   - Creating paid teacher-leader roles
   - Paying bonuses based on EVAAS scores when schools meet/exceed growth
   - Offering summer employment opportunities
   - Rewarding teachers for consistent attendance
2. **Providing mentoring and consistent, ongoing supports for novice teachers**
3. **Promoting teaching assistants and identifying alternative-entry hires with ties to the community**
4. **Hiring international teachers to improve retention**

Educators also shared perspectives on ways to avoid discontinuities in supports, or at least soften their impact. These approaches would require cooperation and coordination between North Carolina’s General Assembly, State Board of Education, and Department of Public Instruction. Some examples include:

1. Recognizing the stigma associated with the “low-performing school” label and considering ways to reduce its effects on school culture in general, and on recruitment and retention in particular
2. Clearly communicating with schools and districts about roles, rationale, timeline and expected impact of changes in support models
3. Introducing supports during the August planning period and keeping them in place for the full school year (at a minimum) or for a period of time sufficient to produce meaningful improvement
4. Scaling services for frequent and consistent delivery throughout the school year to ensure they’re perceived as supports rather than interruptions
5. Maintaining consistency in coaching staff assigned to specific schools to foster trusting relationships with school staff and enable coaches to get to know the school culture
6. Focusing turnaround efforts on school-level systems and processes, such as curriculum alignment, common assessments, consistent instructional and administrative practices, opportunities for regular collaboration and professional development, and school-wide use of data to monitor student progress and school improvement initiatives

Keeping findings from this brief in mind, schools, districts, and the state can take steps to reduce educator turnover and discontinuity of supports and minimize their impact on North Carolina’s turnaround efforts.
The research reported here was supported by the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, through Grant R305E150017 to Vanderbilt University. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not represent views of the Institute or the U.S. Department of Education.

ENDNOTES

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8. Peurach & Neumerski (2015) identified culture, capabilities, and structures as key components of school-level infrastructure. In keeping with terminology commonly used in North Carolina, this brief uses “competencies” instead of “capabilities” and “systems and processes” in lieu of “structures.”


Data reported at baseline (2014-15 school year), which is the year schools were identified as low-performing. Principal turnover represents the percent of schools that had a principal turnover, among principals who spent at least three pay periods as principal in that school and year.


Allensworth et al., 2009; Simon & Johnson, 2015.

Thompson et al., 2011.

Data reported at baseline (2014-15 school year), which is the year schools were identified as low-performing.


North Carolina State Board of Education & Department of Public Instruction, 2013.

Peurach & Neumerski, 2015.


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Peurach & Neumerski, 2015; Simon & Johnson, 2015; Thompson et al., 2011.

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Contact information for authors:

Christen Holly  
cholly@email.unc.edu

Danielle J. Allen  
djallen@live.unc.edu

Julie T. Marks  
jmarks@email.unc.edu