

Changing Teacher Perceptions of their Roles:
Pre and Post NCLB

By
© 2017
Sarah Marten

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Chair: John L. Rury, Ph.D.

Heidi Hallman, Ph.D.

Joseph Novak, Ph.D.

Suzanne Rice, Ph.D.

Thomas Skrtic, Ph.D.

Date Defended: January 19, 2017

The dissertation committee for Sarah Marten certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

**Changing Teacher Perceptions of their Roles:
Pre and Post NCLB**

Chairperson: John L. Rury, Ph.D.

Date Approved: January 19, 2017

Abstract

The accountability movement in education charted a more outcomes-driven, standardized approach to education that emphasized labor-market outcomes. No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the cornerstone of this movement, used sanctions to hold schools accountable for federal funding, which in turn pressured teachers to comply with federal expectations. Critics argue that the movement undermined the discretion and improvisation that traditionally characterizes teachers' work and fostered an overly technical orientation toward teaching. Additionally, scholars have demonstrated that accountability policies reshaped teachers' classroom behaviors. However, a gap exists in inquiries that empirically examine accountability's impact on the way teachers cognitively frame their classroom roles.

Drawing on interviews from teachers in the pre and post- NCLB eras, this study used a qualitative comparative design to address the questions: "*Did the way teachers frame the values, interests, and preferences about their work demonstrate evidence of a change after NCLB was implemented?*" and "*Did No Child Left Behind (NCLB) shift teachers' work, in Perrow's (1967) terms, from craft-like to engineer-like?*" The interview data was gathered from twenty secondary English teachers from three different school districts and two distinct historical eras: ten who left the profession in 2002 or before (pre-NCLB), and ten who entered the profession in 2002 or after and who continue to teach (post-NCLB). Teachers were asked to discuss the essential processes that guide their classroom actions. The responses were compared and analyzed for patterns in the ways teachers cognitively frame their classroom worlds.

The analysis revealed subtle era-specific shifts in teachers' perceptions of three essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content. First, teachers went from describing themselves as *motivators* in the pre-era to *managers* in the post-era. Second, pre teachers

indicated they conceived of students like *protégés*, whereas post teachers conceived of them more like *products*. Third, pre teachers conceptualized the goals for content as transmitting *knowledge*, whereas post teachers expressed the goal of transmitting *skills*. Analyzing the shifts with classifications from Perrow's (1967) theory of work suggested that there were aspects of teachers' work that moved from craft-like to engineer-like. These findings indicate that the school organizational structures and programs created in response to NCLB's mandates may reorient teachers' professional values, interests, preferences, and goals in ways that mirror those of the policy.

Acknowledgments

I gratefully acknowledge the teachers in this study who offered their valuable time to support my research. This project would have not have been possible without them. Hearing their stories was the most rewarding aspect of this process, and I hope my characterizations of their work do them justice.

Special gratitude goes out to my advisor, mentor, and role model, Professor John Rury, who ushered me through this program from the first day to the last with patience, kindness, respect, and uncompromising expectations. He has set an academic example that I will forever strive to meet. Special thanks to my friend and colleague, Mike Bannen, who has graciously obliged as my sounding board on a host of topics over the years. Thanks to Professor Argun Saatcioglu and Professor Tom Skrtic, both of whom were instrumental in shaping my ideas for this project. They opened the doors to an academic world for which I was searching but did not know existed. Thanks to Professor Suzanne Rice for demonstrating warmth and humanity, in addition to brilliance. The most gratitude of all goes to my parents Mom, Bob, and Dad, my sister Holly, my brother Dylan, my niece Bella, my nephew Nick, and my very best friend, Laura Hessenflow, all of whom demonstrated endless support that made this detour into graduate school possible. Not only did they keep me from giving up year after year, but they continually show me what it means to unconditionally love.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	8
A Contradiction in the Scholarship on NCLB’s Impact on Teachers.....	10
Bridging the Contradiction by Exploring Value Systems.....	12
Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework	17
Teaching as Professional Field	18
Institutional Logic of a Profession.....	20
NCLB’s Potential Influence on Institutional Logic of Teaching.....	23
Decision-making within Limits	25
An NCLB-oriented Decision-making Environment.....	30
Reorienting the Professional in the NCLB Era.....	36
Theory-driven Study.....	39
Summary.....	43
Chapter 3 Literature Review.....	46
NCLB as Neoliberal Reform	46
The New Accountability-Logic of Teaching.....	47
Accountability Impacts on the Occupation of Teaching.....	49
Accountability Impacts on Teachers’ Classroom Behaviors.....	51
Teacher Perspectives on Accountability.....	53
Differences in Pre- and Post-NCLB Teachers.....	56
The Case for Examining the Institutional Logic of Teaching.....	58
Summary.....	61
Chapter 4 Design and Method	63
Research Questions.....	63
Pilot Study.....	64
Dissertation Study Design.....	66
Chapter 5 Portrait of Pre-NCLB Teachers.....	79
Teacher as Motivator	79
Students as Protégés.....	96
Content as Knowledge-based.....	101

Summary	105
Chapter 6 Portrait of Post-NCLB Teachers	107
From Motivator to Manager.....	107
From Protégés to Products.....	125
From Knowledge to Skills	136
Summary	150
Chapter 7 Discussion	152
An Entrenched Institutional Logic.....	153
A Shift in Teachers’ Work.....	158
From Craft-like to Engineer-like	178
The New Logic That Drives Teachers’ Work.....	181
Implications.....	184
Limitations and Ideas for Further Study	194
References.....	197
Appendix A.....	211
Appendix B.....	212
Appendix C.....	213
Appendix D.....	214
Appendix E.....	215

List of Tables

Table 1 Perrow's Theory of Work.....	43
Table 2 School Site Data & Number of Teachers per Cohort	68
Table 3 Participant Name, Age, School and Cohort.....	71
Table 4 Nodes Included in Initial Coding Scheme	77

List of Figures

Figure 1 A visual depiction of the mechanisms through which NCLB influenced individual decision-making.....	45
---	----

Chapter 1 Introduction

As a high school English teacher from 2001 to 2012, I listened to many of my colleagues assert that No Child Left Behind (NCLB) changed everything (No Child Left Behind [NCLB], 2002). Yet, when I began my career in 2001, I noticed that the teaching at my school, including my own, was remarkably similar to that of my high school teachers in the 1990s. I observed an enduring and unchanging nature to what teachers do in the classroom that continued throughout my eleven years as a high school English teacher, all of which spanned the NCLB era. Because of the contradiction between my personal observations about the stability in teaching practices and what I heard from my colleagues regarding NCLB's impact on their work, I wondered: Did NCLB really change teachers' work?

To date, the scholarship on NCLB's impact on teachers' work has focused on how policies, mainly those associated with NCLB's testing mandate, have altered patterns of instructional and organizational behavior. In other words, the bulk of the research on NCLB and teachers' work has examined its impact on classroom behaviors and feelings rather than teachers' cognitive understandings of their role. This body of scholarship has found that accountability policies resulted in more routine teaching practices, less classroom autonomy, increased teacher anxiety and demoralization (Barrett, 2009; Darling-Hammond & Rustiqueforrester, 2005; Grant, 2000; Ingersoll, 2003; Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Smith & Kovacs, 2011; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009); more narrowed curricula (Berliner, 2011; Cimbricz, 2002), a focus on students nearest to proficiency scores (Booher-Jennings, 2005), the practice of reclassifying under-performing students to special categories to protect school averages (Jacob, 2005); the marginalization or elimination of untested subjects like social studies and science (Cuban, 2013; Milner, Sondergeld, Demir, Johnson, & Czerniak, 2012; Murnane & Papay, 2010;

Reback, Rockoff, & Schwartz, 2011; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009); a more limited scope of pedagogical methods (Au, 2011; Diamond, 2007; Watanabe, 2007); and lower instructional quality (Plank & Condliffe, 2013; Valli & Buese, 2007).

Such examinations demonstrate crucial findings regarding policy's impact on teachers' work, but absent from this perspective is whether or not teachers' thinking patterns, or the values, interests, and preferences that teachers attach to their work and use to construct their understandings of the work, have been impacted. Studying teachers' thinking patterns is complicated by the fact that we cannot systematically observe teachers in the past doing and thinking about their day-to-day classroom work and compare their past work, thoughts, and ideas to those of the present. This difficulty could be one reason the scholarship has not adequately addressed how policy may have impacted teachers' values, interests, and preferences over time.

This study attempts to address the inadequacy by examining the values, interests, and preferences that underlie teachers' understandings of their classroom work from two eras of teachers. I interviewed ten high school English teachers who left the profession prior to the enactment of NCLB in 2002 and ten who began the profession in 2002 or after. I argue that the constellation of NCLB's policies influenced the values, interests, and preferences that shape teachers' classroom decision-making, without radically altering the patterns of teachers' day to day instructional behaviors.

Asking how teachers' patterns of thinking have been impacted is vital because if they were altered in relation to NCLB, the meaning teachers attach to schooling may have subtly and gradually shifted in a way that has gone mostly unnoticed. This potential shift may influence the content, instruction, and opportunities to which children are exposed. A shift may also be profoundly affecting teachers' conduct, their everyday meaning-making, and the value-systems

that shape their decision-making. Exploring NCLB's impact on teachers' patterns of thinking is the focus of this study, making the case for drawing on relevant sociological concepts to test for a change in teachers' values, interests, and preferences in the pre- and post- NCLB eras.

A Contradiction in the Scholarship on NCLB's Impact on Teachers

The accountability movement in education charted a more outcomes-driven, standardized approach to education that emphasized labor-market outcomes (Berliner, 2011; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2006; Cuban, 1993; 2007; 2013; Gamoran, 2007; Mehta, 2013; Ravitch, 2011; 2013; Sleeter, 2007; Sunderman, Kim, & Orfield, 2005; Taubman, 2010). No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the pinnacle of this movement, used mandates and sanctions to hold schools accountable for federal funding and to encourage 100 percent proficiency rates on state reading and math tests (NCLB, 2002). The policy directed teacher behavior through organizational pressure to comply with federal test-based proficiency expectations. Education scholarship supports the proposition that the reform efforts associated with NCLB influenced teachers' instructional and classroom behaviors. Teachers narrowed their curricula (Cimbricz, 2002), focused on students nearest to proficiency scores (Booher-Jennings, 2005), and reclassified under-performing students to special categories that protected the school average (Jacob, 2005). Evidence also points to decreased discretion and improvisation in teachers' work (Ingersoll, 2014) and a shift toward a performance-oriented pedagogy (Barrett, 2009).

By contrast, scholars have concluded that the instructional behavior of teachers has remained essentially the same over time, even in the face of various reform efforts. The stability has been attributed to institutionalized ideas of a "real school" (Tyack & Cuban, 1995); teachers' fifteen-year apprenticeship as students (Lortie, 2002); the complexity of teaching, making it difficult to determine which element of teaching to target for reform (Cuban, 2013; Ingersoll,

2003); and an insufficient focus on beliefs in teacher education programs (Diamond, 2007; Malm, 2009; Milner et al., 2012). Scholars also cite teachers' ability to insulate their teaching from top-down policies (Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Meyer & Rowan, 1977); the isolation of classroom teachers (Bird & Little, 1986; Lortie, 2002); inadequate professional development (Kirtman, 2002); and ill-conceived reforms (Elmore, 2007).

In particular, Cuban's (2013) historical research on teachers demonstrates a remarkable stability in classroom instruction at both the elementary and high school levels over the past 40 years. Cuban labeled the dominant method of teaching "teacher-centered progressivism," which is a hybrid of teacher-centered and student-centered instruction (Cuban, 1993, 2007, 2013). This method features a teacher at the front of the room with students facing the teacher at desks listening to the teacher's instructions. Extra technology might be added, such as computers or an overhead projector, but students in the 2000s still learn units of material, turn in homework, take tests and quizzes, read out of textbooks and get individual grades (Cuban, 1993, 2007, 2013; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Vogler (2008) supported Cuban's findings, noting that a student- and teacher-centered pedagogy persisted in the face of the accountability era and its related reform efforts. Research on policy's influence on teachers' instruction has similarly concluded that teaching practices have not radically changed over time (Diamond, 2007; Milner et al., 2012).

These conclusions align with the established institutionalist view that schools and teachers conform to the version of schooling and teaching that is most legitimized in the broader community (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). As a whole, this line of research suggests that reforms tinker with the legitimized version, but never radically alter it.

Bridging the Contradiction by Exploring Value Systems

The assertion that teachers' classroom practices demonstrate a remarkable persistence presents a discrepancy when compared with the current research that suggests NCLB's policies produced a change in teachers' classroom behaviors. How can teaching be changing and staying the same at once? The body of research that indicates "persistence" claims that reforms tinker with prevailing versions of schooling, but never succeed in radically altering the socially-accepted version. While the body of research that indicates "change" claims that NCLB policies both directed and changed teachers' classroom behaviors. In effect, the change research does not contradict the persistence research because the change research examines the tinkering. The persistence research does not deny a tinkering, rather that the tinkering does not ultimately alter the established organization of schooling. When the period of reform ends, so do the effects of the tinkering; therefore, from both perspectives teachers' work ultimately regresses to the socially-accepted mean.

The focus of analysis that both bodies of research use to make their conclusions is teachers' *behavior*: what they do in the classroom, rather than how teachers *think* about their classroom work or the values, interests, and preferences guiding their classroom work.

To be clear, observing behavior is important because it reveals policy's power to influence where professionals direct their energies and priorities, which are repeatedly re-directed with each new successful policy initiative. But such observations may not reveal the value, interests, and preferences that both underlie and shape those behaviors; an aspect that is very important to how teachers approach their day-to-day work.

Both the historical research on teachers' instructional behaviors and the accountability research on teachers' work may have missed a subtle, less observable normative shift in the

cognitive foundation of the occupation, which drives the values, interests, purposes, identities, and actions of individual teachers in the classroom. These explorations do not uncover the underlying, taken-for-granted set of occupational beliefs that may or may not be reflected in teaching behavior. Discovering a change in teachers' goals, values, interests, and purposes may help explain why the hybridized teaching model that Cuban describes historically persists even when reform research suggests that policy directives do reach the technical core of instruction. Tyack and Cuban (1995) might say that the policy directives simply "tinkered" with schools and teaching; and when the directives are removed, behaviors return to the commonly accepted institutionalized version. But my perspective suggests that the directives permeate and possibly modify occupational thought patterns, so while teachers may act in similar ways, the values, interests, preferences, and purposes that lie behind those actions are different.

My perspective offers an alternate yet complementary explanation that suggests the tinkering that resulted from NCLB may have contributed to normative shifts in the cognitive foundation of the occupation. These normative shifts are not directly observable in individual behaviors but are revealed through an examination of the values, interests, and preferences of the occupational members. Teachers in 2015 look like teachers in 1980 because the institutionalized "grammar of schooling" binds them to the portrait of a "real teacher" (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). But perhaps their values, interests, and preferences for teaching are different.

These underlying set of values, interests, and preferences guide teachers' actions yet they are abstract within the realm of cognition, so any modifications to this value system remain out of sight. They are the logics that ground teachers' decisions and actions, yet they are taken-for-granted and often located in the unconscious. We can see the behaviors of teachers such as managing the classroom, administering tests, talking with students, assigning homework, and

carrying out day to day lessons, but we cannot observe the cognitive premises that guide those behaviors.

To briefly illustrate this subtle change in values, interests, and preferences, suppose I am an average person who snaps photographs of family, friends, and vacations. Before the invention of Facebook (pre-Facebook), I took pictures to remember the event for years to come or to display on the wall, or place in a keepsake box for future generations to enjoy. After the invention of Facebook (post-Facebook), I took photos to get immediate attention through “likes” and comments, to brag and increase my social standing with a large network of friends and acquaintances. As a result of Facebook, an individual’s values, interests, and preferences for picture-taking subtly shifts, but the behavior of taking photos does not change. One could not tell by observing me taking a picture that the foundational beliefs underlying my purpose for taking photos changed. I take pictures in the same way I did before, but my reason for taking pictures subtly shifted. This rather invisible and unconscious shift in beliefs has potential implications for the way individuals interact in society.

Similar shifts at the organizational, behavioral, and cognitive levels have been recognized in the study of other industries. For example, beliefs about the importance of service-learning in higher education were legitimated at the field-level, then culturally repackaged as an important element of university-level teaching. Individual actors began to implement service learning into their practice as an accepted element of university instruction (Lounsbury & Pollack, 2001). Profound changes in healthcare’s institutional environment over the past sixty years impacted organizational-level processes and modes of thinking (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). In the higher education publishing industry, a shift from an editorial-based logic to a market-based logic changed how executive attention was directed (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

However, few empirical studies have investigated policy impacts on secondary teachers' value systems (Ramberg, 2014). This absence limits our understanding of a normative change that may be occurring in a profession that is very important to American society. Unless we know how teachers think about their work, an enduring change is difficult to observe, if there is one. This difficulty can be overcome by drawing on sociological theories that help us reason out how teachers may be making sense of their work and by using those theories to test for a change in teachers' work.

If the metrics- and outcomes-driven values promoted by NCLB permeated individual teachers' value systems, the occupational ideology as a whole may have aligned with NCLB's core values. Teachers socialized in the NCLB era may have a different perception of their roles than those who began teaching before the era of NCLB's market-driven reforms. What's more is that because these belief systems generally remain "under the surface," there may be an increased likelihood that they are susceptible to NCLB's mandates and sanctions (Bourdieu, 1986). This likelihood is important because a shift in foundational beliefs has the potential to realign the entire occupation by reorienting the value systems of the individuals. These foundational beliefs impact the meaning teachers attach to what they do. If these beliefs shift, the meaning teachers attach to what they do also shifts.

This study suggests that the current scholarship on how NCLB has impacted teachers' classroom work has obscured a normative change in the profession that is less detectable in observations of instructional behavior because it occurs in the minds of individuals. To better detect whether or not a change is occurring at the normative level, this study examines professional norms articulated as value preferences (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980; Lukes, 1977; Weick, 1995).

My overarching question is “Did NCLB change teachers’ work?” But instead of conceiving of teachers’ work as classroom behaviors (teaching to the test or narrowing curriculum), I approach the question from a cognitive perspective. Rather, I want to know if policy influenced the cognitive foundation (institutional logic) of teachers, thus impacting their classroom work. My hypothesis is that NCLB’s system of sanctions and rewards impacted the organizational structures of schools, which then shifted the goals and outcomes of teaching, resulting in a modification of teachers' institutional logic. The altered institutional logic shaped individual roles and identities of teachers, creating a different professional—one whose goals and outcomes began to more closely align with NCLB’s. This coupling process happened gradually and in the realm of cognition, a realm that is impossible to see, so the change remained relatively unexamined.

Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework

What follows is a review of the theoretical grounding of my examination into teachers' work. As a framework into a more nuanced understanding of a change in teachers' work beyond the level of behavior analysis, I argue for the examination of a potential change in the institutional logic of the profession (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). I want to know more about how education policy might impact the cognitive foundation of the professional field of teaching. To ground this examination, I turn to theories, concepts, and research from organizational sociology, which emphasize the importance of shared knowledge, assumptions, and norms in a professional field, drawing heavily from institutional theorists. This perspective complements the large body of scholarship that examines policy impacts on teachers' behavior by providing an alternative approach to the examination of teachers' work, using concepts from organizational sociology and institutional theory to ground an inquiry into the belief systems of teachers.

First, I use concepts and terms from institutional theory to explain how teaching may be defined as a professional field and teachers as the professionals situated within it. I also provide an explanation of the term *institutional logic*, which I use to describe the field-level shared assumptions and knowledge that shape professionals' roles and identities and guide their decisions as members of the profession. I expand briefly on what scholarship says about the processes through which institutional logics are influenced and shaped. I use this scholarship to provide evidence for how NCLB may have impacted the institutional logic of teaching. Finally, I offer evidence for the examination of patterns and prevalences in individual teachers' articulation of values, interests, and preferences, which I view as their *cognitive premises for decision-making*. Lok (2010) described the articulation of values, interests, and preferences as the translation of institutional logic at the individual level. This study proposes that by

comparing two different eras of patterns in teachers' expressions of values, interests, and preferences about their work, similarities and differences in the profession's institutional logic should emerge.

Teaching as Professional Field

I define teaching as a collection of professionals who are involved in a common enterprise and whose work is coordinated by shared field-level values and norms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Individuals within this community identify themselves and are identified as teachers.

To conceptualize a professional field, I borrow concepts from what many consider the most comprehensive theory in organizational sociology, DiMaggio & Powell's "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields" (1983). In the article, the authors detailed how professional fields, such as teaching, are the mechanisms through which organizations across the country take on striking similarities in structure. The authors claim that the similarity is somewhat accidentally achieved by combining the forces of state regulation with the professionals carrying out that regulation through a process called isomorphism. They identified three types of institutional isomorphic processes: coercive, mimetic and normative (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Coercive isomorphism happens when organizations become more homogenous because they are forced to do so by imposed mandates or regulation, usually from the state. Mimetic isomorphism occurs when organizations use established, legitimated models and modes of practice from other organizations, allowing for a resemblance in organizational structure and procedure. The resemblance becomes more acute when organizations face a problem that can be solved by using another organization's model; or if one company begins to offer a product the

public likes, another organization will start to offer that same product. Normative isomorphism refers to the culture and behaviors of the personnel in the organization's field. Normative isomorphism happens as a result of knowledge that is shared and disseminated through collections of individuals in universities and professional networks. Isomorphism offers one reason why organizations might follow routines that are inefficient. For example, if one organization is successful with the routine, the others will model the system, regardless of its efficiency. The structure then becomes the taken-for-granted way things are done (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Isomorphism helps explain how schools and teachers across the country look and act remarkably similar and provides the foundation for understanding how a set of shared assumptions exists for a mass group of individuals. Professionals who are part of established organizations are normatively socialized through formal means in schools of education, and through trade associations, such as the National Council of Teachers of English (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Perrow, 1986; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002). These institutions set and disseminate stable norms for acceptable occupational behavior, defining the boundaries for individual agency (Perrow, 1986). Citing Perrow (1974), DiMaggio and Powell (1983) stated that the normative boundaries of a profession create:

a pool of almost interchangeable individuals who occupy similar positions across a range of organizations and possess a similarity of orientation and disposition that may override variations in tradition and control that might otherwise shape organizational behavior. (p. 152)

These shared understandings “establish a cognitive base” that enables an informal enforcement of appropriate conduct across varying settings, constantly operating to constrain

interpretations of appropriate policies, problem-solving techniques, as well as acceptable ways of dressing and speaking (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152; Perrow, 1986; Scott, 1995). Although teachers have their own free-will, they are continuously operating within a shared professional foundation that shapes their occupational identities and goals (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002). Individuals inside the teaching profession enact their own unique and personal agendas within the reality limits set by the normative boundaries, possessing what has been referred to as *embedded agency* (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Institutional Logic of a Profession

For the purposes of this study, I am not directly concerned with the processes of professional norm setting. I take as a given that individual teachers enact embedded agency situated within a broader field-level set of shared professional norms. To focus the clarity of my theoretical framework, I refer to teaching's field-level set of norms and values as the *institutional logic* of the profession. Norms are "how things should be done, they define legitimate means to pursue valued ends" (Scott, 1995, p. 37). Values "represent standards of desired ends or preferences" (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980).

Institutional logics is a concept introduced in an article by Friedland and Alford (1991) and more recently outlined by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). Descriptions for this concept have taken on many forms in the literature. Among other terms, the idea of an institutional logic has been referred to as a worldview, (Scott, 1995; Scott et al., 2000), interpretive schemes (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980); premise controls (Perrow, 1986), social stock of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), ideology or homogenous outlook (Selznick, 1949); and frames (Goffman, 1974). It could also be conceived of as a professional habitus (Bourdieu, 1986).

Thornton and Ocasio (1999) defined institutional logics as:

the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality. (p. 101)

Greenwood, Diaz, Li, & Lorente (2010) introduced their article with a relevant definition, stating that:

logics provide the "master principles of society" and guide social action. They are taken-for-granted resilient social prescriptions that enable actors to make sense of their situation by providing "assumptions and values, usually implicit, about how to interpret organizational reality, what constitutes appropriate behavior, and how to succeed" (Thornton, 2004, p. 70). (p. 521)

Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna (2000) referred to this concept as "belief systems carried by participants in the field to guide and give meaning to their activities," which "direct, motivate and legitimate the behavior of actors" (p. 20 & 25).

Thornton & Ocasio (2008) cited a more anthropologically-oriented definition of the shared set of norms and values from Jackall (1988):

the complicated, experientially constructed, and thereby contingent set of rules, premiums and sanctions that men and women in particular contexts create and recreate in such a way that their behavior and accompanying perspective are to some extent regularized and predictable. Put succinctly, an institutional logic is the way a particular social world works. (p. 101)

Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) referred to interpretive schemes as an indispensable cognitive schema that map our experience of the world, identifying its

constituents and relevances and how we are to know and understand them. Interpretive schemes...reveal deep-seated bases of orientation which operate in every encounter in organizations as shared assumptions about the way to approach and proceed in the situation. (p. 5)

Berger and Luckmann (1966) referred to this concept as a “shared stock of knowledge,” which they claimed creates solidarity among professionals. This concept can be illustrated with teachers in mind. Teachers operate on a daily basis within a taken-for-granted organizational reality that is driven by commonly shared beliefs. This stock of knowledge defines reality for the occupation of teachers and is expressed through shared assumptions, language, and routines at the field level, even in different settings. A teacher in California has more or less similar shared assumptions about her role and identity as a member of the occupation of teaching as does one in Kansas. These commonalities set regular standards of performance and conduct, and provide teachers with shared definitions of their institutional roles and identities.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) provided an account of a socially constructed social stock of knowledge that is a close approximation of how an institutional logic is created by theorizing how professional norms are established. When an occupation begins, members develop common language and routines that enable them to efficiently carry out tasks. In the beginning, the language and routines are new and explanations for their existence can be easily recalled by the founding members. But over time, these routines produce a body of knowledge that constitutes the everyday reality of the individuals within the occupation. After the profession is established, non-founding members experience the language and routines as “objective truth in the course of socialization and thus internalized as subjective reality” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 84). Professional members are socialized within this system of shared assumptions, language, and

routines, so that they can easily define their roles when they are with others who share the common stock of knowledge.

In the occupation of teaching, members of the profession identify as teachers, share a body of knowledge, or an *institutional logic*, with their colleagues and carry out their prescribed roles without questioning the validity or rationale of the foundational elements of their jobs. Their shared stock of knowledge allows for the existence of a common taken-for-granted reality where daily routines in schools become familiar without thought to each separate action. Teachers carry out normatively sanctioned routines because “this is the way things are done.” Rarely do teachers, or any professionals, stop and think about why things are done the way they are done unless there is a rupture that forces an examination into the process (Berger & Luckman, 1966).

NCLB’s Potential Influence on Institutional Logic of Teaching

Retrospectively, No Child Left Behind can be considered a rupture or destabilization of a historically stable institutional logic. When NCLB was implemented in 2002, teachers across the country found themselves in a new, vulnerable position in which the results of their work were more public and quantifiable than ever before, and their efficacy as professionals was scrutinized. Federal requirements in NCLB imposed new goals on schools, such as publicly reporting proficiency and graduation rates by subgroup and demonstrating a yearly increase in those rates (NCLB, 2002). These mandates expanded the regulatory body’s dominance over schools and, especially teachers, who were charged with carrying out a vital aspect of NCLB’s requirements: raising test scores (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2004). It is possible that the federal government gained purchase inside the normative world of teachers through NCLB’s policies, creating the circumstances for the field’s belief system to collectively reflect the

ideology legitimized in the policy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). New mandates in the policy determined new organizational outcomes, which potentially shaped the values, interests, and preferences of the professionals expected to achieve those outcomes (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980).

DiMaggio & Powell (1983) posited that when a regulatory body financially supports an organization, that organization tends to take on characteristics legitimated by its regulator in a process outlined earlier, known as *coercive isomorphism*. Moreover, the larger society within which the organization is situated comes to believe in the legitimacy of the form the organization takes. Thus, the organization feels pressure to conform to the formal demands of its regulator and with the informal expectations of the larger society (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

When NCLB attached consequences to its imperatives, schools responded by adding new positions, routines, and systems, such as test coordinators, and systems for data collection and use (Means, Padilla, DeBarger, & Bakia, 2009; Spillane, Parise, & Sherer, 2011). This altered educational environment affected the behaviors of leaders and teachers in schools, creating a tighter link between regulation and instruction (Spillane & Kim, 2012; Spillane, Parise, & Sherer, 2011). During the process, the public's ideas about the proper approach to schooling were influenced through media outlets (newspapers, television news, magazines), trade associations, professional schools, and commercial outlets (textbook publishers, tutoring services, online curricula), many of which began to direct their resources toward the promotion of NCLB's new goals: increased proficiency rates, public reporting of scores, scientifically-based instructional materials, and highly qualified teachers (Goldstein, 2011). Although high stakes testing has been a source of public debate, the existence of the NCLB-created school positions, routines, and systems became hallmarks of the public's understanding of a legitimate

school. So, teachers not only became directly controlled through obvious mandates, but they also became indirectly controlled through the social expectation to conform to the legitimated vision of schooling.

In 2002, teachers were directed to immediately implement the new classroom goal of increasing proficiency rates, one that precipitated an observable teacher behavior change in the classroom. This *teacher* behavioral change has been demonstrated in research: teachers focused on bubble kids, narrowed curriculum, and taught to the test (Barrett, 2009; Booher-Jennings, 2005; Cimbricz, 2002; Ingersoll, 2014; Jacob, 2005). But other research has suggested that the tighter coupling between regulation and instruction might be fleeting because of established institutionalized norms (Tyack & Cuban, 1995), or dependent on school context, individual teachers' understanding of policy, and school administration's emphasis on the regulation (Diamond, 2012; Spillane, 2009). This study proposes that over time, regardless of whether or not NCLB-related changes to classroom behavioral or organizational structures persist, the accountability-related organizational outcomes may have infiltrated professional values and norms in a process that re-oriented professional roles and identities. This possibility is important to examine because it could provide insight into the enduring question of whether or not school reform works. I seek to understand if the established institutional logic that guided the profession of teaching took on the values, goals and outcomes reflected in NCLB's ideological framework in a way that impacted the professionals situated within it.

Decision-making within Limits

Institutional logics guide the collective identity, which then have the potential to shape individual identities (Pouthier, Steele, & Ocasio, 2013). One issue that my study faced was how to examine institutional logics and identities when they reside in the abstract; they are not

material objects. I proposed an inquiry into teaching's institutional logic by talking to the individuals whose ideas reflect and reproduce the values embedded in the overarching logic. These individuals are the carriers of professional logics. I contend that guiding principles embedded in institutional logics exist in the *cognitive premises* that individuals draw on to make decisions (Perrow, 1986). Cognitive premises are a patterned way of thinking that restrict decision-making to a mutually understood set of norms and values (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Perrow, 1986). They are the source that people subconsciously or preconsciously refer to when making decisions in particular contexts.

Borrowing concepts from March and Simon (1958), Perrow (1986) contended that “to change individual behavior, you do not have to change individuals,” (p. 126). The author provided a conceptual scheme for how organizations change individual behavior by limiting their cognitive options when decision-points arise. This boundary setting is important from an organizational standpoint because individual agency must be directed and situated inside the organization for two reasons: humans have a tendency to go their own selfish ways and there are limits to human rationality (Perrow, 1986, p. 129). Friedland and Alford (1991) framed individual agency within the organization as “nested,” where organizations set the boundaries for professional opportunity and constraint:

Individual action can only be explained in a societal context, but that context can only be understood through individual consciousness and behavior. We conceive of these levels of analysis as “nested,” where organization and institution specify progressively higher levels of constraint and opportunity for individual action. (p. 242)

Perrow (1986) contended that organizations have the ability to mold levels of constraint and opportunity for individual action by using indirect mechanisms, or “unobtrusive premise

controls” to “screen out some parts of reality and magnify other parts” (p. 125). The process happens in a rather mundane way through an organization’s system of daily operating procedures. More than professional socialization attributed to group pressures, it happens via mechanisms put in place to achieve the organization’s intended goals and outcomes. Specifically, Perrow (1986), citing March and Simon (1958), stated that “uncertainty absorption, organizational vocabularies, programmed tasks, standardization of raw materials, frequency of communication channel usage, and interdependencies of units and programs” have the ability to shape cognitive premises because they:

limit information content and flow, thus controlling the premises available for decisions; they set up expectations so as to highlight some aspects of the situation and play down others; they limit the search for alternatives when problems are confronted, thus ensuring more predictable and consistent solutions, they indicate the threshold levels as to when a danger signal is being emitted (thus reducing the occasions for decision making and promoting satisficing rather than optimizing behavior); they achieve coordination of effort by selecting certain kinds of work techniques and schedules. (p. 128)

To put these mechanisms in the context of the post-NCLB era and to aid a better understanding of the indirect mechanisms, a brief description of each is included below, along with a section outlining how each may have been impacted as they relate to schooling in the NCLB era. It is outside the purview of this study to provide a complete analysis of the organizational responses of state departments of education, school districts, and schools across the country. Instead, examples will be offered to help qualify how NCLB influenced indirect mechanisms operating in the education system, fostering the conditions for the policy’s goals to invisibly modify institutional logics and the professionals embedded within them.

Uncertainty absorption refers to the process of filtering information from higher levels of the organization to the lower levels. The highest unit in the organizational hierarchy accesses the purest form of information; in fact, the highest unit may produce that information, which includes intended goals, outcomes, expectations, procedures, changes, and so forth. The next unit in the hierarchy translates that information for the units below, filtering the information that it deems important. Like the game of telephone, each official level from the top down screens the information necessary for the level below.

The term *organizational vocabularies* refers to the wholesale stable network of taken-for-granted operating policies, procedures, communication channels, classification schemes, and facilities infrastructure—the day-to-day hum of an organization. These routines are followed by individuals in an organization and, once set, generally go unchallenged because they are the way things are done. One way to think of an organizational vocabulary in schools is Tyack and Cuban's (1995) idea of the grammar of schooling, which consists of classes organized by grade-level, core subjects like mathematics and English, one teacher per classroom, and credit-requirements known as Carnegie units. This organizational vocabulary ensures that work is coordinated in a uniform fashion.

Programmed tasks are routines carried out by individuals in the organization. They are the tasks that the organization has deemed important for it to run smoothly and efficiently and to meet its goals. In schools, a programmed task might be taking attendance each day or completing report cards every quarter. Another might be dismissing students when the bell rings at the end of the class period. Generally, individuals carry out these tasks for the organization without questioning why.

The *standardization of raw materials* refers to an organization's need to define and understand the materials with which it works so that work can be carried out efficiently (Perrow, 1967). An organization must have a consistent definition of its raw materials in order to figure out how to transform it according to the organization's needs. When thinking about a factory producing products, it is easy to imagine why the standardization of raw materials would be essential to the functioning of a factory. A uniform way of handling the raw materials minimizes exceptions in dealing with it and streamlines the process for transforming a product on an assembly line and shipping it out (Perrow, 1967). Reducing variability in raw materials is also a part of standardization. Perrow (1967) claimed this happened in two ways: organizations become more experienced creating processes to handle exceptions that arise in dealing with the raw materials and the organizations intentionally reduce the variability in the raw material. In schools, especially classrooms, raw materials could be considered students, content, or pedagogy. Standardizing any of these would increase the efficiency of the school as an organization. One example in schools is categorizing students into different grade levels or different tracks, such as special education, gifted or advanced placement. Standardizing the grouping of classes theoretically makes the teaching process more efficient—and it also becomes institutionalized as part of the taken-for-granted organizational vocabulary of schooling.

Frequency of communication channel usage refers to who communicates what information to whom, how that information is communicated and through what avenues. This is especially important because it sets the boundaries for the information that is organizationally relevant at different levels. In an organization, communication travels from source to source either formally or informally, planned or spontaneously, but usually systematically. Generally,

formal or informal protocols exist for the information that gets communicated to and within each unit, who communicates it, and how it is communicated.

Finally, *interdependencies of units and programs* refers to how the different divisions in an organization depend on each other for resources, information, or to achieve the organization's goals. Interdependence emerges when an organization becomes too big to handle all of its functions from one office and the labor must be divided among specialized offices. The organization then runs without a daily cognizance of how the units are interacting. In public schools, the same types of units and program interdependencies exist. There is a school board, the central or district office, which usually houses different departments, such as human resources, budget and finance, technology, curriculum, and facilities; and the school, which has its own offices, including attendance, front office, counseling, individual classrooms, and departments.

An NCLB-oriented Decision-making Environment

NCLB mandated that schools in every state ensure children “obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging State academic achievement standards and state academic assessments” (NCLB, 2002). A new purpose for schools was explicitly stated, and states were directed to accomplish this through various mandates. Listed below are the major explicit directives from the law:

1. Align “academic assessments, accountability systems, teacher preparation and training, curriculum, and instructional materials” with state standards so student progress could be measured and reported to students, teachers, parents, and administrators at the state, district and local levels.
2. Conduct annual academic assessments for all students in grades 3-8

3. Produce annual measurable proficiency objectives (AMO) for reading and math to reach 100% proficiency by 2014
4. Publicly report adequate yearly progress (AYP) against the annual measurable objectives
5. Publicly report student subgroup scores to highlight progress in proficiency
6. Publicly report one chosen measure of student progress, usually graduation rates
7. Insure all teachers are highly qualified in core academic subjects by 2005-2006
8. Use scientifically-based instructional strategies

Title I schools that did not demonstrate adequate yearly progress were subject to federally-backed interventions and sanctions, including allowing students to transfer out, replacing entire faculties, restructuring to a charter model, and closure. States were responsible for reporting, monitoring and helping failing schools (NCLB, 2002; Sunderman & Orfield, 2006).

What I outline next are ways in which NCLB potentially impacted the organizational structures of the educational environment through the six indirect mechanisms: uncertainty absorption, organizational vocabularies, programmed tasks, standardization of raw materials, frequency of communication channel usage, and interdependencies of units and programs.

Interdependencies of Units and Programs. In response to NCLB's directives, schools were forced to modify their existing units and programs and add new ones. As education systems in states responded, the interdependence of units and programs across state departments of education, school districts and local public schools became coupled with NCLB. For example, compliance with the mandate to publicly report annual yearly progress on standardized tests required alignment at every level of the education system, producing a new, tighter dependence

among units and programs. State departments of education had to contract with a testing company, decide on cut scores, design a data management system that collected student demographic data and devise a way to report that data. School districts had to figure out how to administer the tests to local schools, report district and school level data to the state, not to mention the task of figuring out how to produce an increase in scores in local schools which involved aligning curricula with tested items. Local schools had to involve teachers and students in this effort by introducing new testing schedules, implementing curricula that emphasized tested material, and incorporating data-driven pedagogy. For each of these tasks, each level had to designate time and human resources; funding had to be reallocated, roles shifted or added, new offices created, all in the name of one goal: to comply with NCLB (Stecher et al., 2008; Sunderman & Orfield, 2006).

Uncertainty Absorption. Once these programs were set at the state level, they had to be disseminated to lower levels: school districts and schools. Opportunities for uncertainty absorption occurred at each level of the education hierarchy with regard to each goal: federal to state, state to district, district to school, school to teacher. Each level had to coordinate, filter and translate larger, more complicated goals into simplified goals and tasks that could be carried out by the level below. Again, compliance with the mandate to publicly report adequate yearly progress required action by teachers. By the time that goal was filtered from federal policy, through state departments and district offices down to teachers (those tasked with increasing the proficiency scores), it was translated into the term “data-driven instruction” (Booher-Jennings, 2005). This term meant that teachers examined test scores of students and the levels of student achievement for each strand of the test and then designed classroom instruction to target the deficits. Drawing from my own personal experience as a teacher, I unquestioningly incorporated

this term into my professional language and my teaching repertoire without any understanding of its origins in federal policy.

Organizational Vocabularies. The new effort surrounding NCLB's goals impacted the daily operating procedures, or the grammar of schooling, in local schools, subtly and slowly influencing realities for school-level educators. Schools shifted and added resources and priorities to accommodate new demands. Teachers incorporated new curriculum maps that paced and prioritized classroom content according to tested items and test schedules. Professional development became more routine and promoted best practices that were grounded in scientifically-based research, data-driven instruction, test preparation materials, and so forth. To facilitate the alignment of instructional materials in schools and to incorporate "scientifically-based instructional methods," new support systems were created at the school and district level, including the position of "instructional coach" (Stecher et al., 2008). Counseling offices were tasked with organizing and administering standardized tests and pre-tests, shifting their responsibilities and creating a greater need for social workers at the school level. Student test results and grades, traditionally used to report student progress, became a way to measure teacher effectiveness as well.

Programmed Tasks. In the high-stakes environment of NCLB, it is conceivable that routine tasks in public schools were added and took on a new character as each was scrutinized regarding its importance in the scheme of accountability (Dee, Jacob, & Schwartz, 2013; Stecher et al., 2008; Sunderman & Orfield, 2006.) From personal experience in two different schools in two different states during the NCLB era, I know that teachers were required to post the standard covered in the lesson on the board for administrators and students to observe. I also know from personal experience that teacher observations became a way for principals to monitor teachers'

use of scientifically-based research and standards-based curriculum. Homework policies might have been modified to curb failures and increase graduation rates. Standardized tests and pre-tests were added to the yearly schedule, affecting curricular pacing.

Standardization of Raw Materials. Standardization is about minimizing variability. Content, pedagogy, and students were subject to increased standardization as a result of NCLB's directives. Content was narrowed and aligned to tested material. States, districts and schools promoted best practices that were grounded in scientifically-based research, influencing and narrowing ideas of legitimate pedagogical practices. These were disseminated through professional development, as well as trade associations and teacher training programs. Variability in students was minimized by dividing them into subgroups and targeting their test scores through various instructional means. For example, teachers were instructed to focus on bubble kids, and classes were implemented to address test score deficits for low-performing subgroups.

Communication Channel Usage. A significant function of NCLB's mandates was to increase the communication of measurable, standardized data. The test mandate, in connection with the public reporting of AYP for subgroups, set the conditions for the creation of specialized offices and/or positions to handle data collection and programs for testing and reporting at the state, district and local levels. For example, new channels of communication were established during the NCLB era through the creation of offices and positions devoted to managing the coordination of NCLB's requirements. Offices were created at the level of school district with names such as Federal Programs and Services, Assessment and Research, Demographics, and offices devoted to English Language Learners; positions were created such as Director of Assessment and Research or Director of Evaluation and Assessment. At the local school level,

offices or positions had to be designated to manage the flow of information and data between the school and district. At the districts I worked in, the counseling offices took on this role, as did the instructional coach.

These indirect mechanisms did not act in isolation, but interacted to orient both the professional shared stock of knowledge, or *institutional logic*, and individual cognitive premises. The pattern of information flow creates a limited reality for the individual within it, so that when individuals make decisions, without recognizing it, their cognitive premises become the basis for controlling and directing their behavior. Through the constellation of formal and informal organizational operating protocols, procedures, and communication channels, an individual's options for making decisions are simplified and narrowed in the direction of the organization's goals. When such a high number of indirect mechanisms in an organization is focused on limited goals (those promoted by NCLB), that shapes an organization's collective conscious. Individuals are only able to view their work problems, solutions, raw materials, novel ideas, likes, dislikes, preferences, priorities within the organizational reality in which they are embedded—and during NCLB, that organizational reality was saturated with messages promoting NCLB's core tenets.

Perrow (1986) mentioned that the process of premise-setting could just as easily be referred to as indoctrination or brainwashing. In the context of a school, I doubt the process is as nefariously plotted as brainwashing is sometimes considered. Rather, premise-setting is considered a more efficient way of coercing professionals to enact the goals of the organization than direct surveillance and rules because organizations do not have to spend time, energy and money on surveillance programs when individuals “think” like the organization (Perrow, 1986). Premise setting is also more omniscient because individuals carry out the organization's goals while believing they are acting of their own volition (Lukes, 1977). If an organization can get

individual cognitive premises to align with organizational goals, the organization has the power to control members' behaviors far more efficiently without costly rules and regulations; and, more importantly, without the members' explicit *awareness* of control (Scott, 1995).

Reorienting the Professional in the NCLB Era

NCLB's new priorities intervened in school operations in an unprecedented manner by linking their requirements to funding and public legitimacy. The policy required schools to deliver results or face significant consequences. As an intervention, the policy targeted the behaviors of schools and teachers. It added new language, goals, and purposes that had the potential to impact the way teachers thought about their work. Institutional scholars have contended that teachers' classroom work is buffered from policy directives and that teachers symbolically comply with mandates while maintaining autonomy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Weick, 1976). However, NCLB's sanction-heavy climate created adverse consequences for teachers who symbolically complied or maintained autonomy that did not conform with the accountability-driven cultural logic. They risked lower student performance on standardized tests (Au, 2011), accusations of not caring about students or being unwilling to change (White & Rosenbaum, 2008), and risked their legitimacy as educators in the eyes of administration, peers and students (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Cochran-Smith, 2003; Goldstein, 2011; Olsen & Sexton, 2009). Maxcy (2011) described the moral and far-reaching consequences teachers, especially those teachers who bridged NCLB implementation, faced if they dared to resist policies in the post-NCLB climate:

[Performance accountability] policies effectively redefine underperformance and lack of adequate progress as acts of noncompliance or deviance on the part of students, teachers, and schools. These introduce powerful disciplining effects on students by linking

adequate progress to “high stakes” such as graduation, participation in extracurricular activities, and more recently grade-level promotion (Valencia & Villarreal, 2004). With sanctions accruing to students, educators face new moral hazards for bucking the system as sanctions for teachers’ noncompliance—such as refusal to align instruction to mandated testing—may be visited upon students. (p. 258)

NCLB represented a unique rupture in the prevailing professional institutional logic because its federally-backed mandates forced teachers who were already operating within it to confront their previously taken-for-granted shared assumptions, values, interests, and preferences against the ones that were being forced upon them through policy (Hallett, 2010). When the occupation had to reorient itself to a new set of goals, the rupture made individuals who were already inside the occupation, those with an established social stock of knowledge, confront their value systems and priorities; which could explain why I heard so many anti-NCLB grumblings from my veteran colleagues in 2001. Bridge teachers (those who bridged the pre and post-NCLB world) underwent a value re-orientation that those who began post-NCLB did not have to experience.

Research supports this idea by revealing that teachers who bridged the pre and post NCLB enactment experienced a confrontation of their established stock of knowledge that led to identity conflict and resistance (Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006; Hallett, 2010; Mausethagen, 2013b; Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Stone-Johnson, 2014; Wilkins, 2011). The policy’s system of sanctions and mandates effectively controlled the operations of schooling so that teachers who bridged the shift could resist, but that resistance might result in an unhappy, uneasy work environment. To avoid conflict with colleagues, administration, even students, bridge teachers

were nudged toward acceptance of the new set of values if they wanted to maintain legitimate identities, as well as their jobs (Coburn, 2004).

When NCLB was introduced in 2001, the mandates resulted in the addition of new elements to each type of indirect mechanism in schools. These changes fostered an occupational context where the unobtrusive premise controls influenced the premises for decision-making and shaped teachers' thoughts regarding their work. Gradually teachers' shared body of knowledge was rearranged to align with NCLB's goals and purposes, creating an initial destabilization process that the post-NCLB teachers did not experience. Post-NCLB teachers were initiated into the shared stock of knowledge that included an institutional logic already influenced by NCLB's imperatives, so this taken-for-granted version of professional reality was more easily accepted without struggle.

A new system of beliefs from which teachers draw on to make decisions has the potential to invisibly shift the ideology of the occupation. The process of transmission and reorientation is unseen and impacts taken-for-granted norms, resulting in a possibly more enduring, long-term impact on the profession than the more visible levers that produced observable behavioral changes in teachers' work. A post-NCLB teacher, especially one who was socialized as an elementary or high school student within the accountability climate, could potentially define the goals of teaching and the role of the teacher in ways that are different than the pre-NCLB teacher. The occupational norms of the teaching profession potentially shifted in a way that a new professional emerged within them, one with a modified set of premises for decision-making that more closely matched the ideological standpoint of NCLB. The post-NCLB teacher made both trivial and consequential decisions within the bounds of NCLB's goals, without realizing

they were doing so. Lukes (1977) described this process as “thought control,” when policy “secures compliance by controlling thoughts and desires” (p. 23).

Theory-driven Study

In order to test the hypothesis that NCLB influenced the system of beliefs from which teachers draw on to make decisions, I applied concepts from theory and my own pilot research to guide the examination of policy’s impact on teachers’ work. What follows is an explanation of the concepts I applied.

Values, Interests, and Preferences. This study proposes that by comparing two different eras of patterns in teachers’ expressions of values, interests, and preferences about their work, similarities and differences in the profession’s institutional logic should emerge. I view teachers’ expressions of values, interests, and preferences as a translation of the broader institutional logic that guides teaching. An institutional logic is a set of shared assumptions, knowledge, and norms that set boundaries for appropriate behavior, constrain and enable decisions, and provide a consistent understanding for teachers of their role in schools and society.

I derived my conceptualization of values, interests, and preferences as articulated logic from Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood (1980). In the following quote, the authors explain how the articulation of values and interests provides clues about the somewhat hidden, or subconscious, premises that guide the actions of members of an organization:

Interpretive schemes typically are taken for granted by organizational members: the assumptive frames which shape their agency usually remain unarticulated in the routine of action. Yet this does not preclude the possibility in principle that members are able to unravel, sometimes at length, the reasons that lie behind their immediate purposes

and intentions. Organizational actors are capable intermittently of making explicit the bases of their conduct, and an important part of this articulating of interpretive frames includes the expression of actors' values and interests.

I used this concept when designing my non-directive interview questions. I asked teachers about routine classroom procedures so that I could interpret the values, interests, and preferences that lie behind the purposes and intentions that they articulated when talking about their work.

The Instructional Dimension. For a pilot study in the summer of 2014, I analyzed the everyday talk of teachers as a window into their professional life-world, focusing on the way teachers frame their values, interests, and preferences with regard to their classroom work. When teachers talked about what went on in their classrooms, I noticed their responses systematically referred to work that 1) enhanced knowledge, 2) cultivated relationships or 3) reinforced values. I decided to categorize these as three dimensions of teachers' classroom work: instructional, relational and ethical. I also discovered that in relation to their instructional work, teachers systematically referred to different materials that they sought to shape or change. I borrowed Perrow's concept of *raw materials* to classify the materials I identified as central to teachers' instructional work: pedagogy, students, and content.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I decided to focus on the instructional dimension because this is the realm of teachers' work where the transmission of academic knowledge takes place. I also narrowed my study to the three raw materials that were shaped within the instructional dimension: pedagogy, students, and content. I referred to these as essential classroom components.

Essential Classroom Components. The instructional dimension reflects work teachers do in the classroom to shape tangible raw materials. To further explain why I characterize raw materials as pedagogy, students, and content, I drew upon terms outlined in Perrow's (1967) work. Perrow (1967) used the term "technology" to describe "the actions that an individual performs upon an object, in order to make some change in that object," and the term "raw materials" as "the materials that organizations are expected to control and handle" (p. 195). Perrow (1967) also suggested that people are the raw materials in "people-processing organizations," such as schools. Using these definitions, students might be considered the raw materials while pedagogy and content are considered the technology. However, neither pedagogy nor content is a static action performed to shape students, like a conventional understanding of a technology in a machine bureaucracy. Instead, both pedagogy and content are controlled and handled by the teacher, as are students. A synergy exists among the three, the teacher uses one to change or handle the others. For the purposes of this conceptual framework, I consider the teacher as the technology and the pedagogy, students, and content as the raw materials that teachers shape on a day-to-day basis. I refer to *pedagogy, students, and content* as "essential classroom components," rather than raw materials to avoid any confusion about which is the technology and which are the elemental resources.

Perrow's Theory of Work. I used classifications from Perrow's (1967) theory of work to frame the change I discovered in teachers' work and analyzed any evidence of change against concepts he proposed. Perrow's theory of work classified tasks done in organizations so that they could be more accurately compared based only on labor carried out by the workers (1967). He proposed examining two aspects of work (1) the number of exceptional cases encountered in the

work, making it either routine or non-routine; (2) the type of search process an individual must use when a problem occurs in the work, making it either analyzable or unanalyzable.

He also proposed analyzing raw materials in terms of (1) *understandability*, which is how well the nature of the material is understood; and (2) *stability* and *variability*, which is “whether the material can be treated in a standardized fashion or whether continual adjustment is necessary” (Perrow, 1967, p. 197).

What follows is a more detailed description of the concepts Perrow outlined in his *theory of work* (1967). I used these ideas to guide my interpretations of any change I identified in teachers’ responses. This method of analysis provided a way to use theory to generate a more systematic description of any evidence of change. For some changes, Perrow’s concepts could be applied, and, for others, they could not.

Routineness. Perrow classified work as routine, craft-like, nonroutine or engineer-like. According to the model, work has two basic aspects. The first aspect is the number of exceptions handled when doing the work. In routine tasks, workers encounter few exceptions whereas in nonroutine tasks, workers encounter many exceptions. For example, an assembly line worker in an auto factory would face few exceptions in the work, making situations routine. But an aerospace team mapping a mission to a new planet would face many exceptions, making situations nonroutine. See Table 1 Perrow's Theory of Work.

Analyzability. The second aspect is the degree of difficulty in the search processes used to handle exceptions. If the search process is simple, either a protocol exists for handling the exception or the protocol is easy to modify. This type of work is viewed as analyzable because the search for a solution is “logical and analytical” (p. 196). Engineer-like work, such as civil engineers building bridges, is nonroutine (although *more routine* than craft-like work), but it is

analyzable because exceptions can be handled with modification to existing protocols (Perrow, 1967, p. 196). If the search process is difficult, no protocol exists for handling the exception and one must be invented through intuition, chance or guesswork. This type of work is viewed as unanalyzable because the search for a solution is “vague and poorly conceptualized” (p. 196). Psychiatry is an example of craft-like work; it is unanalyzable, nonroutine, and draws upon intuition, chance and guesswork. Problems in craft-like work are not easily determined or solved. See Table 1 Perrow's Theory of Work.

Work Type	Exceptions	Search Process	Example
Nonroutine	most nonroutine	unanalyzable	Aerospace Team
Craft-like	somewhat nonroutine	unanalyzable	Psychiatry
Engineer-like	least nonroutine	analyzable	Civil Engineering
Routine	Routine	analyzable	Assembly Line

Table 1 Perrow's Theory of Work

Summary

The focus of this study was not to uncover the processes through which a potential reorientation occurred, rather to investigate if there was evidence of a shift in the orientation of teachers’ values, interests, and preferences. My analysis took place at the level of individual premises, guided by the assumption that the institutional logic of the teaching profession permeates the cognition of individuals who identify as teachers. I contended that during the NCLB era, teachers’ institutional logic might have taken on new elements that corresponded with the values promoted by the policy’s purposes, mandates and sanctions. This happened through the broad dissemination of newly shaped goals, intended outcomes and values of the profession through organizational structures that were implemented in states and schools across the country. Because over time this new frame of reference became a taken-for-granted part of

teachers' everyday existence, their cognitive premises absorbed them as conditional to their professional roles and identities. Their professional self-understandings became a reflection of NCLB's goals.

Teachers' expressions of values, interests, and preferences are viewed as a manifestation of institutional logic at the micro-level (Lok, 2010) (see Figure 1 A visual depiction of the mechanisms through which NCLB influenced individual decision-making). Following in this tradition and armed with the framework for understanding institutional logics and cognitive premises of professionals, I sought to discover if policy influenced more than the observable behaviors of teachers. I wanted to know if policy also influenced the cognitive frame that both grounds teachers in their roles and is drawn upon to make classroom decisions. To this end, I asked teachers from two eras to articulate and express how they structured their classroom universe with the goal of unearthing a set of mutual professional values, interests, and preferences that lie beneath those decisions. Using this conceptual lens, my goal was to examine whether or not a normative shift occurred in the profession that more conventional research methods have thus far missed.

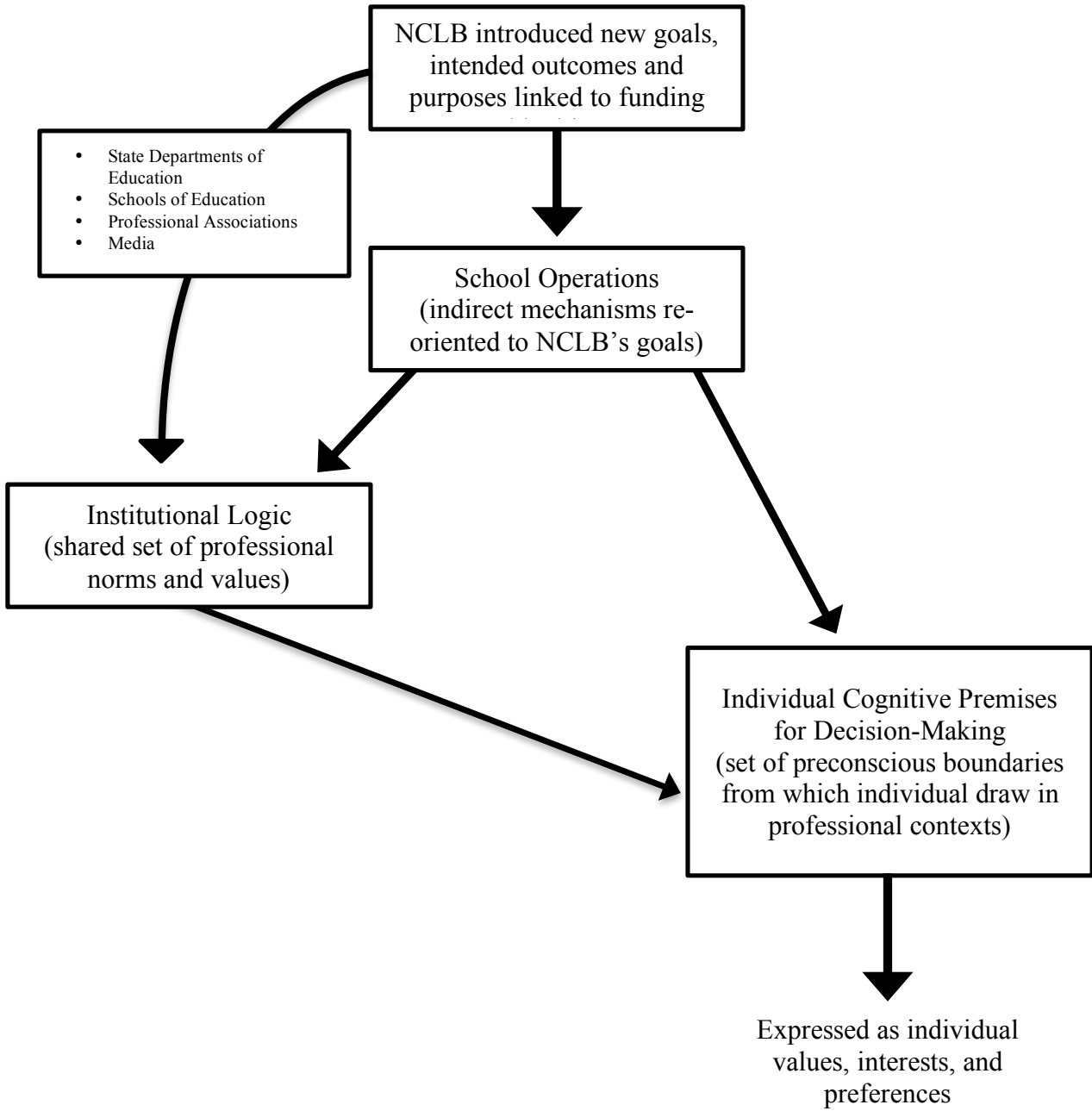


Figure 1 A visual depiction of the mechanisms through which NCLB influenced individual decision-making

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Since this study addresses teaching as a profession, the literature review provides a sociological lens for examining how NCLB may have impacted teachers' values, interests, and preferences and why this perspective is important. It presents the relevant findings of the current education scholarship, focusing on NCLB's impacts on teachers.

NCLB as Neoliberal Reform

Mehta (2013) suggested that accountability policies resulted in a new way of viewing schooling: one more market-driven, based on competition, data, measurable outcomes, AYP scores, more subject to top-down authority, preoccupied with maximizing productivity, and connected to broader economic goals. Scholars suggested that NCLB authorized and legitimated a model for teaching that aligned with the neoliberal, market-based values that drove post-1980 accountability policies (Hursh, 2007). Metz (2008) claimed that the policy was a broad scale attack on public schools, citing the impossible goal of 100% proficiency for most schools, especially disadvantaged ones. The author purported that the resulting high proportion of "failing schools" would diminish America's trust in public education, helping to promote the privatization agenda of neoliberal policies. In the book *Teaching by Numbers* (2009), Taubman made the case that the 1980s ushered in a manufactured education crisis that was promoted by corporations and conservative policies. Taubman (2009) contended the discourse in teaching, culminating in NCLB, mirrored those in the corporate world acting to shape teaching into something that can be quantified and reduced to calculable practices.

Goldstein's (2011) empirical work supported this stance. The author discovered in her frame analysis of popular media that news outlets adopted the language and principles of NCLB, depicting teachers and unions as foes against NCLB in the struggle toward equal educational

opportunity. Au (2011) used the concepts of Taylorism and scientific management to conclude that high stakes testing controlled modern teachers in the NCLB era, contending that:

Standardized testing, at its functional core is foundational to the view that schools are factories where teachers-as-labourers work on an efficiently Taylorized educational assembly line ‘producing’ students-as-commodities, and whose value as teachers, students, and schools is measured and compared vis-à-vis the tests. (p. 38)

Borkowski and Sneed (2006) cited problems that resulted from the market-based ideology grounding NCLB’s reforms, as well as a lack of consideration in the policy for non-school effects. The transfer option allowed families to choose a different school if their neighborhood school did not meet AYP requirements for two consecutive years. But research offered no clear connection between school choice and higher educational achievement; therefore the authors contended that the transfer option was based more on ideology than research. Additionally, the authors claimed that the supplemental educational services provision and the school restructuring intervention allowed the private market to enter the public school system (Borkowski & Sneed, 2006).

The New Accountability-Logic of Teaching

The system of accountability, with its focus on standards, high-stakes testing, sanctions, and best practices, produced an institutional logic and a vision of schooling that was dominated by its imperatives (Diamond, 2007; Mehta, 2013). This logic increasingly allowed teaching to be treated as “good or bad, right or wrong, working or failing;” a definition that could be supported with standards, testing outcomes, and through the presence or absence of evidence-based practices in the classroom (Cochran-Smith, 2003, p. 4). Ball (2003) referred to this logic as the “vocabulary of performance,” which defined the boundaries for how teachers thought and

talked about their work. It coordinated teachers' work by setting the norms for instructional, ethical and organizational behavior (Ingersoll, 2003; Vaughn, 2013; Vogler, 2008). Test-scores created categories of "winners and losers" for both teachers and students (Au, 2011). Properly teaching and assessing standards, as well as producing high test scores became hallmarks of a good teacher (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Milner et al., 2012; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002; White & Rosenbaum, 2008).

In some schools, this vision of effective teaching promoted an atmosphere of competition among teachers, which negatively impacted their abilities to form collegial relationships (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Olsen & Sexton, 2009). Teachers who deviated from the test-based curriculum were criticized by colleagues and denied resources (White & Rosenbaum, 2008). Compliance was rewarded, while innovation was discouraged. Cuban (2013) noted that the focus on high-stakes testing created a classroom with less student choice, less creativity in lessons, less project-based learning and less student-centered teaching. NCLB compelled teachers to eliminate the variables in their work that might negatively impact the high scores students needed to produce. New labels used under NCLB, such as "low-performing schools," took on new meaning that teachers sought to avoid, thus they more willingly complied with administrative demands (Mintrop & Sunderman, 2009). Subjective measures once used to evaluate a teacher, like number of hours worked, workshops attended or knowledge of district policies were replaced with the more objective measure of test scores (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Sloan, 2006).

Ball (2003) suggested that accountability necessitated a new language for discussing roles in education. Learning was recharacterized as "outcomes," achievement became "targets," teaching became "performance" (Ball, 2003). Teaching was recast as performance that could be

enhanced with incentives and punishments, a much different basis for determining quality teaching than the “older ethics of professional judgment and cooperation” (Ball, 2003, p. 218). After analyzing the language used in the NCLB Act, Cochran-Smith & Lytle (2006) echoed that account by remarking that the language reframed teachers as “consumers of products, implementers of research-based programs, faithful users of test data, transmitters of knowledge and skill, and remediators of student weaknesses” (p. 679). NCLB also valued subject-matter knowledge, research-based “best” practices and scripted curriculum over pedagogy, serving to potentially reduce individualism, creativity, and variety from teaching (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2006; Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Russell (2011) discovered a shift in the logic of kindergarten teaching from 1950 to 2009 from one that emphasized child development to one that promoted academic preparation.

Accountability Impacts on the Occupation of Teaching

Scholars raised concerns that accountability affected teaching’s occupational characteristics. The combination of mandated testing, along with increased power for top-down decision makers resulted in more routine teaching practices, less classroom autonomy and a demoralization that pushed teachers out or discouraged the best candidates from the field (Darling-Hammond & Rustique-forrester, 2005; Ingersoll, 2003; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009). The pressure of NCLB caused teachers to fear for their jobs, leading teachers of tested subjects to work longer hours than teachers of untested subjects (Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Harrington, 2014; Reback, Rockoff, & Schwartz, 2011). The more stringent and standardized state teaching requirements potentially made teaching as a career less attractive to those who would be drawn to the relative autonomy associated with teaching (Darling-Hammond & Berry, 1988). NCLB’s emphasis on the crucial need to improve the caliber of the teaching force

demoralized a profession by implying it was failing at its commitment to public service (Ingersoll, 2003). High stakes tests were also linked to increased anxiety for teachers (Grant, 2000; Barrett, 2009).

Teaching constraints and test pressures created a more rigid top-down hierarchy, as well as an “us vs. them” mentality between teachers and administrators, instilling fear in teachers and decreasing morale (Sloan, 2006; Darling-Hammond & Rustique-forrester, 2005). Curricular decisions were taken away from teachers and centralized, effectively placing teachers at the bottom of the top-down managerial, bureaucratic hierarchy (Au, 2010; Ingersoll, 2003). Central administration began to mandate the use of curriculum maps, which teachers in one study felt were used to encourage conformity, discourage creativity and keep them in line (Olsen & Sexton, 2009). Ingersoll (2003) claimed this arrangement was an intentional attempt to routinize the teacher/student relationship, the most uncertain and ambiguous aspects of school, in order to increase the efficiency of the school bureaucracy.

Essentially, the focus on standards, state-mandated testing and research-based practices promoted a more routinized, standardized, prescribed, and teacher-directed version of teaching, one which rendered useless the skills teachers had historically used to determine curriculum and design lessons that were relevant to their students’ needs (Apple & Teitelbaum, 1986). This version seemed to run counter to the policy goals of creating problem-solvers and critical thinkers; instead sustaining a conservative, enduring model of teacher-centered teaching (Cuban, 1986).

Darling-Hammond (2007) lamented that the NCLB gave more lip-service than meaningful assistance to increasing the quality of teachers in all schools. Ryan (2004) conceded that standards and testing may have shielded some students from bad teachers, but its biggest

impact was to restrict the freedom of good teachers, paradoxically discouraging high quality teachers from entering the profession. Desimone, Smith, and Frisvold (2007) supported this concern finding that NCLB did not increase the quality of teachers, especially for the under-represented students for which it sought to raise achievement.

Accountability Impacts on Teachers' Classroom Behaviors

Teachers' classroom behaviors have responded to accountability policies. Accountability pressures made innovative teaching methods less attractive, (especially in schools that were in jeopardy of failing), caused teachers to teach to the test, pressured them to ignore untested material, limited their content to state standards, and reinforced a traditional model for teaching (Cuban, 2013). Nonetheless, Cuban (2013) asserted the way teachers teach was not significantly or fundamentally altered (nor have accountability policies proven to produce particularly meaningful reductions in the achievement gap).

When comparing a tested and untested third grade classroom, Plank and Condliffe (2013) found that the pressure of the test high-stakes test in the third grade classroom narrowed the instructional strategies and the character of the teachers' relationships with students in the season leading up to the testing. They concluded that high stakes testing lowered instructional quality. Luna and Turner (2001) echoed the findings that teachers felt like NCLB required them to teach to the test and narrow their curriculum. In their interviews with teachers, they found teachers felt standardized tests did not accurately gauge the intellect of students and worried about the lack of resources for struggling students (Luna & Turner, 2001).

Test-based pressures pushed teachers toward methods and content that insured students' success on tests. Teachers narrowed their curricula by focusing on tested material, limiting extraneous material, and marginalizing or eliminating untested subjects like social studies and

science (Cuban, 2013; Milner et al., 2012; Murnane & Papay, 2010; Reback et al., 2011; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009). Teachers also limited types of methods, like cooperative activities and peer to peer interaction, that took time away from test preparation (Au, 2011; Diamond, 2007; Watanabe, 2007). Vogler (2008) found the higher the stakes, the more teacher-directed the instruction became. Luna and Turner (2001) reported that English teachers moved away from “constructivist approaches” toward more “direct transmission” approaches. Tested material was taught at the expense of content teachers knew students loved, like novels in English (Watanabe, 2007). Diamond (2007) found testing pressured teachers to teach concepts more quickly and to spend more instructional time on standardized test-taking strategies. Through these mechanisms, tests became the curriculum rather than the “means to assess” the curriculum (Cimbricz, 2002; Crocco & Costigan, 2007).

Classroom relationships were impacted by NCLB. Valli and Buese (2007) saw a lesson’s “level of cognitive demand” decline as a result of test-based pressures, producing a lower-quality classroom. Rather than cultivate a love of literature in students, teachers taught them how to identify a literary device in an English classroom because that is what they would need to know for the test (Watanabe, 2007). In a meta-analysis, Mausethagen (2013b) discovered a change in the teacher-student relationship, finding that testing shifted teachers’ role as caregiver away from humanistic concerns toward a concern for performance. Teachers became more goal-oriented in their interactions with students and had less time to devote to maintaining personal relationships (Valli & Buese, 2007). Teachers began to see students as scores rather than humans (Vogler, 2008).

Teacher Perspectives on Accountability

Much of the research on teacher perspectives on accountability discovered that teachers agreed with the rhetorical premise behind NCLB: schools should be accountable for meeting the needs of all students (Murnane & Papay, 2010; Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Sunderman, Tracey, Kim, & Orfield, 2004). They felt NCLB provided incentive for schools to create more rigorous standards (Murnane & Papay, 2010). However, teachers were not comfortable with the way state testing forced them to teach to the test and narrow their content to tested material (Barrett, 2009; McCarthy, 2008) and felt the system had the potential to “unfairly reward and punish” them (Sunderman et al., 2004, p. 3). Over time, they felt the effects of top-down management promoted by NCLB. Teachers felt they were told how to teach and what to teach and their input was not requested (Olsen & Sexton, 2009). They felt “their practice to be shaped by an official pedagogic discourse established largely outside of their control” (Barrett, 2009, p. 1023), contributing to powerlessness, stress, resentment, and a distrust of authority (Cimbricz, 2009; McCarthy, 2008; Olsen & Sexton, 2009). The teachers surveyed in Diamond’s study (2007) believed standards and testing impacted the content they taught more than their methods and pedagogical beliefs about teaching.

Valli and Buese (2007) interviewed teachers from four different school years after the implementation of NCLB. Teacher reported that they rapidly took on new tasks during these years. They were expected to pace curriculum faster, align curriculum with state tests, analyze data and tailor instruction to English Language Learners. Teachers felt stress as a result of these added responsibilities, especially since they were not necessarily invested in the outcomes they were intended to produce: higher test scores (Valli & Buese, 2007).

Teachers found the pedagogy promoted by accountability to be antithetical to their beliefs about the purposes of education and to the goals they had for their students. They aimed to meet students' individual academic needs rather than define them by an achievement score (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). A vital part of teaching, relationship-building with students, became devalued, causing resentment among teachers who valued this aspect of their job (Olsen & Sexton, 2009). Teachers worried about their job security, which many believed would be affected by student test scores (Reback et al., 2011). Some became resentful, isolated, and left the profession (Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Reback et al., 2011).

Teachers were concerned that if higher achievement scores were gained, test preparation was the cause; and the gain did not reflect an increase in knowledge or an improvement in teaching (Darling-Hammond & Rustique-forrester, 2005; Neill, 2003; Sunderman et al., 2004). Teachers worried that the focus on achievement scores would exacerbate inequality between predominately white and predominately minority schools and that measuring a student's success through test outcomes would marginalize students who were not good test-takers (Luna & Turner, 2001; Murnane & Papay, 2010). Some teachers felt that although they became more aware of low-performing students, accountability did not provide any additional avenues of success for those students (McCarthy, 2008). Teachers remarked that sanctions aimed at low-performing schools would reduce the quality of teaching in schools that needed it most (Sunderman et al., 2004).

Sunderman, Kim, and Orfield (2005) interviewed teachers who reported that NCLB forced them to narrow their curricula, and they worried that teachers would leave schools not meeting NCLB requirements. Teachers were critical of how the law defined "proficiency," the arbitrariness of subgroup rules, the transfer option, and the supplemental educational services

provision (Sunderman, Kim, & Orfield, 2005). Based on the teachers interview responses, the authors reported an undercurrent of control on the part of the federal government. In 2008, Brint and Teele purported that teachers felt even more negatively toward NCLB than Sunderman, et al. had reported in 2005. Surveys and interviews of 300 teachers indicated they were critical of NCLB initiatives that they say forced them to teach to the test, narrow their curriculums, and eliminate creativity from their daily lessons (Brint & Teele, 2008). The teachers also felt NCLB “set unrealistic goals” and promoted a narrowed vision of education. The researchers expressed concern over the fact that teachers in low-performing schools felt more favorable toward NCLB than higher-performing schools, and accounted for that difference by speculating that teachers in low-performing schools had to more fully embrace NCLB goals to keep their jobs.

Hamilton, Stecher, Marsh, McCombs, and Robyn (2007) surveyed administrators and teachers in nearly 300 school districts in California, Pennsylvania, and Georgia over a two-year period from 2003-2005, with the goal of illuminating how administrators and teachers responded to NCLB’s testing regime. They found that teachers were not opposed to standards-based reform. Many of them saw the aligning of curriculum to state standards and the focus on student achievement as benefits of NCLB. Teachers had concerns that there was no systematic way of interpreting and using the increased amount of data. They preferred more growth-based models for gauging achievement, citing non-school factors as being unaccounted for in NCLB’s AYP model. Finally, they felt their curriculums were being narrowed and they were being forced to teach to the test. Hamilton et al., (2007) also found evidence that the lowest-performing students were being neglected in favor of students who were nearest to proficiency levels, similar to the results in a study done by Booher-Jennings (2005).

Differences in Pre- and Post-NCLB Teachers

Pre-NCLB Teacher. There were common themes in the studies examining teachers who began before NCLB was enacted, although the scholarship is limited. Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) found that veteran teachers felt nostalgia for the days when their student body was more homogenous, and they had more autonomy in the classroom. They felt resentful toward the focus on measurable outcomes and standardization and worried that the more diverse student body would be even more difficult to motivate within the accountability system (Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006). Because they had lived through the cycle of other reforms, experienced teachers were less likely to commit to demands pushed on them by accountability, especially if they did not align with their personal teaching beliefs.

In Barrett's study (2009), veteran teachers demonstrated a sharper awareness than pre-service/early career teachers for how their teaching had been impacted by accountability policies. Veteran teachers more readily claimed to modify their practices or adopt practices they may not otherwise have in the wake of NCLB, while pre-service and early career teachers more readily claimed to use testing to drive their instruction (Barrett, 2009). Barrett's study also found that veteran teachers felt their instruction to be restricted by state mandates more than pre-service and early career teachers. Olsen and Sexton's (2009) study revealed that veteran teachers had a "weariness and wariness" about policies directed toward school change. Some believed the focus on standards took the passion, joy and creativity out of learning (Olsen & Sexton, 2009; Vaughn, 2013). For example, a veteran teacher in one study (Olsen & Sexton, 2009) worried that covering standards outweighed teaching students how to love literature.

Post-NCLB Teacher. The body of research examining pre and post-accountability teachers provides evidence that post-accountability teachers express the same humanistic

commitments to teaching as veteran teachers—the era did not seem to diminish these commitments (Barrett, 2009; Wilkins, 2011). Crocco and Costigan (2007) found that new teachers opposed administration’s demands to rigidly adhere to the mandated curriculum and instructional methods, suggesting that new teachers in the early 2000s had not yet fully succumbed to the legitimization of the accountability climate.

There were other differences reported in the research. In a longitudinal study on teacher change, Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) discovered a difference in pre- and post-NCLB teachers. The research indicated newer teachers in the post-accountability era resented older, more experienced teachers for being resistant to change, which newer teachers defined as conforming with standards and mandates (Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006).

In Wilkins’ (2011) study of the differences between pre and post-accountability teachers in Britain, new teachers believed accountability demands served to improve their teaching, (unlike experienced teachers who felt alienated by the demands). The author reported that the new teachers had a limited understanding for how generating data was improving their performance, they fulfilled the requirement because it was asked of them and viewed data collection and evidence collecting as what a legitimate teacher does. New teachers accepted monitoring and evaluation of their performance as part of the job, and their responses indicated a need for more training for how to incorporate standards into their teaching.

In a metasynthesis of research that examined early childhood teachers’ perceptions of school readiness, Brown and Yan (2015) found that in the post-NCLB era, student learning became a reflection of the teacher instead of the student. The study found that pre-NCLB teachers placed responsibility of school readiness on the student. But post-NCLB teachers placed responsibility on the teacher and held a more empiricist understanding of school

readiness, meaning that they pointed to outside school factors rather than students' intrinsic abilities as reasons for school readiness.

In a study of external accountability's impact on teachers in a Norwegian school, Mausthagen (2013a) found that new teachers' idea of a legitimate teacher was one who taught basic skills used test results to inform and improve practice. New teachers opposed those who refused to use test scores to modify their teaching, claiming opposing teachers more readily blamed students – these feelings supported the view that acceptance of accountability imperatives was a mark of a good teacher (Mausthagen, 2013a). Wilkins' (2011) also found newer teachers referring to the “different outlooks of the older generation of teachers. Olsen (2009) uncovered a similar tone of “us vs. them” when newer teachers in the study claimed the “old school vets” did not like to change, which disadvantaged them with administration (p. 19). Stone-Johnson (2014) echoed this finding in a study of different attitudes of Boomer and Generation X attitudes toward accountability. Younger teachers were able to accommodate certain standardization demands (aligning and narrowing of content) while maintaining their opposition toward others (tests taking away class time) (Stone-Johnson, 2014). Newer teachers were found to more readily embrace the principal as manager and evaluator. They accepted that the principal had power in determining whether or not they met their accountability expectations (Mausthagen, 2013a). In one study, principals seemed to value newer teachers more than later-career teachers (Olsen & Sexton, 2009).

The Case for Examining the Institutional Logic of Teaching

On the periphery of education research, sociological scholarship has examined changes in institutional logics. There are several studies in organizational sociology that have demonstrated how shifts in institutional logics have resulted in a different conception of materials situated

within it. For example, beliefs about the importance of service-learning in higher education were legitimated at the field-level, then culturally repackaged as an important element of university-level teaching. This led to professors adding service learning to their practice as an accepted element of university instruction (Lounsbury & Pollack, 2001). In the higher education publishing industry, a shift from an editorial-based logic to a market-based logic changed how executive attention was directed (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). One large-scale study found that profound changes in healthcare's institutional environment over the past sixty years impacted organizational-level processes and modes of thinking (Scott et al., 2000). Cuban (2013) noted that changes in technology, healthcare policies and the funding structures have impacted the medical field in a way that has re-shaped the practice of physicians, lowering their autonomy.

Hirsch (1986) studied trends in language, which were referred to as linguistic framing and normative framing, used to describe corporate takeovers. The study examined how corporate players in magazines, interviews, and congressional documents couched their language with the goal of understanding how the perception of a corporate takeover was perceived from 1965 to 1985. The author discovered that the “linguistic framing” of takeovers started as perceiving takeovers as hostile, but over time the language suggested an acceptance of takeovers as part of the corporate landscape (Hirsch, 1986).

Yet there have been few studies in education that have attempted to unearth the same understandings about the institutional logics that drive teachers' work. By examining a change in teachers' work at the level of institutional logics, we may arrive at a more complete understanding of how policy is impacting one of the largest professions in the country.

Overall, the research on NCLB's impact on teachers' work points to a dramatic behavioral response from teachers, one that was compelled by policy initiatives (Booher-

Jennings, 2005; Cimbricz, 2002; Cuban, 2013; Ingersoll, 2014; Jacob, 2005; Murnane & Papay, 2012; Valli & Buese, 2007; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009). But behavioral or organizational responses do not indicate a wholesale shift in what teachers do or how they think about their profession. Rather, the character of the reported change indicates organizational “tinkering.” The responses observed in the research may be temporary as opposed to enduring. In other words, the bulk of the research on NCLB’s impact noted the change during the policy’s initial disruption, before the school system recalibrated itself back to its institutionalized form. From this perspective, the school absorbs and recalibrates the reform to fit its needs more than the reform changes the school. By examining the institutional logic of teachers before the policy and after the policy, we get empirical evidence into a change that may be occurring at the level of beliefs.

Teachers may teach the same as they always have, using teacher-directed and student-directed activities to achieve classroom goals (Cuban, 1993, 2007, 2013). But the intention of policy is to both align with and shape society’s norms and citizens’ beliefs about acceptable boundaries and behavior. It is possible that NCLB fostered a new way of thinking within the education community through its system of rewards and sanctions driven by high-stakes testing. In this climate, it would be important for teachers’ thinking to align with the goals of the policy. First, their jobs depended on it, and the top-down hierarchy had incentive to enforce an alignment. Second, societal and communal norms endorsed the teacher that focused on test scores as the legitimate model of teaching (Ball, 2003).

It is important to consider change in terms of how teachers frame the values, interests, and preferences of their work because reforms impact value-systems. And value-systems of teachers drive how they teach students in the classroom. Much of the research on how

accountability reforms have impacted teachers' work relies on teachers' reports or interviews, which ask teachers how their work has changed (Cimbricz, 2002) or on historical documentation (Russell, 2011). The problem with relying on teachers' own accounts is that teachers who worked through the NCLB shift truly believe something fundamental changed about what they do in the classroom, so they may indicate a change when observations report no change in the way teachers' teach. Their opinions cannot be discounted; but they also cannot be trusted with certainty. Examining teachers' values, interests, and preferences when describing important aspects of their work offers an alternative empirical perspective on the impact of NCLB on teachers' work.

Summary

The accountability scholarship observed teachers' classroom behaviors changing and the history of teaching scholarship has observed few changes in teachers' classroom behavior. These accounts suggest something is happening, but nothing is changing. Neither body of literature is wrong, nor are the findings necessarily contradictory. They are simply failing to study an aspect that has the potential to more clearly illuminate unseen changes that occur at the level of values, interests, and preferences, which are largely unseen and unarticulated.

Occupational norms drive professional culture (Greenwood, 1957). Norms shape beliefs, which determine how professionals inside the occupation interpret their circumstances, make decisions and define their roles (Greenwood, 1957). Without an understanding of how teachers' values, interests, and preferences may have been impacted by accountability, we do not truly understand changes that may have occurred in the occupation—changes that have broad implications. NCLB potentially redefined the occupation of teaching through teachers' ideas and beliefs about the goals of their work. In this light, since NCLB did not achieve its goal of

reducing the achievement gap, the real triumph might have been in shaping a different type of profession through the everyday work of teachers into one in which the deeply held, taken for granted approaches are grounded in the ideology endorsed by NCLB.

Chapter 4 Design and Method

To date, the research on NCLB and teachers' work has not empirically addressed how individual teachers think about their work at different historical points. The scholarship has not adequately examined whether or not the policy climate may have conditioned the way teachers think about their work. Instead the research has focused on the impact of NCLB's mandates on individual instructional behaviors (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Cimbricz, 2002; Cuban, 2013; Jacob, 2005; Milner et al., 2012; Murnane & Papay, 2010; Reback et al., 2011; Wills & Haymore Sandholtz, 2009). This scholarship helped explain how teachers' behaviors, responsibilities and expectations shifted along with policy changes. What's missing from the narrative is whether or not the perceived logic of teaching followed this trajectory or if teachers' perceptions were impacted along with their behaviors, responsibilities and expectations.

My study sought to find out if NCLB affected teachers' values, interests, and preferences in ways parallel to the changes observed in classroom behaviors. I wanted to know if the change in classroom behavior was more than just symbolic compliance or if teachers' ideas began to parallel the goals of NCLB. Did NCLB ultimately change teachers' work by changing their minds?

Research Questions

This study hypothesized that NCLB's constellation of policies emphasizing metrics and outcomes shifted the purposes of teaching for teachers, without necessarily altering the core behaviors of teaching. It addressed the overarching *Did No Child Left Behind change teachers' work?* by examining how teachers talked about their work. The way teachers talked about their work was viewed as a window into the values, interests, and preferences that frame it. The two main questions that guided the inquiry and analysis were: "*Did the way teachers frame the*

values, interests, and preferences about their work demonstrate evidence of a change after NCLB was implemented?” and “Did No Child Left Behind (NCLB) shift teachers’ work, in Perrow’s (1967) terms, from craft-like to engineer-like?”

Studying a change in teachers’ work is difficult without conducting a longitudinal study that observes teachers in the act of teaching. To address this issue, I interviewed teachers from two different eras, separated by the year NCLB was implemented: 2002. This empirical, case study approach (Yin, 2011) allowed me to examine teachers’ views on topics that were important to their work, rather than rely on historical observations of teachers’ classroom behavior. It also allowed for a different understanding of change, one not dependent on observations of behavior that potentially obscure more nuanced aspects of policy’s impact. I designed the interview questions to get teachers from both eras talking about vital qualities of classroom work so the way they frame their values, interests, and preferences emerged from their responses (Yin, 2011).

Ultimately, I wanted to know if NCLB was changing anything about teachers’ work. But knowing the *if* did not tell me anything about the nature of the *if*. Perrow’s technology theory (1967) focused on the technical tasks carried out by workers in an organization and classified those tasks in terms of routineness and analyzability. I used this model as a conceptual lens through which to observe any changes, hoping it could provide insight into nature of any perceived shifts.

Pilot Study

During the summer of 2014, I conducted a qualitative study grounded by Perrow’s *theory of work* (1967) to test whether or not teachers’ conceptions’ of their roles shifted from a craft-like view in the pre-NCLB era to a more engineer-like view in the post-NCLB era. I interviewed

twelve secondary English teachers: four from the pre NCLB-era, four who spanned the pre and post-eras, and four from the post-NCLB era.

I analyzed the everyday talk of teachers as a window into their professional life-world, focusing on the way teachers frame their values, interests, and preferences with regard to their classroom work. I discovered that teachers' classroom work could be segmented into three dimensions: instructional, relational and ethical. In other words, when teachers talked about what went on in their classrooms, I noticed their responses systematically referred to work that enhanced knowledge, cultivated relationships or reinforced values. I also discovered that teachers systematically referred to different materials that they sought to shape or change when talking about their classroom work. I borrowed Perrow's concept of raw materials to classify the materials I identified as central to teachers' work: pedagogy, students, and content.

The inquiry led to the following important findings: 1) teachers' classroom work can be segmented into dimensions, which I labeled as instructional, relational and ethical; 2) teachers' responses indicated that the instructional dimension of classroom work demonstrated more evidence of a shift from craft-like to engineer-like than the other two dimensions. These conclusions offered a crucial perspective on how accountability policies may have impacted teachers' roles, suggesting that existing research on the impacts of NCLB on teachers' work may not account for the policy's effect on the values, interests, and preferences that drive teachers' classroom work. The findings led me to believe such an examination into teachers' work was useful and that a more thorough examination could yield important findings about NCLB's potential impact on teachers' work, particularly the instructional dimension. I used the lessons learned in this study to shape the design of the dissertation study.

Dissertation Study Design

For my dissertation research, I built on my 2014 pilot study by interviewing twenty secondary English teachers: ten from each pre- and post-NCLB era. I decided to leave out the group of “bridge” teachers who spanned NCLB’s implementation because during the pilot study analysis, it was difficult to determine if their responses were impacted by NCLB. Although that perspective was very useful in understanding NCLB’s impact, I wanted a more clear-cut division between the eras to facilitate a cleaner picture of the differences between eras. I defined pre-NCLB as teachers who left the profession in 2002 or before and post-NCLB as those who began in 2002 or later. I modified the interview protocol from the summer study to facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the values, interests, and preferences that drove teachers’ work.

Site. My research design targeted two specific populations of teachers that are not abundant or easy to find in one school or district: high school English teachers who left in 2002 or before (pre-NCLB) and those who began in 2002 or after (post-NCLB). For example, depending on its size, a school may employ approximately one to five post-NCLB teachers, and access to pre-NCLB teachers depends on the school or district’s formal and informal record-keeping practices. A purposive sample (Babbie, 2004) was employed to identify three relatively large school districts concentrated in a mid-western region of the United States from which to draw my interview sample. I chose these large districts to increase the chances for recruiting a higher number of pre and post teachers and because they were located within a reasonable driving distance of my residence. Additionally, to increase the validity and reliability of my analysis, I chose districts serving diverse populations including students from different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Because my research question examined federal

policy's potential impact on teachers' values, interests, and preferences, I chose districts with high numbers of Title I students assuming a stronger imperative to comply with Title I mandates.

The three districts included Brown School District, a mid-size city district with two secondary schools serving approximately 3000 students; King School District, a large-city urban district with four secondary schools serving approximately 4000 students; and Madison School District, a large-city suburban district with five secondary schools serving approximately 8000 students.

I recruited three pre teachers and four post teachers from both of the Brown School District's secondary schools: Brown North and Brown South. According to the most recent building report cards on the state's department of education website, Brown North serves approximately 1500 students, of which approximately 40% are reported "economically disadvantaged." Brown South serves approximately 1500 students, of which approximately 30% are reported "economically disadvantaged."

I recruited one pre teacher and two post teachers from two of King School District's secondary schools: King East and King West. According to the most recent building report cards on the state's department of education website, King East serves approximately 1900 students, of which approximately 65% are reported "economically disadvantaged." King West serves approximately 980 students, of which approximately 46% are reported "economically disadvantaged."

I recruited six pre teachers and four post teachers from three of Madison School District's secondary schools: Madison North, Madison South and Madison West. According to the most recent building report cards on the state's department of education website, Madison North serves approximately 1600 students, of which 46% are reported "economically disadvantaged."

Madison South serves approximately 1400 students, of which approximately 26% are reported “economically disadvantaged.” Madison West serves approximately 1800 students, of which approximately 42% are reported “economically disadvantaged.” See Table 2 School Site Data & Number of Teachers per Cohort.

Table 2
School Site Data & Number of Teachers per Cohort

<u>School District</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Cohort</u>	
			<i>Pre-NCLB</i>	<i>Post-NCLB</i>
Brown	Brown North	1500	3	2
	Brown South	1500	0	2
King	King East	1900	0	1
	King West	980	1	1
Madison	Madison North	1600	3	0
	Madison South	1400	1	4
	Madison West	1800	2	0

Table 2 School Site Data & Number of Teachers per Cohort

District Approval Process. Each district required a different research approval process, presenting slight delays during data collection. Research approval packets were required for each district, asking for research question, procedures, analysis tools, personnel requirements, participant characteristics, potential benefits and risks to participants, IRB and consent documents, and signatures from university supervisors. Brown School District approved my research request five weeks after submission. King School District approved my request within one week of submission and after an in-person presentation with an eight-member committee. After two large suburban and urban districts denied my request, I reached out to Madison School District, the same district from which I recruited teachers for my pilot study. Madison School District approved my request within days of submission.

Interview Sample. The interview data was gathered from twenty secondary English teachers who worked in the classroom in two distinct eras: ten who left the profession in 2002 or

before (pre-NCLB), and ten who entered the profession in 2002 or after and who continue to teach (post-NCLB). I chose 2002 to divide the cohorts because No Child Left Behind was enacted in 2001 and established by 2002 in schools across the country, and it is a year that many point to as being a defining moment in the history of education policy (Hursh, 2007; Metz, 2008; Taubman, 2010; NCLB, 2002).

Recruitment. For the pre-NCLB cohort, I requested a list of teachers from each district who retired or left the district in 2002 or before. Since fulfilling that request may or may not have been possible, I requested permission to ask teachers or librarians at high schools in the district who may know teachers who left or retired around 2002 or before. I also requested permission to access high school yearbooks to identify potential pre-2002 teachers.

For the post-2002 cohort, I requested permission to send emails to high school English teachers at high schools in the district after first obtaining permission from building principals. I stated that I would send an email to the English department chair first, then send individual emails to English teachers inviting them to participate in my study. I provided sample recruitment letters for each cohort.

The Brown District left the recruitment options for pre teachers open and gave me permission to contact principals at each secondary school. I was invited to the English department meeting at Brown North where I made contact with several post teachers and obtained several names of potential retired teachers. The department chair recommended I speak with a woman in the front office who was in charge of a yearly retired faculty luncheon. She provided the name of a retired teacher who was the informal keeper of the list. This teacher supplied a few names, which matched with several of those the English department provided. I called, emailed, or mailed recruitment letters to those I could find through the phonebook or

Google searches. Three retired teachers and four post-NCLB teachers contacted me for an interview.

The King District agreed to send my recruitment letter to a list of English teachers who retired from 1997-2002. One pre-NCLB high school English teacher agreed to be interviewed from the King district. I asked this teacher to pass my name along if possible, but received no other inquiries. I recruited post teachers by emailing principals and department chairs at King's secondary schools. Two post-NCLB teachers contacted me for an interview.

The Madison District approved my research on the condition that district resources not be used to locate pre-NCLB teachers. The district did allow me to locate pre-NCLB teachers through informal means, by asking librarians and English teachers in the district if they knew of any retired teachers or if there was a particular teacher who kept in touch with retired teachers. I contacted the librarian at two of the schools. At Madison South, the librarian and I went through yearbooks together, noting any teachers who looked like they were at retirement age one year and not in the yearbook the next year. I also met with a veteran teacher who mentioned several names, and we looked at a "retiree board" located in the hallway of the school for any English teachers who left in 2002 or before. I called, emailed, or mailed recruitment letters to those I could find through the phonebook or Google searches. At Madison North, I spoke with the librarian who introduced me to a 50-year veteran at the school, who was able to provide a few names of retired English teachers. Again, I called, emailed, or mailed recruitment letters to those I could find through the phonebook or Google searches. From this process, six pre-NCLB teachers responded or contacted me for an interview. I recruited post teachers by emailing principals and department chairs at Madison's secondary schools. Four post-NCLB teachers contacted me for an interview.

Teacher Cohorts. Each cohort of teachers was comprised of ten current and former high school English teachers. I aimed for a cross-section of participants who were representative of each district’s teachers. In the pre-NCLB cohort, the teachers ranged in age from 72-84. All teachers in the pre-NCLB cohort retired from the profession after long careers in teaching. The earliest retiree left in 1993 and the latest left in 2002. I interviewed eight female and two male pre-NCLB teachers. In the post-NCLB cohort, the teachers ranged in age from 25 to 42. The newest teacher began in 2014, while the most experienced post-NCLB teacher began in 2005. I interviewed four female and six male post-NCLB teachers. All teachers in both cohorts were White. Table 3 Participant Name, Age, School and Cohort.

Table 3
Participant Name, Age, School and Cohort

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Pre-NCLB Year Left</u>	<u>Post-NCLB Year Began</u>
Dan Baxter	34	Madison South		2006
Eve Brady	84	Brown North	1994	
Jacob Connell	30	Madison South		2009
Shelley Davis	39	Brown North		2007
Courtney Elcot	25	Madison South		2012
Cate Ellery	80	Brown North	1993	
Jim Hamilton	73	Madison South	1997	
Carrie Johnson	80	Madison North	2000	
Laura Madden	33	Madison South		2008
Robert Mailer	34	King West		2007
Leslie Matthews	74	Madison North	1998	
Jill Mitchell	81	Brown North	1996	
Aaron Morris	42	Brown South		2014
Samuel Mullins	80	Madison West	1996	
Mark Sharp	27	Brown North		2011
Julie Simmons	77	Madison North	1997	
Susan Turner	38	King East		2005
Sharon Weber	82	Madison West	1995	
Ben Wilcox	31	Brown South		2012
Camile Wright	74	King West	2002	

Note: Teacher and school names are pseudonyms

Table 3 Participant Name, Age, School and Cohort

Interviews. I opted for interviews rather than questionnaires because talking to teachers allowed me to delve into the depths of human consciousness and memory to both unearth and better infer tacit, underlying beliefs about work that generally remain unarticulated (Douglas, 1976). I asked teachers to discuss the essential processes that guide their classroom actions so that I could explore how they conceive of their work. I worded the questions to draw out the patterned ways teachers think about their classroom worlds. The questions in my open-ended, standardized protocol were intentionally nondirective (Yin, 2011). I avoided references to NCLB, standards, testing, or policies in order to avoid any potential priming effect attached to these words and to allow teachers to naturally vocalize the important aspects of their work free of bias. I also avoided questions about how education has changed or how policies affected education to mitigate bias from media coverage or collective and personal attitudes about these issues (Yin, 2011).

I used open-ended semi-structured interview questions to explore the nature and character of teachers' work (Douglas, 1976; Yin, 2011). The standardized, open-ended protocol enhanced comparability and allowed for flexibility in more deeply exploring promising responses (Patton, 1980). All interviews were conducted with informed consent (See Appendix A for the Informed Consent Letter) and audiotaped with permission. I met teachers at coffee shops that they identified as conveniently located. I interviewed some retired pre-NCLB teachers in their residences because leaving the house presented difficulty. Interviews were audiotaped, transcribed, coded, and analyzed using NVivo qualitative analysis software.

I asked the same questions to each cohort so that I could compare responses (See Appendix B for the Interview Protocol). Pre-NCLB teachers' responses were used as a baseline

for ascertaining supporting evidence for a change in teachers' work after NCLB was implemented. What follows is the set of main interview questions I asked to each teacher:

1. If you were to write a teaching handbook, what sections would it contain?
2. Can you describe the process you use in deciding what to teach?
3. What are the major ways in which you tell whether you are doing the kind of job you want to do? What do you watch as indication of your effectiveness? (Lortie, 2002).
4. Can you think of one of the toughest concepts to teach and then describe how you go about teaching it?
5. When do you know a student is failing and how do you respond?
6. Can you tell me how you make sure a student is learning?
7. Think about one of your biggest successes as a teacher and try to describe what happened in as much detail as possible.
8. Of the various things you do as a teacher, which do you consider to be the most important? (Lortie, 2002)
9. What is the purpose of school?

Coding. I used constant comparative analysis to code and analyze teachers' interview responses (Douglas, 1976; Glaser & Strauss, 1999; Maxwell, 2012). First, I transcribed the interviews word for word into Word documents. I imported the interview responses only into a qualitative software program called NVivo and organized the interviews into Pre-NCLB and Post-NCLB folders. I was careful to omit the interview questions from the data so they did not impact word analyses. In the NVivo software, folders with thematically related data are referred to as "nodes." I created a question node for each interview question and sorted responses into the

corresponding question node. This step made it possible to compare question responses by cohort.

Before the initial pass of the data, I used the Word Frequency Count feature in NVivo to analyze the data for any glaring similarities or differences in the most common frequently used words. I set the query to display the 1000 most frequently used words with a minimum of four letters to find “exact matches only;” and I relied on NVivo’s “stop word” feature to exclude commonly used words, such as “I,” “or,” and “the.” I wondered if I would be able to immediately pinpoint salient words that one cohort was or was not using by graphically representing the results as “word clouds.” I found that teachers from both cohorts used incredibly similar language in their responses with rare deviation in the most common frequently used words. There were words that caught my attention. For example, “grammar,” “literature,” and “alternative” uniquely appeared on the pre word cloud, while “college,” “essay,” and “paragraph” uniquely appeared on the post word cloud. See Appendix C for the Pre-NCLB Word Frequency Cloud and Appendix D for the Post-NCLB Word Frequency Cloud.

I then read through responses to all interview questions in each cohort. During this initial open coding phase, I searched for and named patterns in responses, creating about 90 nodes. I read through the responses in each of the 90 nodes and categorized each into one of the three dimensions, instructional, relational or ethical by asking, “Do the responses in this node address instruction? Do the responses in this node address relationships? Do the responses in this node address ethical responsibilities?” I left irrelevant nodes out of the dimensions if they did not fit neatly. I created more nodes as more themes emerged and searched for responses that reflected concepts from Perrow’s (1967) Technology Model (routineness, craft-like or engineer-like). Some responses were cross-coded into these categories. I ended up with fifty nodes in the

Instructional Dimension, three nodes in the Ethical Dimension, and sixty-three un-coded responses in the Relational Dimension.

There were other nodes that did not fit into the dimensions because they addressed peripheral issues, such as feelings toward administration, bureaucracy, teaching assignments, isolation, support, relationships with colleagues, teaching evaluation, emotional toll of the job and feelings about parents. Since these topics did not display characteristics directly related to work that happened inside the classroom, they were moved into a new node titled the Professional Dimension. To focus my study, I determined that analyzing the professional dimension was outside the scope of this dissertation. I removed the Professional Dimension from my analysis.

Since there were fifty nodes in the Instructional Dimension, I searched for patterns in the topics that corresponded with the three essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content. Pedagogy was defined as the classroom practices teachers use in an attempt to impart knowledge and information to students. In other words, instruction is *how* teachers teach. Many times, pedagogical practices are intentional, personal decisions teachers make as they figure out the best ways to reach their students. Instruction can include a variety of approaches, including direct teaching, teacher-centered instruction, student-centered instruction, cooperative learning, various classroom arrangements, grading methods, strategies used to increase engagement and motivation, or technologies (projectors, iPads, interactive whiteboards). Instruction can be an action, a decision or a way of doing or thinking about classroom instruction that aides in students' understanding of content.

Students were defined as the group of people who teachers focused on in their rooms each day. Students are vital to teachers' classroom work because content and instruction are

designed to impact students. Using content and instruction, the teacher performs an action with the goal of altering students' knowledge, behavior, and/or performance.

Content was defined as the information that teachers use to impart knowledge to students. In other words, content is *what* teachers teach or topic coverage. Content can be materials or information prescribed by mandated curriculum or anything that teachers personally decide to use to impart knowledge to students. Content can include novels, textbooks, various texts, grammar, reading and writing skills, vocabulary, and standardized assessments.

Within the Instructional Dimension, I created three child nodes to correspond with the three types of *essential classroom components* and sorted the instructional nodes into these categories. See Table 4 Nodes Included in Initial Coding Scheme.

Table 4
Nodes Included in Initial Coding Scheme

<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Essential classroom components</u>	<u>Nodes</u>
Instructional	Pedagogy	Apprenticeship of Observation, Assessment, Cell phones, Classroom Management, Cooperative Learning, Differentiation, Engagement, Grades, Grading, Inquiry, Interruptions, Language, Methods of Instruction, Participation, Passion, Pedagogical Ideas, Relevance, Scaffolding, Spontaneity, Student-Centered, Technology, Time Management, Progress or Growth
	Students	Advanced vs. Grade Level, Emotional Issues of Students, Inequality, Special Populations, Student Failure, Student Success, Underachieving Students, Vocational Vs. Academics
	Content	Content Knowledge, Curriculum, Grammar, Reading, Skills, Standardized Tests, Textbook, Vocabulary, Writing, Content
Relational		63 un-coded responses
Ethical		Be Good Citizens, Honesty, Freedom, Ethical Conflict

Professional		Administration, Bureaucracy, Teaching Assignments, Isolation, Support, Relationships with Colleagues, Teaching Evaluation, Emotional Toll of the Job and Feelings About Parents
--------------	--	---

Table 4 Nodes Included in Initial Coding Scheme

To streamline my analysis, I decided to focus my dissertation on the three essential classroom components in the instructional dimension. I used this dimension as a basis for discovering themes, similarities, and differences between the pre and post-eras, especially regarding three essential classroom components. I compared the pre and post responses, focusing on those responses that indicated a clear idea about teachers' values, interests, or preferences about any topic or theme. I asked: "How are the responses in this group different from the other group? What kinds of themes are mentioned in both?" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 91). I also asked, "What things are missing from one that are not missing in the other? What things are missing from both?"

In addition, I searched for patterns in responses to interview questions. I asked, "How do teachers respond in similar or different ways to each of the questions?" When finding similar expressions in both groups, I asked "Is there any difference, in degree or kind, in which the theme is articulated in both of the expressions?" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 91). When finding different expressions, I asked, "Does this difference reflect a change or a shift in teachers' work?" If it seemed like the response indicated a shift, I corroborated that idea by validating a pattern of similar or different expressions from other teachers.

Patterns emerged in each era indicating different values, interests, and preferences about the essential classroom components. In other words, teachers' ideas seemed to shift. I labeled the patterns based on their most salient characteristics and used teachers' responses to construct broad descriptive portraits of the Pre-NCLB and Post-NCLB teachers. My goal for each portrait was to illuminate the most salient themes. I wrote the description of the pre-NCLB teacher as a

baseline from which to compare the shifts that emerged in values, interests, or preferences regarding important aspects of the essential classroom components. I highlighted the shifts in the Post-NCLB portrait.

Additionally, throughout the analysis, when I came across salient words, phrases or ideas that were repeated in one or both groups, I conducted a Text Search Query in NVivo to determine the frequency of terms used in each era. I also used this feature to quickly compare the surrounding contexts in which these were used, as well as the tone of the usage. For example, I queried words like “citizen,” “manage,” “fun,” “AP or Advanced Placement,” “skills,” “formula,” and “phone” to get an idea of the context and speaker attached to these words.

At the completion of the analysis, I used classifications from Perrow’s (1967) *theory of work* to frame the change I discovered in teachers’ work and analyzed any evidence of change against concepts he proposed. Perrow’s *theory of work* classified tasks done in organizations so that they could be more accurately compared based only on labor carried out by the workers (1967). He proposed examining two aspects of work (1) the number of exceptional cases encountered in the work, making it either routine or non-routine; (2) the type of search process an individual must use when a problem occurs in the work, making it either analyzable or unanalyzable. He also proposed analyzing raw materials in terms of (1) *understandability*, which is how well the nature of the material is understood; and (2) *stability* and *variability*, which is “whether the material can be treated in a standardized fashion or whether continual adjustment is necessary” (Perrow, 1967, p. 197).

Chapter 5 Portrait of Pre-NCLB Teachers

In the following section, I outline a broad portrait of the values, interests, and preferences that pre teachers expressed in their interview responses. I focus the information in the “pre” section to a descriptive picture of pre teachers’ ideas about the three essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content. This description provides a baseline for understanding the change that occurred in teachers’ work after NCLB was implemented.

Three major themes emerged about pedagogy, students, and content from the pre teachers’ responses. First, pre teachers’ responses suggested their role was one of motivator in the classroom. Second, pre teachers’ ideas about students suggested they conceived of them as protégés. Third, their ideas about content suggested they valued knowledge as a goal of the content they presented. I will discuss each theme in turn, using teachers’ responses to support my characterizations.

Teacher as Motivator

To characterize pre teachers’ conception of their pedagogical roles, I chose the label “motivator.” This label encompasses the nature of how teachers talked about and conceived of their pedagogical goals, decisions, and practices. There were many aspects of their responses that spoke to this label, and I will discuss each in turn.

Illustrative of pre teachers’ ideas about their instruction was the fact that five pre teachers to one post teacher used the word “fair” in their responses. And six pre teachers to three post teachers used the word “participate.” These are words that reflect a subjective, human-focused approach to teaching. Pre teachers emphasized motivation, making students comfortable, promoting mutual respect, fairness and class participation. They also described a curriculum that focused on literature, composition, vocabulary and grammar to promote free thought and

expression. Pre teachers placed value on helping students appreciate, judge, and analyze literature. They commonly asked students to read novels and write analysis essays.

In the pre-NCLB classroom, the teacher's goal was to motivate students to be the kind of expert thinkers and writers that the teacher was. Pre teachers' pedagogical approaches focused on improving students' writing and thinking abilities, in a way that mirrored teachers' own ways of writing and thinking. Teachers helped students use appropriate grammar, improve vocabulary, and develop their writing habits so they would be more informed communicators. Many pre teachers viewed themselves as experts in particular genres of literature, like Shakespeare. For example, one of the pre teachers published a book on Shakespeare. Pre teachers felt it was important to know the literature but not force their own interpretation on students.

When pre teachers described their effectiveness as teachers, they related it to students' writing and free expression. Camile Wright wanted students to "say what they really thought, and not what they thought I wanted them to say." And in their writing, she wanted them to be able to "express what they wanted to say and feel their ideas were worthy." Cate Ellery wanted students to take their writing topics seriously and to get into it. Eve Brady believed she was being effective if students learned to write. Jill Mitchell told me that she wanted to students to learn to judge literature, and she missed reading all of their thoughts. Leslie Matthews looked for insights from the students. Samuel Mullins watched for "consistent improvement in writing— was [the student] able to document his opinion and support that opinion?"

Motivating Failing Students. The pre teachers' methods of reaching failing students involved motivating them with fun or enlightening activities and using encouragement to bring them into the fold of learning. They mentioned motivating students, being glad to see them, liking them, not criticizing them, asking them what they could do to help and being transparent

about what students could do to improve. They mentioned the importance of believing in students and allowing them freedom to be themselves in the classroom. They also expressed the importance of caring. Leslie Matthews described an effective teacher as one “knows you care. Writes notes to students. Attends performances. Encourages activities of the students inside the classroom. There are ways to show you care about the students.”

Pre teachers’ solutions for failing students leaned toward targeting their inner beliefs about themselves, suggesting they did not altogether relinquish responsibility for student failure. Rather, the teacher’s role in students’ failure was being an inadequate motivator. The following quote from Samuel Mullins was interesting, and somewhat complicated, because he explicitly articulated that student failure was the result of teacher and school failure. However, he did not take responsibility for students’ outcomes; he took responsibility for his and the school’s inadequacy as a motivating force. His goal was to “free [students’] creativity, free their talent.” He advocated a different type of educational program for failing students that helped them feel less terrified of the successful students. His solution was to provide struggling students with more attention as a more effective mode of encouragement. He did not advocate for altered expectations or for the modification of content. He described his rationale for starting the school like this:

I helped start at our district what was night school for students who were not achieving. It’s now called alternative education. Every student wants to achieve. No student wants to come to school and fail. If the student is failing, you’re failing as a teacher. You have to find a way to say to that kid, “you can achieve, I want to help you. You have to give me the right to help you.” Some would ask for help, but some you had to say, “I want to

help you. And if you let me, you can achieve.” I believe they can achieve. If the student is failing, it’s the school failing, not the student.

Pre teachers described responding to student failure by trying to help them know themselves through literature, encouraging them to keep pushing themselves, highlighting their strengths, and relating to them personally through their own stories of overcoming fear or obstacles. Pre teachers mentioned calling home a lot. Jill Mitchell explained, “I used to call every parent whose kid had enough work out to hurt their grade. I wound up crying and my husband said you have got to stop this.”

They said they would do anything to help and many mentioned providing grade sheets with missing work that students were allowed to make up, contacting the counselor, and having individual one-on-one meetings with students. Some teachers required students to rewrite essays for higher grades by incorporating teachers’ comments. Cate Ellery allowed students to re-do the work until they got it right. Carrie Johnson wrote little encouraging notes to all failing students, until the shootings at Columbine, when her family encouraged her to take a step back. After Columbine, she decided instead to allow students to make appointments for individual conferences through a posted sign up sheet. Ms. Johnson also periodically mailed home positive handwritten notes:

Another thing I did, I wrote lots of notes to parents. It was a lot of work, but I’m glad I did. Because parents would say, “are you sure you’re talking about my daughter?” I would always point out the good things. All those little things helped, the student would say, “Hey I may as well do the work, I don’t have to fail this class.” Some decide to not do it, but they were in the minority.

Overall, the themes that emerged in the data suggested that pre teachers' pedagogical values, interests, and preferences leaned toward motivating students to bring out the best in their abilities and accepting the fact that some students chose not to achieve. In order to help students achieve, they used techniques like encouragement, calling home, writing positive notes, and allowing students to re-do assignments. Ultimately, however, it was the students' choice to capitalize on teachers' support. It is important to note that these techniques may not be what teachers always employed in their classrooms, sometimes twenty or more years ago. But their expressions provided a glimpse into what they thought was important regarding their pedagogical work.

Bringing Students into the Fold. Pre teachers had the pedagogical leeway in the pre-era to focus on helping students connect with literature, writing, and thinking. There was a sense that teachers had freedom to develop projects, events, and even programs that were meant to motivate and excite students rather than raise achievement scores. Pre teachers rarely labeled the instructional methods or practices they used, rather they described events and projects aimed at eliciting joy or a love in learning. Cate Ellery described students as elated by learning. This sentiment was a theme in pre teachers' responses, to elicit a joy, a love in learning, one that many pre teachers did through allowing students to put on performances. For example, Sharon Weber believed to satirize material meant you really understood it, so she asked her students "to do a live performance or a video satirizing one of the books [they] read that year." Pre teachers were especially fond of asking students to perform Shakespeare. Cate Ellery taught a Shakespeare class and spearheaded yearly, school-wide Shakespeare Birthday parties. She recounted the benefit of this curricular and pedagogical innovation:

I think they really started paying attention of the import of the play. It was hard to understand the language, but once they understood the meaning, they were surprised to see the understanding of people was very similar to what we expect today. The language was a hindrance. But once they got passed that, they could see what it meant. And I think that was really important.

They would learn something that they didn't know before and that they were elated by it. It was a very meaningful and positive and pleasant experience.

Ms. Ellery went on to say that individual students benefited by being able to showcase their talents and because it was a fun way to learn:

With this Shakespeare birthday party, I had a student who was interested in costuming. And he made the puffed out shirts. And he was going to go into stage production. It was a good thing for him to do because it was in his line, and he got something out of the class and the other students learned something about costuming.

It [the school-wide Shakespeare party] was a really good learning experience for them I think, but also they had tremendous amount of fun, and it involved the whole school.

Leslie Matthews also talked about acting out Shakespeare plays. She laughed as she recounted a time when students dressed in costume for Romeo and Juliet:

The boys played the girls and the girls played the boys. The guy who played Juliet came in with a wig. They had to come up with their own costumes. He had on a dress and had stuffed his boobs and it was low. Everyone fell of the floor laughing. He had heels on. We put it on after school for the other 9th grade classes. They needed an audience.

It was almost the last day that we rehearsed, and we pushed the desks together to make a table. It was Juliet's bed. I said, "you remember how Romeo dives back into bed. Here's how you should do it." I got up and I ran to the desks and I dove on them, to show them. And the whole thing separated and I went straight down to the floor and I took the tablecloth with me. It was so worth it because it was so funny. They laughed and laughed. That's how Shakespeare...it's so tough for them.

Carrie Johnson reflected on a time when she relied on the students to help her make the content more relevant to their lives. They decided to act out *The Odyssey*:

The Odyssey was hard to teach because I didn't like it, and it didn't seem relevant. I said, "I don't want to teach it, but it's in the book." And I asked the kids, "I'll admit I need your help to make it relevant."

I had this one guy he said, "let us read the parts." If you remember *The Odyssey* had big long names. I thought oh no, this will be chaos. But he said, "no we can do it. Let us take over." ...They read most of it aloud, and it was just fabulous. It was a good lesson to me not to let them hold the reigns too tightly. I turned it over to them because I knew I would be a loser in this, and I didn't want to be a loser. It was one of the best things I ever did. I don't remember how I evaluated it, but I was just so glad they were doing it. I wish I could remember that guy and thank him because it helped me a lot.

Pre teachers designed activities that helped students better connect with that literature. Eve Brady had students act out myths. Leslie Matthews shared how she helped eleventh graders relate to *A Tale of Two Cities*. She asked them to "pick an occupation: barrel maker, silver smith. And they kept a journal of how their life was." Julie Simmons organized an Ernest Hemingway Memorial Swamp in her class:

One kid put on a lion's costume and pretended he was in a cage at the bottom of a bookcase. They invited other students in. I'm sure the other students thought, "What have they been doing in here?" But it was okay for the day.

Pre teachers added technology, like films, to add robustness to content. Or sometimes technology was added to interest students in the less advanced classes. They also used current events to make content more relevant. Carrie Johnson mentioned using the newspaper "for vocabulary and for good examples for grammatical structures."

A few pre teachers at one large district were instrumental in implementing an alternative program for failing students, which eventually became its own school in the district. At its inception, however, it was rather revolutionary in its instruction. Failing students stayed after school to get extra help from four volunteer teachers who worked together in one room. As one of the founding members of the program, Sharon Weber believed the team effort paid off for students and teachers:

We had three or four teachers in the room, and you needed them. We had a reading specialist and special education teachers. We could all see different aspects and we did. We would always have a conference to discuss what happened and how we could do things differently. I enjoyed the team teaching. ...It helps you to expand your vision of what you're doing and how you're doing it.

One pedagogical strategy for reaching alternative students was to take them on field trips and use the experience as an educational jumping off point. Again, this strategy is emblematic of finding ways to bring students into the fold of learning. Ms. Weber described a field trip to a museum, where a student expressed the enthusiasm about learning that teachers sought:

When we were at the gallery, one of the other kids came up to me and said, “This place is full of fucking beautiful things.” And I said, indeed it is. I was not gonna correct his language at that moment. Why ruin that? So he says “fuck,” so what; it was a word. And for him it was expressive. I would rather see that enthusiasm; it was so real. I know there were other teachers who would not have approved. I thought it was appropriate in those circumstances. He didn’t have the language to express it the way school wanted it expressed.

Very common were expressions of motivating students, respecting them, making them comfortable in the classroom, allowing their individuality to shine through, and building trust. Pre teachers did not indicate they felt pressure to produce outcomes or achievement in students, rather they expressed a need to impart content so the students would become more well-rounded. Again, Ms. Weber believed that students *should* be bored and work through hard material because it increased their self-esteem:

Students can be bored, self-esteem comes from achieving something difficult.

Teaching the five-paragraph theme, vocabulary, grammar, I don’t know what happened to grammar. But it bored the kids, so don’t ever let them be bored. I find a lot of that to be horse hooley, sorry. [You mean not letting them be bored?] Yes, you’re going to be bored sometimes. We’re all bored, work through your boredom. It is it the subject or you who’s boring? [Or is it hard?] Yes, things are hard! You have to work hard and put up with boredom and try, try, try again. And then finally you can do it, and you really feel good. We all know what that can feel like. It’s very different from being applauded because they exist.

For the pre teacher, student engagement was used as an instrument to improve thought and writing, not the pedagogical end-goal. Pre teachers wanted students to participate in order to cultivate deeper thought and articulation. When pre teachers talked about engagement, they mentioned few specific strategies or practices, focusing more on creating conditions for students to want to participate more. Of course, the lack of mentioning specific strategies could be a function of memory failure, but overall the pre teachers spoke more about what the students did than what the teachers did.

Expressing Opinions and Encouraging Thought. Pre teachers cultivated an environment that promoted deep thought, free expression of opinions, honesty and judgment in discussion and writing. Pre teachers tried to create the conditions for students to feel comfortable sharing opinions in discussion and writing. They used literature, writing, discussion, grammar and vocabulary as avenues for thought, recognizing that free expression was difficult for students. Pre teachers wanted students to discuss and express opinions about what they learned.

Camille Wright felt she was effective if students were enjoying discussions and “saying what they really thought and not what they thought I wanted to them to say during class discussions.” The end goal for Ms. Wright was that students developed their own voice, especially in their writing. She went on to say, “When you read things and discuss them, it opens different worlds. They’re exploring vicariously how people react to different situations. In composition I think they find out what they really think.”

Cate Ellery believed that both class discussion and writing were important avenues for students to express opinions and for teachers to gauge if they understood the materials:

Class discussion is important because that lets you know if they've read the assignments, if they've thought about it, if they contribute to the class. The essay is more contained and personalized. But it's both, writing and discussion.

Jill Mitchell spoke about helping students to judge literature, rather than like it, "I never was disappointed....never was upset if a student didn't like a book. As long as the student knew why he didn't like the book. As long as he learned to judge literature, that was important. I didn't count myself a success if the student liked the book."

Jim Hamilton taught grammar as a means for students to better express themselves in writing:

When I taught grammar, I tried to teach the kids this is how you express yourself well so others can understand your writing. You have to have some principles behind your writing and the more you know about grammar, the more you know about the styles of writing. The more arrows you have in your quiver to hit that mark you want to in your writing. We went through exercises where I gave them content, and I would say tell me how to say it in four or five different ways. Which is the best way of expressing those thoughts or ideas?

Samuel Mullins reflected on the difficulty of cultivating a classroom environment where students felt free to challenge each other, take criticism, and freely express their opinions:

Be open to ideas. This was tough because most of us don't want to be challenged or criticized. But there's only advancement when people support themselves and they're challenged and so on. Students are afraid of criticism. The human personality is delicate you have to be careful with it. Insist that other students treat each other with respect. It is an opinion and if you think your opinion has value then you have to give that same

consideration to other opinions. That's difficult to get students...they come with all kinds of preconceived ideas. But it's my responsibility to challenge those ideas. Man's never going to advance without challenging ideas.

Sharon Weber believed that vocabulary analogies helped students develop their thinking abilities, especially because they were intellectually demanding:

Vocabulary is essential. I was disappointed when the SAT got rid of the analogies, those were based on vocabulary. I thought it was a good way of helping the kids learn to think. I never believed in applauding their self esteem by patting them on the head and telling them how cute they were. I believed it came from actually achieving something difficult after they'd worked hard to do it, that's real self-esteem.

It became clear from pre teachers' responses that they felt part of their pedagogical responsibility was to help students develop their own voice, suggesting that teachers themselves frequently shared their own opinions about literature. In the pre-NCLB high school English classroom, literature and literary analysis was at the center; and enabling students to express their own opinions about literature was an important aspect of pre teachers' pedagogy.

Authoritative Classroom Arrangements. Pre teachers felt good organization, like seating charts, promoted fairness, encouraged classroom discussion and established the teacher as the expert. There was a sense in the pre-era that the teacher sought a kind of professorial authority based on two-way respect, and the classroom arrangement facilitated that goal. Cate Ellery believed in order to lower disruptions in the classroom "there should be some consideration for how to organize the students in the classroom: alphabetical, circles, arcs, or whatever." Eve Brady told me about how organization helped her to remember students, which she believed made the students feel important:

I'm a law and order person. I want them in a seating chart. They are so pleased with me when I remember where they sat—you sat over there by the wall in the second seat...well I can figure that out by the alphabet because I seated them alphabetically. They think I'm a genius because I remember exactly where they sat. It's all a trick. That student becomes important, and the only way I see that happening is organization. Otherwise it's a free for all and there will be certain students always getting the attention. That's the way they are. It's a pecking order. One way to keep that balanced is with organization. Samuel Mullins preferred rows rather than circles in his class because this arrangement facilitated his lecture/discussion classroom format. He told me:

We did rows. I was never the kind of person who used circles. [My class] was a combination of lecture and asking students to challenge each other. I would ask them: "John just said something, what do you think of what John said?" Encourage an open discussion with the students, and insure they weren't too critical of each other. Students demand of other students what I was demanding of them.

Jim Hamilton shared that having a good handle on the classroom environment and gaining respect of students allowed him to freedom to persuade them to learn:

Have to get respect and it will come if you have things in control and be able to teach the things you want to teach in the way you know they should be taught. That's the first thing you have to do: have the respect of the students. You have to show students that you're in charge and you have something they need and might want.

Tests and Grading as Tools. Teachers from the pre-era felt tests should be a pedagogical tool for moving students forward in their learning, as well as one that diagnosed

how well students were learning. For example, Jill Mitchell preferred essay tests to multiple choice tests because her goal was to make students think, not to get an accurate response:

I went to a workshop led by Iowa State how to formulate multiple choice questions. They told us how to formulate these questions. How do get the most accurate responses. I said: what if I'm teaching Shane and I want to ask, why did Shane return to gun fighting. I said, there's not right answer to that. And he said, well then you can't ask it. I gave a really negative report about that conference. Because there is no right answer. What I loved was to make students think.

Jim Hamilton expressed using tests and quizzes as feedback and to gauge his effectiveness as a teacher:

You can quiz and test. If they're not clicking, you're obviously doing something wrong. You're not doing it to please yourself, but to get them to learn. You have to look at the answers...I would learn about what they're clicking on and if they're not, I better try a different approach or give more detail or more [vocabulary] sentences. I would get oral feedback, eye feedback, sometimes I would ask them to feed-back to me. Tell me why this is working and why it's not—that would be effective if they weren't just looking for the opportunity to pot-shot.

Four pre teachers expressed that fairness was an important component in grading practices. For example, Cate Ellery made sure she kept track of all students' grades so they knew she was being objective in her practice, "I had a grade for every square in the gradebook because I wanted to be fair with them and to know where they stood and what I expected." Julie Simmons echoed that idea, "I didn't have that many students failing, and yet I didn't feel I was an easy grader. I tried to be fair." Leslie Matthews felt the same way, "There are objective

principles in evaluation that make the student feel comfortable and fair; that you're being fair.”

Eve Brady believed fairness helped alleviate parental concerns about grades:

One of my friends used to tell the parents first thing, you don't believe what comes home to you all the time and I won't believe what they tell me. You just have to be fair about things. Once you set a goal and by things being on time. I graded down for major papers a grade a day if they were not on time.

Pre teachers used student writing and compositions to provide grades but also to get to know students and respect them. Both of these goals required teachers to grade writing, which pre teachers believed to be essential, even if time consuming. Pre teachers bemoaned the paper load, but they spoke about the importance of students making progress in their writing; and the only way to see that progress was to read their papers. Camile Wright had students write in journals so she could get to know them as they practiced writing. She said:

I liked to teach composition because you got to know the kids so much better. Always had the kids write journals. They would write personal things and want me to comment. It would take a long time.

I asked Ms. Wright if she graded all of those journals, and she replied, “Oh yes, it would've been insulting if I told them to write it and I didn't read it.”

Eve Brady also believed that reading student writing indicated a level of respect for the student. She shared that grading papers was essential to understanding students' progress, but it was also the best route to getting to know and respecting the student:

The best way to become acquainted with the students is to grade their papers and see their progress. More emphasis should be put there. Put your interest in the student. You have to get the writing back to them right away. We only taught four hours a day at our

school, which meant you should have the students writing every week. You're reading 100 papers a week, it's no picnic.

Ms. Brady also conceived of grading as an extension of time with the student. She said: I gave it everything I had until there wasn't any more. I devoted hours and hours to grading papers. There's more on the outside world to do for the student than in the hour in the classroom. Every time you're grading a paper, you're with the student.

Cate Ellery also addressed the subjectivity of grading, indicating that her professional expertise coupled with knowledge of the student allowed her to grade effectively and judge whether or not a student learned:

I could tell in the classroom by the answers I got, if they really understood. If they were stimulated enough by what we were saying to think about it and develop their own ideas. It really was a matter of keeping records of what they had done of work I assigned that I thought was important. Did they do it? As I read each paper, I would make a judgment. You can't help it you have to, it's a subjective thing when you read a paper. Did they get an ABCD, depending on how well it was done?

I asked: Did you have some sort of objective criteria that you used?

It was very difficult to do that with essays. I just had to keep in mind the student who was writing it for one thing. And say this was pretty good for Johnny, he really has tried hard on this or if I had a genius and he slapped something down on the paper, that wouldn't be adequate, that would be a C or a D.

Two teachers mentioned the six-trait writing model as a resource for a fairer evaluation of student writing and a way to allow students to have a better understanding of their own learning and progress. The Six Trait Writing Model was developed by Education Northwest in the 1980s

and became a very popular framework in elementary and secondary schools for guiding and assessing student writing throughout the 80s and 90s. It focused on six writing traits that defined quality writing: ideas, organization, voice, word choice, sentence fluency, and conventions (6+1 Trait Writing, 2016). Camile Wright noted how the Six Trait Writing Model improved her old, more subjective way of grading student writing:

I believe that teaching composition changed over the years. When I got my MA, I took a class in composition and the professor was very into Six Trait Writing, which I really felt was the right way to teach. I felt that was important because you're able to tell the students where their writing was poor, put the emphasis on content and idea development, not on grammar. It's easy to see grammar mistakes and say this is a poor composition, but that's not necessarily true. I got really involved in the Six Traits. I really liked it. Helped me be more specific to students about their writing.

Leslie Matthews echoed how the Six Trait Writing Model allowed for a more objective evaluation:

It's not good to be totally subjective in student evaluation. There are objective principles in evaluation that make the student feel comfortable and fair, that you're being fair. Often teachers will grade whether they like the student or not. They will give no feedback. I always taught the Six Traits on their writing, and made very clear to them what the objective and criteria was. That makes them feel like "she's right, that's exactly what I did." It's clear what I expect and that motivates them to keep doing what they're doing or do better.

Overall, pre teachers spoke less about testing and more about grading. When it came to tests, they preferred essay tests where students had the chance to showcase their knowledge.

Teachers used both tests and compositions as opportunities to get to know students, as well as to evaluate what they knew. Although pre teachers strove to be fair and objective, their grading practices, especially for writing, were highly dependent on teachers' judgment. Aside from the Six Trait Writing Model that was employed by a couple of pre teachers later in their careers, most pre teachers referred to writing notes in margins and placing a grade directly on the student's paper.

Students as Protégés

To characterize pre teachers' conception of the students, I chose the overall label "protégés." Pre teachers depicted themselves as the disciplinary experts in the classroom and their students as mini-English teachers who soaked up what they had to offer. Students were in English class to become better communicators, and they did that through reading, writing, and discussion. Pre teachers felt it was important for all students to be better communicators and thinkers

Sharon Weber, taught a non-advanced class that she called "honors alternative," where her goal was for students to learn English to avoid labels in the real world, "You're not here to just learn how to write and read. You're here to learn how to speak and understand others and think in English and listen to others. You can communicate by saying "me go" but it labels you." For Ms. Weber, improving achievement for the students in her class had nothing to do with test scores or outcomes, rather it was to give "kids a sense of themselves as able to speak and write and understand their language to a degree that they do not feel embarrassed or threatened by their lack of understanding."

Jim Hamilton believed that learning English helped students to appreciate life and, in his view, that's what made you a "more capable person, a better person, or a person who's going to

enjoy life.” He went on to say that content learned in English class improved students’ sense of humor and helped them more easily see the perspective of others:

This is going to make you like to read or see how effective writing can be. Even if you want to make someone laugh, Twain can help you make someone laugh. If you don’t learn anything else in class, you can learn that Twain can use the simplest things to make you feel. I would say, what if you get in advertising? You have to think about how the person will receive what you’re saying.

The goal for teachers in the pre-era was to impart their knowledge in a way that students could draw on it to become more capable people outside of school. Pre teachers emphasized the importance of learning to become a well-rounded human being in the world. They believed it was their role to improve students’ capacity for good judgment.

Learning was an Intrinsic Choice. Pre teachers felt that learning was a choice for students. Even though teachers did everything in their power to motivate kids and provide them with opportunities for success, it was clear from pre teachers’ responses that the responsibility for learning was left to the student. In the pre-NCLB era, teachers provided opportunities, and students chose whether or not to accept them.

I asked an interview question that targeted teachers’ ideas of a failing student, which provided insight about their values, interests, and preferences regarding all students. What emerged was that pre-NCLB teachers conceived of students as individuals with the choice to learn or not. When students failed, pre teachers pointed to intrinsic student characteristics and choices, such as fear, insecurity, or lack of motivation. They described failing students as fearful of becoming adults, having insecurities, tuned out, too tired, choosing the wrong class to be in,

terrified of tests, not able to comprehend material, not motivated, having no desire to graduate, or hating English.

Pre teachers rarely mentioned particular emotional issues of students, which could be because they were not interpersonally relating with these students on a day-to-day basis like the post teachers were, so they were not recalling them as easily. However, a few pre teachers did recognize how home lives contributed to student failure. They mentioned lack of parental support, living with grandparents, having parents with two jobs, not eating dinner as a family, or parents that did not set parameters. Jill Mitchell acknowledged that by the end of her career, she noticed students with troubled home lives, which she felt contributed to their low academic performance:

But their home lives were so hard. Many lived with their grandparents. We were reading one book that had a Native American blessing before dinner, and I asked them how many of them ate together and almost none of them raised their hand. If they won't eat together, they don't see each other, they're not going to get help doing their work. It's when they started not handing in their work, when I didn't get any help from home. I mean, I would talk to their counselors. The motivation is just not there. I hated that, that anybody would be failing my class. But when they don't do the work.

Sharon Weber described students in the alternative school as having other things on their minds, "[students] were always thinking about what they were doing after school or TV or their minds were filled with lots of things [like] were the cops after them."

Pre teachers did not mention these issues as an excuse for students who struggled, but offered the information as an insight into why students may not be motivated. When students failed, pre teachers understood that outside issues may have been affecting students' ability to do

their school work; but there was a sense that the motivation to overcome it had to come from the student.

Acceptance Toward Failing Students. In the pre-era, student learning was a reflection of the student's decision to learn. Pre teachers expressed no urgency to pass students or to discover the root cause of their failure, even though they did contact parents, counselors, and talk to students individually. Many pre teachers indicated that students failed because they chose not to do the work, which was referred to as a lack of effort. This sentiment was also expressed in the post-era, but interestingly, pre-era teachers did not take on the bulk of the responsibility for students' lack of effort. Illustrative of responses about effort failure from pre teachers were phrases like, "...the students I failed simply didn't do the work"; "You just know if they're not doing the work or putting the pencil to paper"; "Mostly it was just that they weren't doing anything or giving you anything to make a judgment on"; "Some students wouldn't do the work. Obviously, zeroes don't make for a passing grade."

Overall there was a tone of acceptance toward students who chose not to do the work, even though the teachers described a strong desire to do what they could to encourage them. This attitude was not callous; it was realistic. Camile Wright felt that senior boys wanted to fail because they were afraid of what their future might hold after leaving high school. Take another example from Carrie Johnson, who felt ambivalence about students who did not succeed in school. She explained:

Certainly I didn't win every case. Sometimes they would say I want to quit school, and I always...I didn't know if that was right or wrong. I said, I wish you well and maybe you'll be successful in another venue. You have to know that some kids are going to drop out.

Eve Brady echoed that sentiment when she admitted she was not able to help students if they wouldn't do the work:

As long as they made an effort and something that could be corrected and got better, I never thought of them as failing. If they failed to do the work after a progress report...you just know if they're not doing the work or putting the pencil to paper. There's nothing much you can do then...Mostly it was just that they weren't doing anything or giving you anything to make a judgment on!

Pre teachers also indicated that students failed because they they did not have the ability to do the work. They felt bad when that occurred, especially if students could not read or write well. Jim Hamilton lamented that he could pinpoint the problem, but he could not fix it:

Sometimes if they didn't comprehend, I would recommend they be put in remedial classes—this was because they were not as well versed or trained. They may have reading problems or a lack of capability. This was a really tough problem. I would give a reading test for speed and comprehension, kind of in secret, so that I could tell if a student was good at reading. But I wasn't a reading teacher! This was just such a tough problem. I would try to work with the student to have him focus on key words or reading more words at a time, but they would miss the other important content if they couldn't read, and I always felt bad about that.

Many pre teachers provided grade sheets to students so they could see where they stood in the class. Along with providing a grade sheet, Cate Ellery believed that students were responsible for revising their essays based on her corrections before they received their final grade. This response indicated an expectation that students take ownership of their grade:

Before the grade cards came out I passed out a sheet to each student with what they could make up before I did the grades. And they had to do rewrites for all their essays. They did not get the grade until they did the rewrite. I read it once, gave it back, said ‘make corrections and then you get the grade.’ That was pretty important for me to make clear to them, you have to rewrite the essay. They knew where they stood.

What emerged from pre teachers’ responses was a tone of acceptance toward students who failed for reasons stemming from effort or ability. They tried to help students, but felt confident that they provided students with every opportunity to learn. The teachers from one district who founded the alternative program did not contradict this approach, nor did Samuel Mullins’ belief that student failure was teacher failure. These teachers did not alter or modify expectations for failing students, nor did they feel pressure to produce achievement or take ownership of students’ outcomes; rather, they took responsibility for providing failing students with an increased support system that they hoped might improve their motivation for staying in school.

Content as Knowledge-based

To characterize pre teachers’ expressions regarding content, I chose the term “knowledge-based.” In the pre-NCLB era, teachers’ ideas of content were focused on helping students connect with classic literature, as well as providing them with the foundational knowledge they would need to be good communicators and thinkers.

Content Drove Skills. Pre teachers chose content that was not only relevant to students’ lives, but also allowed for a broader understanding to emerge. What stood out in the pre teachers’ responses was the lack of emphasis on skills. They never mentioned choosing content that would best target a discrete skill. Pre teachers were the disciplinary experts in the

classroom, and content was the avenue they used to shape students into mini-English teachers. They taught whole novels, referred to as “classic literature,” such as *Grapes of Wrath*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *Red Badge of Courage*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Beowulf*, and *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Camile Wright described herself as “old school” because she found it appalling that the young teachers taught *Into the Wild* by Jon Krakauer instead of works by Thoreau. When I asked her why, she replied, “They needed to know Thoreau!” Many times, pre teachers taught the history behind the literature. Pre teachers also taught grammar and vocabulary in order to improve students’ abilities to communicate.

Jim Hamilton lamented “losing track of the basics” and offered an overview of the “fundamentals” he felt were taught in his pre-NCLB classroom. Mr. Hamilton emphasized that everything he taught was with the goal of helping students communicate better.

How to write and read well. What makes up good writing. Why do you like to read what you read? The style, content. When I taught grammar, I tried to teach the kids this is how you express yourself well and others can understand your writing. You have to have some principles behind your writing; and the more you know about grammar, the more you know about styles of writing. We went through exercises, where I gave them content and asked them to tell me how to say it in four or five different ways.

Literature, especially classic literature, was the center of the pre-NCLB classroom. Pre teachers chose literature that was relevant to students in order to increase their motivation to analyze and interpret it. Even though the curriculum was predetermined by the district, teachers could choose from a variety of pre-selected texts in addition to the textbook. Pre teachers used classic literature that they felt was interesting to students, and novels that spurred ideas about their lives. For example, Camille Wright shared an anecdote about a boy who asked why a

sentence was worded a certain way at the end of *Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck. She felt that his questioning of the content allowed him to understand the importance of word order in literature:

One boy, who was brilliant in science, said, “I don’t understand at the very end. Why did it say that Sharon smiled mysteriously? Why doesn’t it say Sharon mysteriously smiled?” And I said, “I don’t know, make something up.” And he looked like...[looked at me quizzically]. I said, “it wasn’t that it was mysterious that she smiled. It was that all of a sudden she recognized what it meant to be a woman.” Actually that was a really good question...that he understood that there was something off about the word order. That’s why I love to teach English. It just really opens kids up.

Jill Mitchell, a pre teacher, chose books with literary merit that “made people think the most.” She said:

Some books didn’t have ideas that would apply to kids. Not that they had to be about kids. But they had to be about jealousy or greed or companionship, ideas that made them think about their own situation. That helped me include writing assignments that had to do with their own lives. I didn’t want the literature to be separate from where they were.

Carrie Johnson echoed that idea by pointing out that she “would ask the kids, how do you relate to this? What does this remind you of? What do you get out of this? How could this relate to your life?” Camile Wright shared that she “tried to teach books that she thought kids should know about: *Grapes of Wrath*, *Red Badge of Courage*.”

Importance of History. The word history was used by five pre teachers and never mentioned by post teachers. Pre teachers spoke of providing the historical context for works of literature, such as *Beowulf*, Shakespeare, poetry, eras of writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson, or

works associated with the American Revolution. Jill Mitchell did not talk about teaching history, but shared that minority history classes were initiated at her school during the Civil Rights era. Leslie Matthews taught the history behind Shakespeare in order to motivate students to want to read the outdated plays:

They think, he's dead why do I have to learn this language? I would say, okay we want to learn a little about the times and the background. I would give a one-day lecture where I had them in the palm of my hand because I talked about Henry the Eighth. And then I talked about Elizabeth. And I brought out a replica of the Globe Theater. And it was really neat when I opened like this. Everybody could see it. And the groundlings. And throwing tomatoes and booing. And who sat here and how much it cost. And peeing in buckets.

When Eve Brady taught *Beowulf*, she said, "There was no use teaching poetry without teaching history, so that they knew what was behind that poetry." When Jim Hamilton taught American literature, he would "combine history and literature. We would talk about the time period of Ralph Waldo Emerson or [we would talk about] Thomas Payne because it tied into the Revolution. The history teachers were always wanting us to do that, and it worked well."

Writing as a Tool for Thought. Pre teachers used the word "composition" to talk about writing. They mentioned the curriculum requiring a certain number of compositions during the year. Pre teachers' responses indicated that they felt writing helped students think, to better understand the literature, and to learn other fundamentals, like grammar and sentence structure. Camile Wright always gave essay tests because "writing clarifies thought." Jim Hamilton's goal was to teach students to write well so readers would have respect for the writing:

We didn't have spelling tests, but in compositions I would emphasize fundamentals. They would have to correct them in their writing. I would have them re-write the paper. I would tell them these things are fundamental in not distracting the reader from the content or drawing the wrong conclusions. If the fundamentals aren't there, the reader will not have respect for the writing.

Eve Brady used a five paragraph format to help students structure their compositions, but also believed writing was about imagination:

If you had something, like a good formula for the five-paragraph essay: get this introduction, get it done; and you can't go wrong. They loved that. They would get that done, and it was something that was gonna work. They love when you tell them: this will work. The general statement and the observation about that and you go into your theme statement with three parts and you've got the set up there for a five paragraph essay. And you'll be organized. They would always take to that. You had their attention. English is so out here...it's not math. It's imagination and putting things together.

Journals were also a popular writing strategy in the pre-era. Leslie Matthews asked students to write journals from the perspective of a character in history. Jill Mitchell asked students to respond to quotations from a novel, believing students more honestly responded to journals than formal essays. Camile Wright had students write in journals so she could get to know them as they practiced writing.

Summary

Chapter five provided a broad portrait of pre-NCLB teachers that outlined how they conceptualized essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content. Pre teachers' values, interests, and preferences suggested their pedagogical role was that of motivator, they

conceived of students as mini-English teachers or “protégés” who chose whether or not to learn, and the goal for content was to bestow knowledge to students so that they could become better communicators. The results in the pre-NCLB chapter were used as a baseline for analyzing the post-NCLB data that follows in chapter six. I compared post-NCLB teachers’ conceptions with those of pre teachers to get a sense of similarities or changes in the values, interests, and preferences that teachers expressed regarding the essential classroom components. In chapter six, I will provide another broad portrait of post-NCLB teachers using data that outlines the shifts that emerged in the post-NCLB data regarding pedagogy, students, and content.

Chapter 6 Portrait of Post-NCLB Teachers

In the following section, I outline a broad portrait of the values, interests, and preferences that post teachers expressed in their interview responses. I used the pre teachers' responses as a baseline for determining and conceptualizing a shift or change in teachers' work. In the "post" section I provide evidence for and commentary on the changes that emerged in post teachers' responses regarding the three essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content.

Three major themes about pedagogy, students and content emerged from the post responses. First, post teachers' responses suggested the nature of their role shifted away from motivator toward manager. Second, the way teachers spoke about students was suggestive of a more product-like perception rather than one that viewed them protégés. Third, their approach to content shifted from one that valued knowledge to one that prioritized skills. I will provide evidence supporting each of these shifts.

From Motivator to Manager

To characterize post teachers' conception of their pedagogical roles, I chose the label "manager." This label encompasses the nature of how teachers talked about and conceived of their pedagogical goals, decisions, and practices. There were many aspects of their responses that spoke to this label, and I will discuss each in turn. It is important to note that elements expressed in the pre-era did not disappear from post teachers' responses, but unique values, interests, and preferences emerged that were absent or tonally different from the pre data.

In the post-era, goals for instruction took on new elements and priorities that suggested teachers' role shifted from one for which the goal was to bring students into the fold of learning through motivation to one who became responsible for producing a successful achiever using the most efficient strategies available. Post teachers began to conceive of themselves as the person

responsible for orchestrating the student's achievement. An effective post teacher managed the classroom, gathered data about what students wanted and needed in terms of content, and used a process-based approach to target those needs, striving to break down the learning into digestible chunks for students. Assessment became an important component of instruction in the post-era. Six post teachers used the word "assess" in their responses. They mentioned state assessments, district assessments, common assessments, performance assessments, formal assessments, and how to assess writing. Only one pre teacher used the word "assess," when she mentioned that students "have to know how to assess what the characters believe" when they read literature.

Post-NCLB teachers tried to identify the needs of each particular student, choose the correct strategy to engage that student, and through objective assessment methods, insure that student achieved the standards. To increase participation in class, post teachers referred to various pedagogical strategies. Student engagement became an important pedagogical end-goal; it was something teachers could point to as evidence of effective teaching. Post teachers put effort into being the kind of teacher that students wanted to learn from. Courtney Elcot said that keeping things relevant in the classroom required "connecting with students and making them want you to teach them; [to show them] that you're gonna be a person that they want to listen to and learn from every day."

Managing the Classroom. When discussing their classroom work, post teachers used more corporate-like language in ways that the pre teachers did not. For example, pre teachers never mentioned the words "business" or "manage" in their responses; but three out of ten post teachers used the word "business," and seven out of ten used the word "manage." Post teachers used "manage" in reference to organizing the classroom and appropriately prioritizing their time. This usage is revealing because the word "manage" evokes business and corporate settings. Post

teachers described arranging the physical space for students as “classroom management,” which is a system of processes that help a classroom run smoothly, such as seating charts, bathroom passes, late work and tardy policies, and disciplinary action.

In the post-era classroom management was seen as an essential component of effective teaching, such that teachers assigned at least as much importance to it as lesson planning and grading. In the post-NCLB era, relationship building also became an important component for maintaining a well-run classroom. Take this example from Ben Wilcox, who indicated the need for a classroom management section in the teacher handbook. He contended that relationship building was essential and that it was an important aspect of classroom management:

Teachers who struggle with classroom management...there would be a whole section on relationship building and how to do that, and thinking that’s important, instead of putting all your time into grading and lesson planning and doing all of that.

Jacob Connell used the word “management” to describe the ever-changing bureaucratic mandates that new teachers may not consider before entering the profession:

I would include navigating the bureaucratic stuff--explaining how there’s a top down management style even within something as subjective and creative as English there are still dictates that come down from on high that you have to adjust to. And you have to adjust every year to changing things.

Three post teachers from different schools but the same district described teaching as a business, albeit one centered on relationships. Mark Sharp explained, “I think teaching is a business about relationships. Once they know that you care, it’s really cliché, they’ll work a lot harder for you.” Ben Wilcox worried that schools were emphasizing data points and sameness over relationships and individuality. He pointed out:

We're in the people business not the data business. And I would definitely have a section about that. We need to remember why we got into this profession: to help kids achieve their goals and develop, not to make them into some cookie cutter thing that someone else has decided they should become.

Consistent with the focus on students and classroom management, two post teachers mentioned using a book by Wong and Wong entitled "First Days of School" (1991). This resource book for new teachers outlines the basic procedures for setting up a classroom, such as standing at the door to greet students, smiling, and assigning seats before the first day of class. Although pre and post teachers valued classroom arrangement as important, post teachers characterized it as "managing a classroom," which is a term pre teachers never used. Robert Mailer compared managing a classroom of students to training a dog, stating:

When I had a dog, I was reading the dog manual and I realized how closely they're written like teaching students manuals. You have to have a firm hand and expectations that are clear. So that's part of the first day stuff. Okay. What are your expectations for the class, but allowing there to be some freedom for students to work within those structures. That goes back to the Wong book that's passed out a lot, I think it's called *The First Day of School*. Then as the semester's going along, you're just looking for any opening with the student to develop that relationship.

Mark Sharp elaborated on the many roles of a post-NCLB English teacher. Mr. Sharp's response highlights the sometimes frantic pace that was characteristic of post-era responses:

But the time management throughout the day would be important to. How to break down a class in one hour. How do you start it? How do you manage the middle section, how

do you end it? How do you manage emails? How do you manage your plan period? Grading? Planning? Emails? Tracking down sped teachers? Parent emails?

I coach so how do you manage extracurricular clubs. What are some tips. It stacks up really quick. English teachers have learned that they have a stack of papers that's constantly growing. The first day you assign something, you are officially behind. You try to have lectures and in-class discussions, but you eventually gotta assign something. And classroom management.

Although Shelley Davis used the term "management," she had a different take on what worked in her classroom. She tried to resist the rigidity that she felt was characteristic of a "managed" classroom by enlisting students to behave appropriately without harsh rules and discipline. When describing what sections to put in her teaching handbook, she shared:

Classroom management. I would call it "un-management." If you are actively trying to manage your classroom, students are actively going to try to wreck it for you. But if you can just walk into the room and say look this can be whatever you want it to be. If this is a class where you can hang out and I can get to know you and you get to know me and we all get to know each other, great. If you want it to be lock down with a rigid set of rules. I think you can guess what behavior will lead to that room.

Overall, post teachers emphasized the importance of using a system to maintain order in the classroom, even if it was less defined or rigid than one proposed in Wong & Wong's (1991) book. They also used more business-like language to describe it, and talked about it more than pre teachers did. Perhaps they focused more on classroom management because they were living it on a day-to-day basis, whereas pre teachers were thinking back to their classrooms without remembering the organizational details of the daily grind.

Reaching all Students. Whereas teachers in the pre-era conceived of student engagement as important because it allowed students to participate in class discussion and express their opinions, in the post-era it became an end-goal. Post-era teachers described going to great lengths to make students engage with content. They saw it as their pedagogical duty and as a measure of their effectiveness as a teacher. Seven post teachers used a form of the word “engage” to refer to some type of student engagement, while only two pre teachers used the word to refer to holding the attention of students.

Post teachers wanted students to be excited about learning and be genuinely curious, but holding students’ attention in class discussions and activities became a high priority. If it appeared students were not interested in the material, post teachers described using a range of activities in an attempt to compel students to care. When students were not interested, the responsibility fell to the teacher to “reach all students.” Examples of instructional strategies described by post teachers to increase classroom engagement were allowing students to be loud and rambunctious, creating walls for students to post their work as competitive motivation, incorporating technology like Google Classroom for student writing, giving students surveys to determine what content they liked and what they find valuable, changing up their seating arrangements, varying their groupings, facilitating classroom debates, and requiring students to annotate their readings to prove they completed the work.

Mark Sharp, stated that the number of students involved in discussion was an important indicator of his effectiveness and his ability to reach all students:

You can always tell the effectiveness by how many are involved in the discussion. Are they taking notes? Asking questions? Is it the same people every day? Or are you able to get multiple voices? That’s an easy indicator. That’s teaching 101, but that’s obvious.

If it's the same 2-3 people talking every day, you're doing a great job with those two, but what about the rest of them.

Aaron Morris said when considering his effectiveness, he watched for "how many people are involved in the conversations and discussion, the most. And that tells you how many kids are engaged."

In the post classroom, teachers accounted for student differences, and three post teachers used the word "differentiating," although others described the process without using the word. Differentiation is an educational buzzword with an ambiguous meaning. When teachers differentiate, they modify instruction and assessments to meet the needs of all students in the classroom, accounting for student interests and strengths. Ben Wilcox felt differentiation was a way to combat the outcomes-based, data-driven focus of No Child Left Behind and Common Core:

I'm not a big believer in that all students should turn out to be the same products in the end. I think that's the system we're currently in, and we have a set outcome. And all the kids need to hit these benchmarks and we need to measure them against one another. And we have one definition of what success looks like. I don't like that either. I think that the classroom should be student centered. Truly student centered: what their goals are, their talents. That should be taken into consideration.

Laura Madden used the metaphor of a ship and a captain to describe how reflecting on practice helped teachers to reach every student in the classroom, underscoring the importance of ensuring every student learned:

A lot of teachers barrel through and keep going with something that isn't working. If they're a captain of a ship, they're losing kids left and right. They're jumping off and by

the time they get to their destination, there are three kids left on the boat and that's not a successful trip.

Developing relationships with students outside the classroom was a common refrain among post teachers. Relationships were important for controlling behavior in the classroom and for keeping students' engaged in classroom work. Shelley Davis preferred conversation rather than discipline because it kept students in her room. She was proud that write-ups were not common in her classroom:

You were crazy and flipped over a desk and called me a bitch? Let's talk about why. I'd rather have the conversation and keep them in the room. What purpose does that serve to write them up? No one's getting to the reason of why the kid is acting like that.

Laura Madden told me that she hoped students would come to her with their problems so that she could better identify their academic needs. She described taking on the role of the counselor because the counseling team was overwhelmed with students:

...if you build up trust and make yourself available and let them know that you care, they'll come to you. Our counseling department is stripped to the bare bones. We have four counselors who are supposed to...I think what our kids need now more than anything is for you be available. I had a kid a few weeks ago who tried to kill himself. Like the kid who was homeless, his family qualifies for a lot of services, but there's a pride aspect, his mom didn't want to tell anyone. But he didn't know who was gonna pick him up from school, no running water. They were squatting in abandoned buildings. With kids like that, you can't be bullheaded and say, "Why aren't you turning in your homework?" There's a sensitivity that you need to have about other people as a classroom teacher.

The emphasis on getting to know students, probably coupled with the increased instances of emotional issues, seemed to take an emotional toll on post teachers. They described the importance of finding a way to separate themselves from the classroom once in a while because, as Mark Sharp stated, “those kids crawl into your brains and you’re thinking about them all the time.” Shelley Davis believed having hobbies outside of the classroom could alleviate the emotional toll of the classroom and improve teachers’ ability to maintain good relationships with students. She stated in a tongue in cheek way:

Booze is your friend, not necessarily [laughing], but actually I would say have a vice.

You need something that’s just yours, not related to work: a trashy novel or binge watching on Netflix. There will come a time when you have to self-care—that would be the title of that section. You can’t show up for your kids if you don’t show up for yourself.

In the post-era, teachers spoke about the “student-centered” classroom and frequently mentioned emotional issues of students. The character of their responses reflected a focus on student differences and a willingness to get to know students outside the classroom to improve behavior and learning inside the classroom. Post teachers talked about how to tailor instruction to students and described a classroom that emphasized relationship-building for the purpose of insuring kids learn. For the post teacher, a priority was getting to know students so they wanted to learn from you. Post-era teachers emphasized the student’s role in determining how content was taught the classroom. They spent time involving students in the shaping of the classroom culture by gathering data about their goals and interests and designing activities that put them at the center. Rather than draw on disciplinary expertise to teach students about a novel, post teachers “got out of the way of students” during Socratic Seminars or held student-centered

discussions where the students created questions and answers without the teacher. Post-era teachers sought opinions from students about what to teach and involved them in the pedagogical and evaluation process.

Laura Madden talked about asking students to set goals for the class, then designed how and what to teach around the majority of answers. Mark Sharp gave a questionnaire to determine what stories to teach. Ben Wilcox said, “If I’m the one up in the front of the room, I’m doing them a disservice.” Rather than the standard worksheet and quiz, he preferred to do Socratic Seminar; where students brought the questions and the discussion points to class because it promoted “real ownership of their learning.” Rather than relying on teacher expertise, Shelley Davis encouraged students to take notes when their peers made good points during class discussion. She allowed them to use notes on the test because she did not want to be “a gatekeeper to a grade.”

Post teachers mentioned allowing students to guide content and the ways their knowledge of content was assessed. Robert Mailer said:

I allow them to guide the examples, and the subject matter...I would push for people to do more realistic tasks, like they get to choose whatever or however they want to show what they’ve learned. So you can do that by differentiating regarding writing or performance and projects. That’s getting you into the different modes of learning.

Typical of a post-NCLB response, Mr. Mailer indicated that developing relationships was what made students want to learn content:

We tend to think it’s all about content, but it’s really not. It’s about relationships with the people whom you’re working. Your path to whatever you want to have the students learn is not gonna be easy. It becomes about relationships with students.

Yet, he made a point of telling me about his intentional decision not to become too involved in this aspect of students' lives. Like many post-NCLB teachers, Mr. Mailer felt compassion for students dealing with outside issues that neither he nor they could not control:

One day I circled the high school before I actually parked, and I drove through some neighborhoods in November or December. It was cold. And I saw kids walking to school and coming out of houses that I didn't even think people lived in. And so then when they walk into junior English and we're talking about *The Things They Carried*, and we're talking about a guy schlepping through Vietnam in a decade and in a country that these kids have no connection with and they're just struggling to get to school. I can understand why this kid doesn't care about this book that I'm teaching right now. So we're dealing with environmental issues regarding hunger and cold and money and all that kind of stuff. That's obvious. I don't have any control over that.

Accommodating students who had emotional issues emerged as a theme in the post-era responses. Post teachers described students who came to the classroom with "heavy baggage" like anxiety, gender fluidity, depression, alcoholism, drug addiction, homelessness, hunger, eating disorders, and suicidal thoughts, as well as students who had disabilities and needed accommodations through IEPs and 504s. While pre teachers mentioned students who experienced homelessness and difficult home lives, it did not emerge as a prominent feature in their responses.

Laura Madden felt that the ability to be flexible and choose relevant material for students with heavy baggage made contemporary teaching different than it used to be:

You don't have to be a total expert in your field that first year. But for an English teacher, you have to be well-read outside the classroom. And not just for enjoyment, but

with a critical eye. Reading a book to teach it is much different than reading to enjoy. Beyond that...when I'm watching the news or reading a news article, my brain is constantly thinking of ways I can teach it.

Pulling those things in is what gets kids to buy in to things they feel like are not gonna be useful for them in the future. You have to be an advocate for yourself and for your students. There's value in being a strict, "this is the schedule, and it's not gonna change." But in my opinion that doesn't work today and not where I teach. We have a diverse student body and kids now are coming with really heavy baggage. Parents who aren't around. Who are drug addicts, alcoholics. I have kids who are homeless who hid it the whole year.

Aaron Morris felt emotional issues were so important to his classroom work that he told me an entire section in the handbook should be devoted to the subject:

Emotional issues is something that should be in there. Talking about anxiety, kids with anxiety. Kids with gender fluidity. Kids who have suicide, depression. How to spot those kinds of things. Trouble at home and tips on homework completion would be nice. I seem to chase kids around about that a lot. I think everybody does. And then probably...we have an integrated studies department in [this school], which is the teachers that take care of kids who have 504s and IEPs. That should be in the handbook. We all took classes on that. To have it in a reference handbook would be nice.

Reaching all students became a very important pedagogical value in the post-era, and post teachers took this aspect very seriously. They used a variety of instructional strategies to hold students' attention and intentionally built relationships with students so they could determine how to keep them engaged. This intentionality seemed to eventually take a toll on

some post teachers (and perhaps the counseling team in at least one school) because it not only added extra duties to their jobs, but also resulted in knowing information about students' lives that was emotionally overwhelming.

Difficulty of Technology. Cell phone and technology use in the classroom was a major theme in the post-era teachers' description of their work. Five post teachers talked about phones in the classroom as being a major issue to contend with compared to three pre teachers who shared they were grateful that they did not have to contend with them. Aaron Morris compared the act of incorporating technology in the classroom to trying to get students to pay attention while there was a circus playing the classroom:

This whole blended learning thing is dangerous. I like it because kids like technology but reading a book on an electronic device is like trying to read a book that's welded to the top of a circus.

Shelley Davis expressed concern that technology was hampering her ability to prepare students to communicate well in the real world. She said:

I don't think you can put them in front of a computer and say here's a blended learning model, which is really just online virtual learning. What are they learning, how to navigate the web? They already know how to do that. But they don't know how to communicate with each other or look each other in the face.

Interestingly, three post teachers measured the classroom engagement level by how many students were not on their cell phones. And all five post teachers who mentioned cell phones in their responses stated that it was a formidable problem that threatened engagement. Susan Turner bemoaned having to be a helicopter teacher because she was constantly monitoring students' cell phone and Chromebook use. Shelley Davis implemented a rule requiring students

to put their phones on silent and in the bottom of their bags, which she said seemed to be increasing student participation. Robert Mailer elaborated on how cell phones rendered useless the once effective behavior adjustment method of proximity, which he described as “moving around the classroom getting close to people.” When I prompted him for more information about how cell phones made this tried and true technique less effective, he offered a compelling explanation:

...it used to be when someone was talking, you just moved by the desk, you don't even have to say anything, they stop talking. But they were just talking to that individual next to them...the problem now is that when I move away, and they look back on their phone, it's no longer the twenty or thirty people in the classroom that can affect that child, it's the entire world that can affect that child. It can be the mom at home, a girlfriend, someone on the other side of campus. I'm no longer dealing with thirty people, I'm dealing with more than that. So when you're talking about classroom management, yes, a decade ago, it was easier to use proximity, and you were also using classroom instruction, and alternating and changing what you're doing every fifteen minutes or so because attention spans aren't that long. You can play with that. But now, very quickly, they can glance at their phone and they're totally gone and they're gone for a long period of time depending on what mental state that puts them in.

Mark Sharp believed that he was an effective teacher if his instruction prompted students to ignore their phones:

When they're not on their phones, you know you're being effective. That's a battle all teachers have, but especially English teachers. English requires you to slow down and pay attention. The phones are so popular. It's because you don't have to pay attention.

You can just scroll, and it's mindless. Our kids have seven hours a day and they're involved in multiple things. So when they come to my class I'm aware that they might be reluctant to sit and slow themselves down and pay really close attention to a sentence or a word choice. If I can get them to do that, I know they're with me.

Laura Madden saw student cell phone use as an indication that her methods needed to be improved because she was not reaching those students who were using their phones during class:

I like a lot of interaction and discussion. So if it's the same kids chiming in or if kids are on their phones, I can switch and go to something different. And I'll say...this is part of being vulnerable too...I can say, "I see this isn't working. Let's find another way to do this."

Without a doubt, cell phone use and other forms of technology began to play a major role in the post-NCLB classroom. Teachers had to contend with this technology by enforcing rules or trying to incorporate it into instruction in effective ways. They resisted it or accepted it. But compared to pre teachers' pedagogical values, interests, and preferences; post teachers certainly expressed a new regard for how technology was influencing their work.

Strategy-driven Instruction. Five post teachers to one pre teacher used a form of the word strategy when talking about their pedagogy. Post teachers referred to particular methods used to engage students as "strategies." Susan Turner pointed out how she used a Kagan Cooperative Learning strategy called Four Corners to increase student interest in the content. Dan Baxter explained "strategies" as a way to approach content and believed support for teachers should come in the form of helpful strategies. He described teaching writing as a methodical process requiring the use of templates and models:

I really push templates and models really hard for writing because that takes the organizational fear out of it for them. Like my five step paragraph model. It takes the fear out of it. The first step is on the board all year: controlling idea, what are we actually talking about. The second step is relevance to you or to the literature or combination of the two. You know the third step is an example and the fourth step is an explanation.

Laura Madden surveyed students about a variety of topics and evaluated their work to decide how to retool her strategies:

I will ask the kids to tell me what they like, didn't like, valuable, not valuable. [I will look at things] like the quality of the work that I'm seeing them turn in, the types of questions students are asking, if they show a genuine curiosity, or if they want to know more about a topic. If I'm not seeing those things, I will switch what I'm doing to find a way to increase their engagement. I've had enough time teaching that I have a toolbox of strategies that I can go to at any moment.

Courney Elcot explained that a section on reading strategies should be included in the teaching handbook because so many of her students do not read the content she assigns. She stated that specific strategies help her target particular skills so students know exactly why they are reading:

I use a lot of different [reading strategies]. You ask a kid to read a page, they don't do it. The kids of this generation, you have to give them a task to do while reading. Some of them will look at the page, but they have no ability to sit and focus and read just to read. They won't do it. That's a bold statement, and there are exceptions. But 50% of my class, if you don't give them a reason why or don't give them something to do while they're reading; they will not do it. I have all kinds of strategies to make sure they're

picking up the information when they're reading. If you ask them to read directions, they need to be annotating the directions. Annotation looks different for different teachers and situations. You should circle the words you don't understand and be looking for specific things in a text. If not, what are you doing with it? How do you read with a purpose?

Strategies emerged as an element post teachers used to improve instructional effectiveness by increasing engagement and helping teachers to target skills. Although pre teachers did refer to common teaching methods; the post teachers acknowledged more specific strategies and more frequently used the term when talking about their instruction.

Producing Achievement. Post teacher responses indicated that there was an expectation that teachers do everything in their power to pass students. To help students improve their grades, teachers mentioned being flexible with due dates, modifying assignments, providing alternate assignments, asking students to re-do assignments, coming up with a plan for turning in work, and providing students with big point assignments to raise their grades. Susan Turner mentioned, "if a student actually attempts an assignment, I'll give them half credit, even if it's completely wrong."

Teachers found multiple ways to pass students and defined passing differently for different sets of students. For example, Shelley Davis had a particularly difficult non-advanced class, for which she indicated a modified vision of success. She described the class characteristics and how they informed her expectations:

Two who are autistic: emotionally 10 or 11 years old. Another student who is exclusively tied to slow processing because of depression. Kids who are in and out of court. Every single student is passing and 50% of them have failed an English class at some point. I look at stuff like that: how much work is getting turned in, on time,

complete. Not saying how many kids are getting As. That's not the point. The point is: are you trying, are you working, are you making an effort to better yourself, to better understand the material? Are you asking me for help? I want to be accessible. I get kids asking me questions all the time in that class. That's successful. Of course the number of kids who are passing, but passing is successful because some of those kids are not gonna go to college and that's okay.

Some post teachers felt they were pressured to disregard students' failing grades. At one large district, several teachers mentioned a push to present failing students with a contract that provided them with just enough assignments to push them over the 59% mark. Jacob Connell described the pressure of balancing district mandates with a personal teaching philosophy about the importance of grades and fairness:

As a district they're trying to move away from failing grades. And so the idea that grades are supposed to be a measurement of what students know...whatever that's fine...but the pressure is on us to make the decision on whether or not the student deserves to pass regardless of what the grade says. There has been a lot of blowback from colleagues when we heard that this is the new dictate. It's a change in our philosophy. It's not just our principal. It's coming down from higher up. That's one of those things that seems difficult to square what I'm asked to do philosophically with what I know is right. What's the positive, the virtue, the detriment? I don't know. I feel like there will be some bureaucratic shenanigans that undermine what the teacher thinks is best for students. It's an age-old teacher complaint.

Some post teachers blamed the system of public education for failing students and expressed an us vs. them attitude regarding "the system." For example, Courtney Elcot believed

public education did a disservice to students by passing them without mastering basic skills. She also rejected the narrative that teachers were not doing enough to produce achievement, believing that many students failed because “they’ve been beaten down by school:”

It’s not that teachers aren’t working hard enough or trying to engage them, they’ve just been passed along because we don’t fail kids until high school. That’s why we have the dropouts we do. They can’t do what teachers ask them to do.

In the post-era, teachers did everything they could to help students pass. In the above quote, Ms. Elcot felt she had to defend her profession’s effort to curb student failure; indicating a post-NCLB narrative which held teachers accountable for student achievement. The post-NCLB environment seemed to compel teachers to redefine success, as well as find creative ways for students to pass. Additionally, in one district, teachers were mandated to provide failing students with contracts that reduced their workload to the bare passing minimum. Post teachers’ responses indicated that in terms of being held accountable for achievement, the weight of responsibility tipped more toward teachers than students.

From Protégés to Products

To characterize post teachers’ conception of students, I chose the label “product” because teachers began to conceptualize student achievement as their responsibility. Whereas pre-NCLB teachers pointed to intrinsic reasons and choice for why students failed, post-NCLB teachers shifted away from that view to one suggesting student failure resulted from life circumstances out of the student’s control. Post-NCLB teachers pointed to emotional issues stemming from the anxiety of packed schedules or difficult home lives as reasons for failure, almost to the point of excusing the failure. Because the responsibility for achievement fell to the teacher, it became important to document reasons why the teacher could not produce the desired result. Rather than

shape mini-English teachers, as was the goal in the pre-NCLB era, post-NCLB teachers prepared students for college or careers by equipping them with applicable skills. They also used more standardized labels to describe students.

Many Excuses for Student Failure. In the post-era, teachers' overall responses indicated that student failure was a pressing concern. Like pre teachers, they pointed to both effort and ability issues as reasons for student failure. But notably, post teachers expressed more exasperated helplessness about effort failures than pre teachers: "I can't keep banging my head against the wall;" "I can't make him write and make him do these assignments;" "I have students who come in and put their heads down. There's really nothing I can do;" "...some people aren't gonna do what you ask them to do. And you can't do anything about that;" "I can give opportunities but with high school kids, I can't make the kid learn;" "The only thing I can do to try to help them to pass is to do their work for them."

Teachers described going to great lengths to make classes palatable for students so they did not fail, and they provided many explanations for student failure. In the post-2002 era, learning, classwork, homework, and grades were upstaged by students' home lives, emotional issues, and extracurricular activities. Post teachers described failing students as having a lack of support system at home, bored by English, dealing with divorces, homelessness, abuse, emotional and mental health issues, lying, cutting, drug and alcohol addiction, anorexia, not coming to class, sleeping in class, failing at being happy, being depressed, giving up on school, and being dejected and beaten down after a series of failures.

For example, Dan Baxter said, "I've got life fails going on right now where student's lives are so in the shitter that school isn't...[trails off]...and I don't blame them." When students have their heads down in class, Laura Madden thought it was better to ask the students if

everything was okay “instead of jumping into a confrontation and making it about you when it’s about him and what’s going on in his life.”

Post teachers expressed urgency when they talked about helping failing students. Once they diagnosed those students with the most academic needs, a sequence of events was set in motion where teachers investigated, documented, and justified how, when, and why students might fail. First, they made it a goal to discover the root cause of a student’s failure. Most teachers expressed the importance of building strong relationships and investing in students, knowing personal details, not talking down to them, providing examples of places in their lives where they’re not failures, helping students before, after and during class, talking to students one-on-one, figuring out what motivates them, and being understanding that life happens and they have other classes besides English. Then, they alerted all parties involved by calling and emailing mom, setting up meetings with counselors, parents, other content teachers and special education teachers, emailing the mental health team, alerting social workers, and contacting administration. They described urgently working every angle to try and get students to pass. They mentioned chasing kids, staying on them, and not giving up on kids.

An example of the investigation stage of this sequence of events was expressed by Laura Madden who gave passes to struggling students during study hall with the hope of determining the root cause of their lack of performance:

They’ll say they’re not doing the work because they don’t feel like it. But sometimes this is where you find out things are going on outside of the classroom. [It helps] if you can be understanding and work with a kid individually and put less pressure on them. If they have five areas of their lives, then you can lighten the load on the school part of it.

Aaron Morris mentioned taking issues of failure to administration. He described a situation where he would provide alternative assignments and extra encouragement to a student who defiantly dismissed the help, “You can only do so much during the day. You can give assignments all day but he’s not gonna do ‘em. He throws assignments away on the way out the door. At this point it’s in the hands of the administration.”

Post teachers described trying to ward off failure before it happened by formally diagnosing and addressing the differences between effort and ability failures before it was too late for the student to dig out of a hole. Laura Madden used pre-tests from ACT booklets to gather information about student ability, so that when they fell below that potential she could push them toward it. Mark Sharp gave weekly assignments to check the progress of students so that he knew when to re-teach concepts or target misunderstandings with different teaching methods, such as using small groups.

Post teachers’ knowledge of students’ emotional and home lives was striking and emerged as a pattern in their responses. Among the issues discussed were homelessness, hunger, anxiety and depression, stress, suicide, cutting, abuse, addiction, eating disorders, divorce and testifying against parents. While teachers from both eras described developing meaningful and lasting relationships with students, those in the post-era were much more aware of their students’ home lives and their emotional and mental states and; most importantly, took them into account when setting expectations. Post teachers felt that these issues affected all of their students and were not limited to those who were low-performing or failing.

Post teachers explained or excused students’ academic or behavior problems because of stress and emotional issues caused by home lives and extra curricular activities. Robert Mailer felt that behavior issues were due to a deficiency at home. He said, “there’s not stuff, things,

possessions or money or other relationships, the only person they have is them.” Shelley Davis mentioned depression as a major issue impacting student success:

I have a class that is 5th hour; it’s over lunch. It’s 25 kids. It has a wide variety. Kids who elected not to take AP English because they’re taking AP other stuff. Two who are autistic. Emotionally 10 or 11 years old. Another student who is exclusively tied to slow processing because of depression.

Some post teachers shared that helping students through these situations was not something they were prepared to do and many of them seemed continually surprised by the situations their students had to face. Yet, they also described a passion and willingness to take on these issues as part of their job responsibilities. It was perhaps this sense of duty to their students that took an emotional toll on some of the post teachers.

Laura Madden told me, “You don’t go into a profession expecting things like that because you’re not taught how to handle those things.” While Shelley Davis said:

It’s much harder than anyone realizes in terms of being prepared for the emotional toll the job takes. When you have students coming in saying “I had to testify against my dad in court last week,” that’s...you may not be emotionally ready for that.

Aaron Morris felt this burden was so heavy that he felt how to deal with the emotional issues of students should be included in a teaching handbook:

Emotional issues is something that should be in there. Talking about anxiety, kids with anxiety. Kids with gender fluidity. Kids who have suicide, depression. How to spot those kinds of things. Trouble at home and tips on homework completion would be nice. I seem to chase kids around about that a lot. I think everybody does.

Overall post teachers made many more excuses for student failure than pre teachers, especially in pointing to their home and emotional lives. They also expressed urgency about helping failing students by approaching student failure from every angle. When students signaled potential failure, many post teachers described a sequence of events where they investigated the root cause and alerted all parties involved in order to help the student succeed. Pre teachers expressed a much more accepting tone toward students who failed compared to post teachers' frenzied and, at times overwhelming, need to demonstrate their willingness to fix students' achievement problems.

The College and/or Career Ready Student. Whereas pre teachers had the rather simple goal of improving students' abilities to read, write, and think conceiving them as mini-English teachers, the post teacher focused on helping students apply the skills they needed in college or their future careers. In the post-era, teachers spoke about how the ACT, SAT, and Advanced Placement tests drove their content. The pre teachers never mentioned these tests as important to their pedagogical efforts. At times, this focus presented a conflict because post-NCLB teachers felt a segment of their students would not take the ACT or go to college. The college conflict theme only emerged in the responses from post-era teachers.

Post teachers talked about how they knew their students were not going to be English teachers, so they wondered how relevant some of the skills would be, such as writing an essay. Post teachers felt a conflict between teaching writing as a skill and writing as a tool for thought. Post teachers indicated a desire to teach writing and reading for the sake of thinking, but the focus on the skill of academic writing was worrisome because they felt a subset of their students would not need those skills in their futures. For example, Laura Madden gathered data about her "on-level" students to be sure she was providing them the skills they would need in their futures.

“On-level” is a way to describe students who are not in advanced or honors classes. Depending on students’ ability levels, she modified the content accordingly. She shared:

Some years I may do an excerpt from Shakespeare and some years I may not do it at all.

I know it’s beyond their ability level, and they’ll take away little to nothing. I think about what they’ll take from it. Is it something...are they learning skills that they can turn around and apply later on in life? The same thing goes with writing assignments.

Jacob Connell pointed out:

I recognize that you’re not all gonna be English teachers. My job is to teach you how to think using English. So if I can use English, I can watch them go through that thinking process. “Oh, this is how the world works,” at least through their perspective, through their experiences, using the literature that I’ve given them. That’s where I’m most effective.

Courtney Elcot commented:

Then we run into a situation where we’ve got the bottom kids and the gap keeps widening. My expectations are completely different than an AP teacher. Those teachers have to prepare them for college, but my kids are not going to be English teachers in college. They don’t need to be able to understand every chapter of *The Scarlett Letter*, they need to be able to look at different types of reading and understand them and be able to decide whether or not they’re being lied to or form an opinion or argue back. They need to be able to summarize too, that’s no doubt about it.

Robert Mailer felt conflicted about teaching concepts that may be irrelevant to students who were not going to college:

In my senior writing class, there are some kids who are not gonna be able to write a 3-to-5-page paper on their own. It's not something that they would do. But there are a lot of things that they might be able to do and never have to write a three-to-five-page paper. Because I've never had to write a three-to-five-page paper outside of school. If I can teach a kid how to be better in an interview, and he can win the job over another person (although I wish everybody had their own job). If he could win the job over another person then I feel like that's a success. To feel like, "okay I can't write this paper, but I can answer these five basic questions that you're gonna get at every interview,"--that will be success to me.

Dan Baxter implied that while graduation rates may be increasing, many of those students will not go to college, "Some of these policies about grades...certain aspects of them will never...say we get our graduation rates up to 90%, those kids aren't gonna go to college or take the ACT. It's just a number. More people are graduating."

For Ben Wilcox, school served different purposes for different students. He said: I have kids who are homeless and they have a warm place to go where people love them and care about them and they get food. I wouldn't get rid of it because they need that. I don't think many of us think that way. This kid's goal isn't to learn a semi-colon, his goal is to get some food and have a place to be where he is warm and loved. But his data point gets thrown in with the kid who's going to Harvard who has two parents that are phds at the local university and the data points are in the same thing in the local newspaper every year. Their graduation and their reading scores and all this and it seems incongruous to me. I don't get that.

Post teachers from one district spoke of a philosophical conflict that was emblematic of the post-era teachers. Graduation rates became important and increasingly became a way to legitimize a school; post teachers indicated they felt the pressure of that new norm. But it created a conflict because they felt they were not living up to their ethical responsibility of helping a kid be successful in the world. Courtney Elcot talked about the difficulty of putting into practice the district's and society's contradictory expectations:

I can help their grade, but can you really help them understand the skill? That's what we're supposed to be doing.

No one knows exactly what we're supposed to be doing because we've been told so many different things. The district tells us contradictory mandates. We supposed to be rigorous, but also asked not to fail students. Those are very contradictory. We're asked to individualize instruction but also do common assessment. I feel like you can't do it all. They're telling us to do everything by skill base, but pass everyone. If you can't complete the skills, how are you going to pass everyone? Less homework, less participation, less...they think of it as busy work, but teachers see it as practice, so when the test comes they're ready to perform. The new mindset is, well, if they can perform the task, what's the point of homework, and with some of them...the kids who aren't motivated...they can pass the skill tests, but they won't do the work. The other kid can't pass the skill test. That's a mixed message. They want us to treat some kids to pass by giving them the skill test, and the others they want us to give them busywork to pass them, at least they can say they did them. I don't think my district is alone in all that.

Post teachers began to conceive of their role as one who very specifically helped students succeed in their college or career pursuits after high school. Their job was to produce a student

who was prepared. For some teachers, this element of their role caused conflict because not all students needed the college-ready skills they were required to teach. Some post teachers also expressed confusion over mixed messages they were receiving, and subsequently transmitting to students, about the importance of grades and performance.

More Standardized Student Labels. An interesting phenomenon that emerged in the post-era was that the refinement of student labels made it easier for teachers to label students. The labels in the post-era became more refined than those in the pre-era. Post teachers were far more likely to discuss exceptionalities, students with disabilities or IEPs, English Language Learners or LGBTQ students. For example, Aaron Morris noted that a section in the handbook should deal with students who have Individualized Education Plans and 504s, which are formal contracts between schools and students who receive special education services that target the needs of the student:

And then probably...we have an integrated studies department in [this school]. Which is what the teachers that take care of kids who have 504s and IEPs. That should be in the handbook. We all took classes on that. To have it in a reference handbook would be nice. Differentiated instruction should be in there for those kinds of kids. At least the most commonly seen IEP issues or exceptionalities.

To be clear, teachers from both eras spoke commonly about two tracks of students: those on the honors track and those not on the honors track. But in the post-era, the language to describe these two tracks became more refined. Both eras used the words “honors” and “advanced” to describe honors students, but pre teachers mostly used the term “gifted,” while post teachers used the unique term “AP,” meaning Advanced Placement. This example is indicative of the shift from emphasizing intrinsic abilities of students in the pre-era to focusing

on the skill level and college-readiness of students in the post-era. Pre teachers tagged students with the word that described their intrinsic talent, while post teachers tagged students with the word that described the college-bound class in which they were enrolled.

To describe non-honors students, both groups used the words “remedial,” but pre teachers used the unique terms “alternative,” “naughties,” “regular,” “low-level,” “basic skills,” “slower,” “average,” and “underachievers;” while post teachers used mostly “grade-level” and “on-level.” The term ELL for English Language Learners also emerged uniquely in the post-era. For example, Susan Turner discussed one of her favorite moments teaching an “ELL” student:

In one of my classes, I had 7th grade, there was one particular boy. He just got out of the ELL program, before he got into 7th grade. He struggled with the English language. His writing skills, he would write two paragraphs and say I’m done. this is my entire essay. Throughout the year, I would teach him concepts. I would teach the whole class, but he really took writing seriously, he took note of everything I said.

The following anecdote from Shelley Davis about mislabeling a student suggests that labels impacted expectations for both students and teachers. This fact is not unique to the NCLB era because teacher expectations impact student achievement regardless of the regulatory climate. But Ms. Davis’ anecdote is an example of the fact that labels became so commonplace in the post-2002 era that teachers discussed them openly with students:

You can have rigor and challenge in on-level and remedial classes. You’re meeting them where they are and then you’re asking them to come up a little at a time and encouraging them. Saying you can do this. I made a huge mistake and thought a kid had a gifted IEP. And I said to him, I got your gifted IEP, and he said you did? He said, I haven’t had one since 6th grade. And I said well, I got one so I’m gonna start expecting stuff out of you.

And he said okay, but it was totally not that child. I misread it completely. That kid has been busting his ass ever since we had that conversation. He shows up, he's got stuff done. My error of labeling him as a gifted kid has made him behave...he is passing my class with a solid B and he hasn't passed an English class since he came to high school; and he's a junior. I'm gonna lie to every child I teach [obviously kidding]. He's just killing it and he has no idea. Every time I talk to him, I have to tell myself: don't tell him, don't tell him.

What emerged about post teachers' values, interests, preferences regarding students was complex. Post teachers viewed students less as protégés and more as products: products of their home environments and products of teachers' efforts to prepare them for their college and career futures. Post teachers felt conflicted about their own efforts to prepare students. Strikingly, they discussed students' emotional issues at length and offered them as an explanation for underperformance. Post teachers also began defining students using more refined labels.

From Knowledge to Skills

To characterize post teachers' conception of content, I chose the label "skills." In the post-era, the way teachers talked about content suggested they conceived of it as though it were a conduit through which standardized skills could be transmitted. This conception reflects a shift from the pre-era when content, such as literature and writing, was the basis for students' foundational understanding of English and used as a tool for shaping well-informed communicators. Whereas, the ideas of the pre-NCLB teachers reflected a preference toward expressing thoughts, opinions, or openness, the ideas of those in the post-NCLB era reflected a preference toward applying skills.

The content did not drastically change between eras. Many of the same novels teachers mentioned in the pre-era were still being brought up in the post-era. What changed were the reasons for choosing particular texts, how teachers attended to the content, and what teachers felt was important content for students to learn. What drove post-NCLB teachers' decision-making around content was a concern to help students gain skills that they could apply in their futures outside of high school and pressure to target mandated standards. Post teachers described providing students with Advanced Placement style questions and timed writing prompts, as well as teaching kids so they would be successful on the ACT, SAT and AP tests. They also shifted away from an emphasis on the textbook and classic literature to a mix of text types, and they emphasized technology rather than teaching historical context.

Skills Drove Content. Whereas pre teachers were concerned with students “knowing the book,” post teachers were concerned with students “knowing the skills” taught through the book; sometimes parts of the book. Post teachers focused on content that helped them to meet the state-mandated standards and teach the required skills reflected in those standards. Courtney Elcot, shared her perception of how the old way of teaching differed from the new way of teaching in the post-NCLB era. She highlighted an insightful difference between the eras, one which has been confirmed in my findings. Ms. Elcot shared that when she first started teaching, she thought she was going to be teaching full novels until she realized that state-mandated standards focused on skills rather than books:

When I started to teach, I thought, “Oh! We’ll hit *Huck Finn*, and then we’ll hit *Gatsby*, then we’ll hit *Into the Wild*, that’ll be great!” Then when I started looking at the Common Core [State Standard] stuff, people don’t care if these kids know the plots of these novels in the real world. That’s been the biggest shift for older teachers. They’ve

been doing it that way for years, but I'm like "This doesn't look like what we're supposed to do anymore, or the most effective way to do what's being asked of us!"

So I just said, yeah, I'm not going to move from novel to novel to novel to novel, I'm going to mix up my text types and structures and use whatever text works best for teaching that skill. If you're looking for character development throughout time and themes, how they evolve, or symbolism and how it evolved, the best choice is a novel.

But why would you need to read a 200-page novel to understand those things? You don't.

Laura Madden described choosing content for her classroom with a "three-prong approach: what's available, what I can find; what they're gonna be most engaged with; and what skills and standards I can try to hit when I'm teaching it."

Many post-NCLB teachers did not believe that classic literature should be taught simply because it was classic, and they indicated that much of it was irrelevant to students' lives today. Because the district-provided resource library is stocked with classroom sets of classic novels, many teachers were limited to classics. They tried to choose those that would most relate to students, yet still allow them to target mandated standards. They also felt strongly about supplementing the texts with technology-related materials with the goal of relating content to students' real lives.

Shelley Davis chose texts that connected with and reflected students, like women writers and Native American writers, rather than standard texts from "dead white guys." Robert Mailer taught *To Kill a Mockingbird*, but believed it should be taught if it could be connected to current social issues and helped him hit the standards, not because it had been taught before. Laura Madden said she looked for novels with depth so she could hit standards, and she spent time locating supplemental resources to connect the novel with students' lives. Dan Baxter preferred

content that got the message across to students rather than teaching the classics for the sake of teaching the classics. He shared his reasons for eliminating content that was older than 60 years:

I teach content where I can make a relevant connection with the students. I teach *Fahrenheit*, *Lord of the Flies*, *Glass Castle*, *Slaughterhouse Five*, *Fast Food Nation*, *Julius Caesar*. I teach very little content that's older than 60 years, hardly anything pre-20th century. It's not relevant. Relevance. That's my big word. Is it something they should care about? I stopped teaching *Catcher in the Rye*. As [our school's] demographic has changed, they thought Holden is a whiny rich kid who had a problem that he let ruin everything else.

Jacob Connell provided an account of how the standards he was required to teach drove the content that he chose:

I'll take a look at the text: short story, nonfiction, novel. I will try to take whatever's being talked about and find something that is real, that connects outside of the text, thematically, something that helps them make sense of what we're doing in class and helps them connect it to their real life. So sometimes it's a TED talk, a poem, a newspaper article, it's always something different and separate. Then I look at the standards I want to hit, using those pieces. Then I go through and create what I want the students to do with those pieces, hitting those standards.

Post teachers described using supplemental resources like TED talks, poems, newspaper articles, paintings, music, Craigslist ads and Twitter accounts to make literature relevant to students' lives. Shelley Davis preferred public domain texts that she found on the Internet and copied for students to annotate. Courtney Elcot played short videos or gave students a parody chapter from *Romeo and Juliet* so they would understand parody. Dan Baxter designed units

with music and visuals to teach analytical skills, so that the class was not “locked into a novel for four weeks.” To supplement themes in *The Scarlet Letter*, Mr. Baxter taught a Craigslist ad to highlight how a woman is shamed in modern times because he felt that had more connection to students’ real lives.

Highlighting the Relevant Information. Post teachers felt it was important to know the content so they could more easily determine the most interesting parts of the texts and how those parts helped students meet the standards. They focused on how to approach the content so students could digest it. There’s an element of doing the hard work for the students ahead of time to avoid wasting class time or risk opportunities for students to lose interest. In this quote from Shelley Davis, she explains that content knowledge was important because it allowed her to increase the content’s relevance to students, save time, and improve classroom management.

Most of the problems in the classroom happen because if you don’t have confidence about what you’re teaching, kids can smell that. Knowing your content, if I walk in the room, I know the text better than they do. I’ve invested tons of time in it and picked out what’s important for them. Oh we’re gonna learn every single facet about *The Crucible*? (sarcastically) Nope, here’s the four things I’ve picked out for you that I think are gonna be relevant for you and interesting and also what you need to accomplish the goals of this class.

Courtney Elcot said she did not expect the students to read full novels anymore because that's not what the kids need. She said she did not waste time pretending students read the novel and instead gave students a “chunk of an important literary novel, what’s considered the best of the best, and I give it to them,” especially in non-advanced classes. She believed students:

...don't need to be able to understand every chapter of *The Scarlet Letter*. They need to be able to look at different types of reading and understand them and be able to decide whether or not they're being lied to or form an opinion or argue back.

Dan Baxter described supplementing or replacing classic texts with content that was more relevant to students' lives:

I tell students that we do some Shakespeare, I don't read it for fun. I understand why it's important. There's other, better more interesting ways to get the message across. Keeps me fresh too. I have a file that's called: essays, columns and philosophies. A collection that I've found over the years. I have a craigslist ad on there, from the missed connections. One is thanking all the men for being nice to her, and hasn't been to the gym in a month...it's not just funny, it's sad. It's real as opposed to *The Scarlett Letter*. Something that's a classic for the sake of being a classic.

Typical of many post-NCLB teachers, Robert Mailer used supplemental materials instead of the textbook or a classic text to support students' understanding of the skills taught in his senior class' definition essay. In this quote, he explained how he borrowed a writing formula from a famous writer he heard on a radio program:

Today we introduced definition essays. And so the textbook has like a page and a half that tells what a definition paper is. Whatever. So a couple years ago in March, I was listening to NPR because I'm a liberal hippie and Lourdes Garcia Navarro was doing pieces on Carnivale. And so I was driving to school one day and we were getting ready to do definition papers, and I heard her do this short piece.

I realized that her formula to do this short piece on the radio was using all the elements that we were using to do this writing assignment in senior writing. All of the

things, like compare and contrast, cause and effect, description and definition and narration, argumentation. All of those items were used in this essay.

On the other hand, Ben Wilcox felt reading an entire novel was important because it reflected how an adult reads a book. However, even though he indicated that increased knowledge was the goal for reading; he described rewarding students in the form of points for thinking about the novel:

For instance, we're reading *Lord of the Flies* right now. The standard way of teaching it, we're gonna read the book, we going to take notes on every single page, I'm gonna give you worksheets and quizzes and vocab and do all that, and over teach it because that's what the curriculum looks like. I don't think that's the best way to do it. The best way is to read this book, because I love reading, so read it like an adult would read a novel, just sit down and enjoy the heck out of it. We have Socratic seminars on it. It's all inquiry based, they bring the questions and the discussion. So they get to take real ownership of their learning.

When we do Socratic Seminar, they get points because we have to get grades for things. Every student in class has to say one thing every day. It doesn't have to be a long-winded speech. But they need to offer a question, something.

When I first analyzed the pre and post responses regarding content, I was struck by the similarities in text titles. Upon further examination, though, what emerged were different premises, rationales, and methods for teaching these titles. Post teachers were covering much more information by extracting important parts of full novels and texts. They were supplementing those titles with much more varied types of content. And they seemed to be

individualizing their content more with the help of technology. As goals became more skill-based, content became more varied between classrooms.

Application of Writing Skills. Post teachers rarely suggested that the goal for writing was to allow students to express their opinions. Instead, writing was seen as its own skill, and it was approached as a step-by-step process rather than a means to understanding content. Teachers focused on providing opportunities for students to apply the writing skills that they learned. Student writing was used as an indicator to teachers that students were applying the skills taught in the classroom. Many post-NCLB teachers talked about emphasizing argumentation writing. In fact, seven post teachers used the word in some form, such as argumentation and argumentative, to refer to writing skills they needed to teach. Only one pre teacher used the word “argument” to refer to a disagreement with the superintendent.

Overall, post teachers talked less about writing than pre teachers. When they did, it became apparent that argumentation in writing was important in the post-era and writing assignments were geared toward skills needed for taking Advanced Placement tests, the ACT or SAT and college classes. Robert Mailer taught a senior writing course for which the district provided the writing assignments: college applications, a definition paper, and an argument paper. Shelley Davis asked students to construct AP style questions to improve their ability to respond to a writing prompt. Aaron Morris used writing examples from an AP conference for all of his students, even those students not taking the AP exam. He believed this type of writing to be useful in college because his “professors at college told [him] that that’s exactly what they needed the freshman to do when they came into English 101 and 102, so if they’re writing like that they’re going to do better.”

There was also an emphasis on breaking down the process into digestible chunks for students and then presenting them with a formula for writing. Pre teachers did not mention breaking writing down for students to the degree that post teachers did. When the two pre teachers talked about using the Six Trait Writing Model later in their careers, the model was used as a way to more holistically define the parameters of “good writing.” If pre teachers used the five-paragraph structure, they did not break it down to the sentence level. In the post era, the formulas for writing became more like systematic maps for how to structure writing, down to the sentence-level. Also, more post teachers than pre teachers described this phenomenon as central to their writing instruction. Jacob Connell explained that his district vertically aligned the teaching of argumentative writing and developed rubrics that reflected the skills they wanted students to use in their writing. He explained this process was tough with students because he had to teach fundamental writing skills, along with the ability to present a coherent argument:

We have to start from scratch about how you put together formal essays. Then you take them through the process. You start with an academic paragraph and then how you string paragraphs together. Then once you go through the basics of putting it together, then you throw in the complication of argumentation.

Aaron Morris described breaking down the process of writing an analytical essay for students. He said they start with the topic sentence, which includes:

...title, author, genre and context. Then the claim, whatever the argument is. Then textual evidence, quoted textual evidence is required. They can paraphrase but I don't let them until the Spring because they're not good at it. I call it a quote bomb—don't just drop a quote in the middle of the paragraph, and think that's it. We need to integrate those into our writing, and so we talk about that. [Then we get to the] analysis piece, so

why is this quote proving your claim? And then rinse and repeat. I want more than five sentences. We need to get to eight [sentences] this semester and eleven [sentences] next semester, for the advanced kids. The grade level kids get a sentence-framed paragraph so they get the idea better.

In both eras, teachers pointed out that writing was one of the hardest concepts to teach, indicating that writing remains an important component in high school English classrooms. But post teachers noted different approaches to teaching writing. And expressed different goals for writing products. Rather than viewing writing as an avenue to freer and more informed expression, post teachers conceived of it as a way to apply the skill of making an argument or to score higher on standardized tests. While writing was important in both eras, the values, interests, and preferences that guided writing instruction took on new elements in the post-era.

Standards-based Environment. Seven out of ten post teachers specifically mentioned standards as having influence over their curricular decisions. However, each of the teachers expressed conflicting feelings about how the part standards played in their work. For example, Laura Madden shared that she found it difficult to meet the standards set by different external entities, such as those set by Advanced Placement, College Now, the district, and the state. Aaron Morris felt that the Common Core State Standards were a positive addition to his curriculum because he found them to be more intellectually-driven than old state standards. But he expressed concern that standardized tests were not an indicator of all that students know, rather they measured students' intelligence level on the day of the test. Shelley Davis recognized that Common Core State Standards were an important part of her teaching, but felt like loving students and literature was more important than saying you taught the standards on any given

day. Dan Baxter worried that schools might move toward a model of standards-based grading, which he thought would eliminate the need for GPAs or class rankings.

There were a few post-NCLB teachers who felt conflicted about this shift away from knowledge toward skills and test-based outcomes. For example, Jacob Connell shared that the need to produce high standardized test scores overshadowed an important element of teaching that was about helping students make a memorable connection with content. His quote reflects the difficulty post-NCLB teachers faced trying to balance the two priorities and the conflicting feelings that resulted from placing less value on such a vital aspect of teachers' work: developing relationships so that they left with more than they came into class with. He said:

Tough to see a student you know enjoys my class and got out of it more than they thought they would. More out of it then they came in with. But then their number isn't where it needs to be on a state assessment. I get that. It's hard to sit there and say I need to go back and change something. The state assessment doesn't indicate I put that kid where he needs to be, but I know he got something out of my class. Not just something for a test, but something he's gonna remember. That's a touchy feely side of teaching, that's what it is.

If all my students take the standardized assessment and they all pass. Great. On some level, I will feel effective. If they don't remember me 10 years from now, then I will feel like I was not effective regardless of whether or not they passed the state assessment. I'm watching both to see if I'm effective, but I don't know. Maybe I'm just not a very good teacher. Maybe some teachers can do the touchy-feely stuff and get them to also pass the state assessment.

Dan Baxter echoed this idea when he expressed concern that student success was being determined by test scores. He noted, “to say a kid is a failure because they can’t identify something [on a test or based on a standard] is a dead version of education.”

Aaron Morris lamented that the current school system shaped students who were dependent on worksheets and had difficulty with tasks that required more thinking:

There are some people who aren’t ready for [Socratic Seminar] because they’re so ingrained in the system. There are some students who we have to give them what they require: here’s your worksheet. I’m trying to help you, but you’re just not ready for it. At this level, 9, 10, 11th grade, sometimes the kids are so far ingrained in it. The Socratic Seminar is too much. They need their binky, their worksheet, and that’s it. And it sucks and breaks my heart.

Shelley Davis suggested that the current educational environment made struggling students feel like failures because test scores and grades did not reflect student progress. She mentioned siding with struggling students rather than the system when she said, “I don’t need to be a gatekeeper to a grade. I want them to think and to try and to feel successful. And it’s not gonna happen if they feel like I’m in cahoots with the State Board of Education to keep them back.”

Post teachers were subject to district mandates and pressures that pre teachers never mentioned, and these seemed to cause an overarching anxiety that pre teachers did not exhibit. For example, Robert Mailer referred to a nebulous “everybody” when describing the importance of targeting standards when choosing content, “We try to find basic texts that are touching on those issues, but still hitting, you know standards and common core and things that everybody wants us to be doing.”

Jacob Connell described the mandates as making a teacher feel directionless:

Things like, the sort of pressures we're under, yearly dictates. As an example, when I started teaching in 2010, we had eight assigned writing assignments, a variety of different ones. Two years later, those were changed to four mandatory writing assignments, but they need to be bigger and less directed. Year after that, get rid of four mandatory writing assignments now you only have two writing assignments, but they're both the same. You have to give one first semester, and one second semester. And they're both over argumentative. While trying to get all those things to fit into my lesson planning is fun, I enjoy that part of it: it's a little directionless. Knowing that's the nature of the business at this district, at our school specifically [would be helpful]. I struggled with it. I would include that [in the handbook].

Laura Madden described trying to fit standards and goals from many different sources into one of her classes:

The standards that we're supposed to teach come from the state, and then they go to the district and they're very generic. And it gets convoluted when we're talking about AP, the ultimate goal is to take this exam which is all literary analysis. So I need to be teaching that.

AP is grouped in with College Now--their focus is on nonfiction readings, argumentative writing, rhetoric, so I have to hit that. The state, the Common Core is pretty much the same thing: nonfiction, literature and argumentative writing.

The district standards are British literature with some world literature pulled into it--it's starting to shift toward argumentative writing, but a wide range of writing with

research and argumentative. In that one class, I'm trying to pull all these standards together.

Courney Elcot described the anxiety and pressure she felt in her classroom to do the right thing for all of her students. Although this feeling of “never doing enough” is not unique to the post-NCLB era, and she did not specifically mention mandates or standards; her comment represents something unique about the post-NCLB classroom. Their responses indicated that they were pulled in multiple directions and that their classroom work was more difficult than that of the pre-NCLB classroom. Here, Ms. Elcot referred to the hectic pace of the post-NCLB classroom and how she was constantly questioning her professional judgment in an outcomes-based climate:

As a teacher, it's hard because you...at a normal person's job, they sit at their desk, they have to decide how much work they're gonna get done during that hour, answer emails. But as a teacher, you have about 50 ethical decisions to make every hour. Should I let this student go to the bathroom? Should I let THIS student go to the bathroom, but they haven't done any of their work? This student has an IEP, they didn't do close to the amount of work, what grade should I give them? It's constant, constant, constant. Am I favoring this student too much because we connect, and she wants to learn more when I've got Joe in the back who hates me but probably needs my help? But I don't want to work with Joe?

There's no way to put that in a manual but that's the hardest part of teaching, to me. You're constantly facing ethical decisions that you don't know the implications of. It's exhausting. Once you get past all the actual stuff, the constant is: am I doing what's best for kids all the time every second of every day. And then what happens when you're

not? A) because no one can be perfect and B) you always go home feeling like there's more you could've done. You can't teach how to fix that in a manual. But teachers should be aware that it's really the way it is. If you care what kids think of you and you wanna do the best you can for them, you have to think about that stuff all the time.

What emerged regarding content in the post-era was a focus on standards and assessment. But not all post teachers agreed with this focus. In fact, many expressed conflicting feelings because there were too many standards to cover. They felt standards and scores overshadowed more important aspects of classroom work. And many felt that standardized assessments did not accurately portray all that students learned in their classrooms. Teachers expressed an anxiety resulting from the mandates and pressures meant to insure students mastered the vast array of skills covered in the state standards.

Summary

In chapter six, I compared post-NCLB data with pre-NCLB data to label shifts that emerged in teachers' conceptions of essential classroom components: pedagogy, students, and content. What I found was the post-NCLB teachers indicated differing values, interests, and preferences signaling a potential shift in the way they conceive of the essential classroom components. Post teachers' pedagogical role shifted from motivator to manager; they indicated a more product-like conception of students, moving away from viewing them as mini-English teachers; and they prioritized transmitting standards-based skills over the more holistic goal of helping students become better communicators.

In chapter seven, I start by providing salient similarities regarding the essential classroom components that were expressed in both eras. I then move into the discussion outlining how the shifts that emerged may have been precipitated by the organizational climate created during the

NCLB era. I also analyze the shifts against concepts from Perrow's *theory of work*, making the case that teachers' work went from craft-like in the pre-NCLB era to more engineer-like in the post-NCLB era.

Chapter 7 Discussion

This study used an unusual approach to examining whether or not teachers' work has changed over time and if that change demonstrates evidence of a link to the policy imperatives introduced and established by No Child Left Behind. Thus far, positions taken on how NCLB changed the teaching profession have been largely theoretical (Hursh, 2007; Mehta, 2013; Metz, 2008), or focused on instructional or organizational responses (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Cimbricz, 2002; Jacob, 2005), so I designed my study to empirically examine policy's impact on the values, interests, and preferences that guide teachers' decision-making.

I used concepts from organizational sociology to theoretically frame the ways in which policy imperatives may impact organizational structures and professional norms, and how they ultimately become situated within the minds of individuals inside the policy-influenced organization. I interviewed high school English teachers from pre- and post-NCLB eras, asking them to elaborate on their classroom work and analyzed their responses for similarities and differences. I then searched for patterns in the differences that might be linked to policy imperatives, wondering if the changes could be characterized as shifting from craft-like to more engineer-like.

My study addressed the overarching question: *Did No Child Left Behind change teachers' work?* by using two main guiding questions for the inquiry and analysis: "*Did the way teachers frame the values, interests, and preferences about their work demonstrate evidence of a change after NCLB was implemented?*" and "*Did No Child Left Behind (NCLB) shift teachers' work, in Perrow's (1967) terms, from craft-like to engineer-like?*"

In this concluding chapter, I will first provide salient similarities regarding the essential classroom components that were expressed in both eras. Then I will outline the key findings from chapters five and six, explaining how each relates to NCLB's priorities and Perrow's craft-like to engineer-like conceptual scheme. Given the qualitative nature of this study, the findings can only speak to the teachers in my sample, but I offer informed ideas about how the accountability climate may have impacted teachers' work. Following the discussion of the findings are implications of these conclusions, supported with existing research. Limitations and avenues that warrant further study are also included.

An Entrenched Institutional Logic

It is important to mention that in many respects, the way teachers talked about their work in both eras was remarkably similar; despite a large generational gap between some of the teachers. This finding suggests that there is an aspect of the teaching profession that is dominated by an entrenched institutional logic. So, while teachers' work demonstrated evidence of a shift in the post-NCLB era, there are other aspects that remained untouched by reform efforts. When teachers from both eras talked about pedagogy, many of them mentioned using the "eye test" to gauge student learning. When talking about students, they recognized a difference between honors and non-honors students. And when talking about content, both eras mentioned flexibility within a prescribed curriculum and the importance of using literature to teach students valuable life lessons.

Both pre and post teachers talked about an instinctive part of teaching that happens by monitoring students' reactions, their faces, and their eyes during class discussions. Some teachers called it "the eye test." Cate Ellery, pre teacher, noted, "First thing I looked for was

how they looked back at me. Do they seem to understand, react in a positive way, with a smile or oh I got it!? That's the first thing." Jim Hamilton, pre teacher, described it this way:

If you're in front of the students and watching them, you look to a few of them to key in to see if what you're doing is effective. They will reflect what kind of...how effective your teaching is. You can tell from their eyes, I know that sounds crazy, but if they're bogging down or if something is not coming across clearly or it's foggy.

Leslie Matthews, pre teacher, talked about watching for whether or not students liked what she was doing, "I think it comes from experience, and I think it's a god given thing. An ability to see them engaged, that their eyes are focused on you."

Sharon Weber, pre teacher, echoed this idea when she said:

You can look out over a classroom and see if the kids were engaged in their faces. They were paying attention. They would light up. They would nod if they agreed. If they were following and seemed to care about what was going on.

When Dan Baxter, post teacher, was describing how he could tell students were "buying in" to the content he offered, "a lot of it is the eye-test. That's part of the job. Just...I can't always measure it on a gradebook." Susan Turner, post teacher, stated that "usually, I can tell non-verbally, just by the look in their eye, whether they understand the content or not." Shelley Davis, post teacher, shared that she measures student investment by, "how much they're paying attention to me and to each other."

Both pre and post teachers recognized a difference between two types of students: honors and non-honors. Universally, teachers from both eras pointed out that they modified content, provided different assessments, adjusted expectations, changed instruction, and expected more emotional and outside issues from non-honors students. A common expression about honors

students was that they could teach themselves, and they were easier to teach than non-honors students.

Both eras regardless of school or district indicated a great deal of autonomy when describing the content they taught and how they taught it. Both eras spoke about a curriculum that was provided for them by the district, sometimes based on the textbook and sometimes limited to the novels available. They also mentioned lists of novels they were supposed to teach at each grade level. Pre teachers talked about an open-ended syllabus or a curriculum set by a district level committee. Leslie Matthews, pre teacher, told me “a committee of teachers, administrators, the head of the language arts departments build the scope and sequence.” Jim Hamilton, pre teacher, shared that the curriculum was determined the school board, but teachers had lots of flexibility within the curriculum. Eve Brady, pre teacher, mentioned material that had to be covered for each semester. Cate Ellery, pre teacher, stated that “you have to take what is prescribed and work with it the best you can.”

Post teachers mentioned a curriculum map set up by weeks and a course guideline that outlined the stories or literature you had to teach. Two post teachers also told me that the freedom was somewhat overwhelming because they had to design all their units and assessments. Courtney Elcot, post teacher, viewed the district-provided curriculum maps as a helpful resource:

Something really great that the district...they've kind of gone away from this...they used to have teachers from every grade level of every high school and have them all meet. They put out these quarterly guides of what kind of skills you're supposed to be teaching every semester. I look at those guidelines every week, everyday, to make sure I'm covering the skills on there.

Both eras described curricula with lots of flexibility and leeway to personalize through teacher-preferred strategies, assessments, assignments, supplemental materials, literature, writing topics, and activities. For the most part, teachers in both eras expressed no reservations toward a district- or state-provided or standards-based curriculum because, as Jacob Connell, a post teacher, expressed it, they felt their schools gave them “freedom to mold the curriculum the way I want it to go.” Cate Ellery, pre teacher, echoed that statement, saying, “At my school, there was a lot of freedom, and I was able to do more imaginative things and not stick to the prescribed curriculum. If I saw students were weak in a certain area, I could focus on that.”

Teachers in both eras talked about helping students connect to themselves and the broader world through themes, characters, and stories in literature. Pre and post teachers used literature as a tool to teach students about themselves and the broader world. For example, Jill Mitchell, pre teacher, chose literature with characters that students could relate to so it would be easier for them to learn life lessons:

Teaching them to respond to ideas in literature. That would include writing too. That was one way everybody had to respond. I wanted them to see that characters in books faced a lot of the same issues they faced. And having to make decisions that might be unpopular or would control their destiny. They had to relate to friends, relatives, they had to see themselves as part of a bigger society. Good literature does that.

Carrie Wright, pre teacher, liked teaching novels because it allowed students to explore their own thoughts about life and people:

I guess, I think that’s why I liked teaching English when you read a book you talk about character traits. You hold up what’s admirable. When they write in a composition, that’s part of the process of exploring themselves. They find out what they think.

Jill Mitchell, pre teacher, used literature in her classroom to help students connect with the social turmoil of the 1960s:

My third year of teaching, there were racial riots. I was teaching an advanced class. I asked the students, “This seems to be an issue on everyone’s minds. Do we really want to be reading Mainstreet when all these things are happening right here?” They said we’d rather be reading something that dealt with race relations. We divided into groups and some read Malcolm X and James Baldwin. It was an important time for me. And for them too. It gave us some perspective. There was only one African American in the class. We needed to hear a point of view that the other literature didn’t offer. That doesn’t happen very often. If it’s good literature it usually relates to something that’s happening. It was in 1969. We had national guard. We had to lock our doors from the inside. The protesters were on the ground. The national guard was outside guarding. It was a scary time.

Shelley Davis, post teacher, shared that she chose literature to help students grow into better people:

You aren’t just teaching kids the content, you aren’t just teaching them the skills, you’re also...English classes allow you to have conversations you don’t have anywhere else about what it means to be a human. I teach my sophomore class about the focal point of the universality of human experience, and so if we’re focusing on that, don’t I have to teach them how to be a person and hopefully not a bad one? How to go be in the world and not create problems. That’s why we pick certain literature, so we can teach life skills and social skills on top of the content and curriculum.

Aaron Morris, post teacher, felt that reading books was a way for students to experience the world without having to physically participate in the unsavory parts of it:

We're reading these books so you can get to all these different experiences without having to experience these things. Do you want to be marooned on a desert island? No, but you can read about these kinds of things, this construction of society before you get out there in society. I teach a unit on the id, ego and superego before *Lord of the Flies*. So we talk about how you would deal with these personalities in the real world. How would you deal with a Jack, with someone that's like a Piggie or a Ralph. They get really into those kinds of discussions.

A Shift in Teachers' Work

Despite the fact that teachers in both eras spoke very similarly about aspects of their work, there were many other elements for which they indicated shifting perceptions of their roles. The findings outlined in this dissertation suggest that after NCLB was implemented, the values, interests, and preferences of teachers were shaped by the goals promoted by federal policy, thereby impacting how they approached their practice. This is consistent with my hypothesis that NCLB redefined teachers' work by impacting the institutional logic that grounds the profession. In the next section, I draw the links between NCLB's imperatives and teachers' shifting perceptions of their work. This section addresses the question: *“Did the way teachers frame the values, interests, and preferences about their work demonstrate evidence of a change after NCLB was implemented?”*

Overall, the evidence suggests the following trends in the post-NCLB environment. First, teachers went from describing themselves as *motivators* in the pre-era to *managers* in the post-era. Second, pre teachers indicated they conceived of students like *protégés*, whereas post

teachers conceived of them more like *products*. Third, pre teachers conceptualized the goal of content as transmitting *knowledge*, whereas post teachers expressed the goal of transmitting *skills*. See Appendix E for a table that summarizes how I linked each shift to the goals promoted in NCLB. These conclusions support my argument that high school English teachers' values, interests, and preferences regarding pedagogy, students, and content shifted in the post-NCLB era.

Motivator to Manager. In the pre-NCLB era, teachers' pedagogy was focused on bringing students into the classroom fold by appealing to their intrinsic desire to learn and become better communicators. Pre teachers strove to create fair conditions where students felt comfortable expressing their opinions. They felt relationships were important in order to convey two-way respect. They used writing and grading to get to know the students in order to help the students better know themselves. They encouraged students to connect with learning through fun activities like performances, festivals, and field trips to museums. Pre teachers were role models, the authority in the room upon which the disciplinary expertise rested.

Post-NCLB, the teacher's pedagogical role shifted from motivator toward manager. Many post-NCLB teachers focused on the importance of "classroom management," using corporate-like language to describe their classrooms. Whereas the pre-NCLB teacher's goal was to bring students into the classroom fold through motivation and participation, the post-NCLB teacher did whatever it took to make students engage with the content. The pre teacher cared about students while the post teacher built relationships. It was the post teacher's job to coordinate activities in the classroom so that students felt compelled to produce the desired results. One can imagine students looking *to* the teacher for the next steps in the activity, rather than looking *up to* the teacher as an example of a disciplinary expert.

Like many of the shifts in my findings, this one is nuanced. One reason is that participation and engagement seem very similar. But the difference was in the purpose attached to the classroom priority. For the pre-NCLB teacher, the goal of participation was to hear all voices, to allow students to express opinions, and to practice communicating. Participation in the pre-NCLB era was not attached to standards, performance or mastery of skills, rather the goal was improvement in thinking abilities.

In the post-NCLB era, where proficiency rates, graduation rates, and mastery of standards became high stakes priorities; the teacher was tasked with providing *evidence* that each student was learning the standards they were supposed to learn. They also became responsible for the testing results or academic outcomes of each student. In an environment where the teacher was responsible for results, making sure all students were engaged took precedence over inviting students to participate. Post teachers lost the luxury of accepting those students who chose not to participate because *evidence* was all-important in the post classroom, and engagement could be quantified.

For example, an administrator could walk into a classroom and, with a glance, see that each student was busy working on an activity ; they were engaged. Teachers needed to demonstrate that the activities in which students were engaged were moving them toward the explicit learning target, which, in most cases, was a state standard. In the post-NCLB environment, engagement became the key to transmitting necessary skills to students because they needed that information to master the standard, be proficient on the standardized test, or make the grade so they could graduate. Yes, learning was important for individual growth, but the teacher and the school had much more to lose if the student did not perform or graduate. The

state standardized tests were low-stakes for students, but high-stakes for the teacher, the school, and the state.

While pre-NCLB teachers rarely mentioned strategies when discussing their pedagogy, post-NCLB teachers emphasized them. This shift can be connected to NCLB's explicit imperative for teachers and schools to ensure "the access of children to effective, scientifically based instructional strategies and challenging academic content" (NCLB, 2002, Sec.1001). Like a diagnostician, post-NCLB teachers gathered data about students' interests, aligned them with their grades' measurable objectives, and based many of their pedagogical decisions on this data. After determining students' needs, they targeted them with specific strategies.

According to the act, when a school had not made adequate yearly progress and was identified for school improvement, it was required to develop a school plan that "directly addressed the academic achievement problem that caused the school to be identified for school improvement" (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 1116). The overall tone of the reform initiatives in the policy implied that the root cause of low academic performance could be determined and targeted through scientifically based strategies. In fact, it explicitly stated that the school plan should "identify and implement professional development, instructional strategies, and methods of instruction that are based on scientifically based research and that have proven effective in addressing the specific instructional issues that caused the school to be identified for school improvement" (NCLB, 2002, Sect. 1116). The United States Department of Education publicly encouraged and legitimized scientifically based instructional strategies by establishing the Works Works Clearinghouse in 2002, a website that reviews research and provides information about the most effective evidence-based instructional strategies (What Works Clearinghouse, 2016).

A shift that may have otherwise gone unnoticed because it was buried in the thoughts of teachers is the shift from freedom of expression to opportunity to meet and apply targets, goals, and skills. The instructional actions to make these things happen do not look that much different. What changed was the goals and priorities teachers attached to their pedagogical decisions. In the pre-NCLB era, teachers expressed the desire to cultivate a fair classroom, where all students felt free to participate. Pre teachers believed this climate helped students express their opinions about literature so they could improve their ability to communicate. Contrast this idea with what post teachers preferred. In the post-NCLB era, teachers expressed the goal of managing a classroom where all students were engaged and had the opportunity to meet and apply targets, goals, and skills. This shift can be connected to NCLB's emphasis on objectively measuring academic achievement, knowledge, and skills, as well as the high-stakes, standards-based testing priority. Simply put, objectively measuring expression of opinion is much more difficult than objectively measuring a discrete skill.

Whereas the pre-NCLB teachers talked about the importance of promoting fairness in the classroom, the post-NCLB teacher emphasized the importance of differentiation. Differentiation can be seen, evaluated, and assessed in a way that fairness cannot. Post teachers became responsible for differentiating instruction for all ability levels of students in the classroom. Differentiation became a popular pedagogical strategy for ensuring all students were engaged. And although there is some controversy over whether or not teachers are truly able to differentiate (Loveless, Parkas, & Duffett, 2008), it is clear that the idea of differentiating became important to the post-NCLB teacher. This shift makes sense in an era where teachers were tasked with ensuring each student, regardless of ability or motivation level, mastered all skills targeted in the state standards.

In the standards-based era, post teachers did not have the time to allow students to meander through novels because the standards dictated much more content to cover than in the pre-NCLB era; and in some tested it grades, it mandated proficiency. Rather than expect students to do the hard work of learning by themselves, post teachers digested much of the difficulty of learning for students, providing them with just what they needed to understand or master the targeted skill. They also broke the learning down into manageable chunks for students, preferring a process-based approach to instruction.

While pre teachers emphasized grading for the purpose of getting to know students, post teachers described gathering data to assess if students had applied the targeted skills or mastered the standard taught. Again, the act of grading did not radically change, but the reasons and purposes for doing it subtly shifted. In the NCLB climate, proficiency levels became very important because they determined Adequate Yearly Progress, and they were publicly reported. It stands to reason that teachers would begin to view student work in terms of how it reflected the student's level of proficiency.

Unlike the pre-NCLB era, where the teacher was the disciplinary expert; post teachers attempted to provide a student-centered environment that focused on standardized skills. In the post-NCLB era, the teacher valued sharing authority with students and became more like the manager of the people in the room who needed to accomplish important tasks. Building relationships was as important as it was in the pre-NCLB era, but it took on different elements because the teacher needed the cooperation of the people in the room or everyone's tasks and results were jeopardized. In the standard-based NCLB environment, being off-task meant risking valuable time that students needed to meet performance targets. This fact coupled with a

focus on a student-centered environment, made relationships serve more functions in the performance-based era.

Whereas pre-NCLB teachers expressed more acceptance toward students who failed, post-NCLB teachers described a sequence of events that was set in motion when students signaled potential failure. When a student reached the point of possible failure, a distress signal in the organizational program was emitted, so to speak. The teacher's routine response became governed by the new NCLB-driven logic that dominated the school culture. Because the student's learning ultimately became a reflection of the teacher measured by high-stakes test scores or a reflection of the school through the mandated reporting of graduation rates, the teacher was prompted to do everything she could to 1) try to get the student to increase performance level; 2) produce a paper trail that demonstrated she used every resource to target the failure in order to reduce her blame and justify the student's failure. This sequence of events sometimes culminated in modifying or reducing classwork expectations of failing students so they could pass.

In the standards-based era and the age of quantifiable learning, the post teacher had to become a capable diagnostician to determine where the student's understanding broke down. The goal was to desperately target the misunderstanding to improve the student's outcome because that outcome was a reflection of the teacher, not the student. The teacher became accountable for the student's learning. This condition may have also contributed to the importance of building relationships with students. Without a sufficiently close relationship with a student, it was difficult to determine the root cause of failure, which, during the NCLB era, became increasingly attributed to complicated home lives and emotional issues.

Post teachers described a unique philosophical conflict not expressed in the pre-NCLB era, particularly because of the expectation to alter and modify classwork expectations so that failing students could pass. At one district, teachers were told they had to create contracts for failing students, allowing students to retroactively complete the minimum amount of work to achieve a passing grade or to complete alternate assignments. This imperative was passed from district administrators to teachers and can surely be tied to the mandated reporting of graduation rates. Because district legitimacy was so heavily tied to quantifiable graduation rates, it would have been in the district's best interest to encourage teachers to pass as many students as possible through whatever means necessary; thereby increasing those graduation numbers.

Post teachers also uniquely expressed difficulty incorporating technology into their instruction. Pre-NCLB teachers only brought up technology to express their gratitude for not having to deal with it. This finding struck me because so many post-NCLB teachers talked about the negative issues technology caused. Aside from student cell phone use, which caused its own classroom management problems for post teachers, they also had difficulty implementing technology based resources, such as tablets and computers. At first I attributed this finding to our technology-focused culture; but when I further examined NCLB, I discovered that the use of technology was heavily promoted throughout the legislation. In fact, technology was an imperative of the act, which advocated "technology literacy" for teachers and students, the "integration of technology into curricula," "technology based teaching methods" and the "use of computer-related technology to enhance student learning" (NCLB, 2002). There is little doubt that technology would have become important in the 21st century classroom; but absent the intentional push in NCLB, perhaps it could have been more organically integrated in a way that did not pose such difficulty for teachers.

Protégé to Product. In the post-NCLB era, the values, interests, and preferences regarding students took on a nuanced shift. Whereas the goal of the pre-NCLB teachers was to cultivate the habits of mind of an English teacher, the goal for students in the post-NCLB era was to prepare them for their futures by equipping them with the skills determined by the state standards. I refer to this conception of students as shifting from protégé to product. Post-NCLB teachers considered their students' futures when deciding what to teach them. They questioned if they were doing non-college-bound students a disservice by providing them with skills they would never need, such as writing a five-paragraph essay, and focusing less on activities like resume-building and interview practice.

This shift in conception of students from mini-English teacher to college-and-career-ready can be linked to NCLB. NCLB mandated that states set objectively measurable standards, providing teachers with a list of targeted skills that they were required to teach. Contrast this requirement with how pre-NCLB teachers set goals for students that were more implicitly “professionally” understood, such as to appreciate and analyze literature, to become more informed communicators, and to know themselves better. Pre-NCLB teachers modeled the scholarly behavior that they wanted their students to emulate. These goals were not externally set, discretely measured by a regulatory body, or linked to funding. They were also not publicly reported.

Rather than set goals for students that were implicitly professionally understood, post-NCLB teachers were provided with explicit external goals from a regulatory body, which were linked to public and professional legitimacy. Teachers in the post-era had little choice but to begin conceiving of students through the lens of the policy's goals. NCLB prioritized college and career readiness, so teachers began valuing it as well. The constellation of imperatives in the

policy steered the educational climate toward college and career preparation. Among them were offering Advanced Placement and college preparatory courses as optional indicators of progress for a state's Adequate Yearly Progress report and promoting comprehensive reform approaches that developed "clear linkages to career skills and employment" as part of the School Dropout Prevention Initiative (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 1825).

In addition to being explicitly told what to teach, post-NCLB teachers also became responsible for insuring students learn the externally set standards. Contrast this added responsibility with how pre-NCLB teachers perceived students as being intrinsically motivated to learn; and when they chose not to do the work, students alone suffered the consequences. Pre teachers supported students with opportunities to achieve, but it was the student's responsibility to act on the opportunities. Pre teachers did not indicate that they altered or modified students' classwork requirements or expectations to produce achievement. Student failure was ultimately a choice. In the pre era, there was no benefit to determining the root cause of the student's failure because the students' outcome was a reflection of the students' choice to learn. When pre teachers blamed themselves, it was for not doing enough to motivate the student to choose to learn.

During the NCLB era, post teachers could no longer afford this simplistic conception of student responsibility because their professional legitimacy depended on student performance. In the outcomes-based environment of NCLB, teachers came to truly value the goal of leaving no child behind. While it is true that high school state assessment scores counted less toward a state's accountability; all grades were subject to state standards, tenth grade English was a tested grade, and mandated graduation rates loomed large. Post teachers described an environment where they gathered data about student interests, used that data to drive their pedagogy, and

employed strategies to engage every student in an attempt to help students master and apply skills. Whereas pre-NCLB teachers indicated more acceptance toward students who failed, post-NCLB teachers began investigating at the first signal of potential failure. It became beneficial for the teacher to seek the root cause of the failure. Not only did they hope to stop failure from happening; but in the event that it did, they needed a paper trail as evidence that they had done everything possible to help the student succeed. In some cases, teachers made personal decisions to modify assignments or grading practices for failing students. In one district, teachers were ordered to draw up contracts with failing students and provide them with the minimal amount of work needed to pass. Declaring student failure as a choice was no longer an option. Post teachers sought to produce achievement for students, even in those who were unmotivated to achieve. Student failure was teacher failure, resulting from a lack of effort or ability on the part of the teacher. Student failure also became the responsibility of many other players: teachers, counselors, administrators, and parents.

Along these lines, accommodating students' emotional needs took on new significance in the post-NCLB era because teachers felt they had to determine why a student was failing and create a paper trail to insure they confronted the problem from every angle. Many post-NCLB teachers pointed to the complicated home lives of their students; both those who were struggling and succeeding. But for those who were failing, emotional issues and fraught home lives were offered as excuses. In this environment, teachers felt pressure to insure a student did not fail; and some teachers said they felt conflicted because the outcomes-based values went against what and how they preferred to teach students.

Pre teachers conceived of student failure in a completely different context, one that was not outcomes-driven, nor one in which the scores of subgroup populations were publicly

reported. Pre teachers had the leeway to conceive of students as having free will to do the work because teachers were not punished if students did not pass. They also never mentioned reducing student workload or significantly altering classwork expectations to ensure students passed.

The difference between pre and post teachers' ideas surrounding failing students can be connected to NCLB. As part of the act, states were required to determine, address, and track reasons for low performance of students, so this imperative became part of post teachers' work. NCLB prioritized the discovery of "factors affecting student achievement" and required states to "coordinate and collaborate with agencies providing services to children, youth, and families" in order to address "major factors that have significantly affected the academic achievement of students" (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 1111). Paradoxically, NCLB acknowledged that non-school factors contributed to lowered student achievement and even required states to enlist non school agencies for help, but nonetheless held schools and teachers accountable for their scores.

Only tenth grade students took the state assessment at the high school level in this state, yet the overall tone of post teachers at all grade levels suggested that they felt pressure to insure students mastered standards. Because of the mandated reporting of graduation rates, it would seem like twelfth grade teachers would feel the most pressure to pass students. But teachers at all levels investigated the root causes of failing students, modified content, and, in some cases, were pressured by administration to pass students. This finding suggests that policy mandates impacted the values of all grades of high school English teachers, not just those grades that were most immediately affected by policy requirements.

Finally, post-NCLB teachers began to talk about students from varied backgrounds using more standardized and refined labels. The labels in the post-era became more refined because the criteria by which students were evaluated became externally imposed by accountability

climate. The lens through which they conceived of students became simplified in terms of the markers offered by NCLB. This finding can be easily linked to NCLB because the policy required states to create “separate measurable annual objectives” and produce Annual State report cards with assessment data “disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, disability status, migrant status, English proficiency, and status as economically disadvantaged” (NCLB, 2002). The policy set the labels that became important for schools to attend to and notice.

In the post-era, teachers mentioned fewer terms to describe non honors students, and they emphasized students’ skill levels rather their intrinsic characteristics. For example, post-NCLB teachers referred to non-honors students as “grade-level” or “on-level,” whereas pre-NCLB teachers used “alternative,” “naughties,” “regular,” “low-level,” “basic skills,” “slower,” “average,” and “underachieving.” The boundaries for success and failure became more defined by NCLB, providing a more refined way to separate students into groups and categories.

Knowledge to Skills. In the pre-NCLB era, content drove skills. Pre teachers conceived of content as essential foundational knowledge. In other words, pre teachers chose content, usually classic literature, and then taught students the history behind that literature, as well as how to read with a critical eye, analyze, express opinions, and write about it. They taught the important foundational reading, writing, and thinking skills that emerged naturally out of reading whole novels. Pre teachers focused on being content experts in order to model that expertise to students, to help them to think and learn. They asked students to write so that they could clarify their thoughts on content and valued the grading process as an important way to get to know and respect students. Pre-NCLB teachers taught grammar and sentence diagramming, but mentioned it in the context of helping students craft sentences that accurately reflected their ideas and to become more discerning readers. Similar to the post-NCLB era, the curriculum was generally

pre-determined by administration and comprised of classic literature and textbooks. Pre teachers spoke of a limited number of supplemental resources, including films, newspaper articles, and tape recordings.

In the post-NCLB era, there was an important shift away from content driving skills to skills driving content. The way post teachers talked about content suggested that they shifted from valuing a deeper understanding of disciplinary knowledge to instead valuing mastery of standards and skills. They became more concerned with performance. For example, there was a subtle difference that emerged in the post-era responses regarding teachers' role in student understanding of the literature. First, fewer teachers in the post-era expected students to read an entire novel. Rather than focus on a novel for the sake of learning to read, write, and think more critically, teachers in the post-NCLB era used literature to teach discrete skills that were targeted in the state standards. Post teachers pulled passages that were relevant to teaching the skill they wanted students to acquire. In the post-era, the teacher became the middle man, doing more work for the student in terms of interpreting the literature. The teacher digested and made connections for students then found ways to supplement the literature with resources like visuals, paintings, music, Ted Talks, Twitter, poetry and newspapers. Rather than focus on freedom of expression expression through writing, teachers in the post-era asked students to perform their understanding through performance assessments, such as newscasts and iMovies.

This shift can be linked to imperatives outlined in NCLB. First, NCLB focused on an objectively measurable set of state standards comprised of discrete skills, which created new criteria for choosing content. The criteria was externally imposed in the form of standards rather than the more intrinsically understood goals of the pre-era which were to teach students to be better communicators. Teachers began to choose content that helped students master the skills in

the standards. The policy incentivized the skills-based criteria by representing student knowledge in the form of standardized scores and publicly reporting those scores. Teachers in the post-NCLB era felt they were doing the right thing by helping students increase standardized tests scores, prepare them to take the ACT or SAT, or equip them with skills needed for their futures.

Second, NCLB's success hinged on its emphasis on basic skills proficiency. According to the policy, 100% of all students were required to meet or exceed the state's targeted proficiency rate for English language arts, although this was only for grades four and eight. It makes sense that post teachers began to choose their content in a way that allowed students to demonstrate proficiency rather than simply demonstrate progress on the more ambiguous goal pre-NCLB goal of becoming a better reader, writer, or communicator. Third, the state standards at each grade level were lengthy, and there was simply more to cover in the post-NCLB era, making it more difficult for teachers to allow students time and freedom to read whole novels or work on activities did not target skill-mastery.

Many of the same classic texts were mentioned by both eras of teachers so on the surface it appeared like the content had not changed that much. But how teachers attended to the content, the reasons they chose the content and what they felt was important to transmit to students regarding the content shifted from a knowledge-emphasis toward a skills-emphasis. The shift toward a performance model of education promoted in NCLB created the conditions for teachers to place different value on content in the post-era than they did in the pre-era. The teacher assessed whether or not the student's performance indicated that they had mastered the skill.

Teachers in the pre and post-eras indicated different goals for students learning the content. In the post-era, teachers emphasized skills that improved students' competitiveness in the labor market and on standardized tests rather than emphasizing the foundational knowledge

that they needed to be well-read and better thinkers and communicators as was the case in the pre-NCLB era. A starker comparison would be that pre teachers made it their goal to prepare students for their futures as better citizens, while post teachers' goal was to prepare better income earners.

When pre teachers modified content for students in the remedial class, it was with the goal of improving language development and helping students become more motivated to learn the material. For example, one pre teacher described taking students in the basic skills class to a local museum to improve their language and their motivation to write, as well as to gain cultural experience. Another pre teacher mentioned throwing out the "dumb" activities that she was supposed to give to the students in her basic skills class, in lieu of teaching them how to write from a character's perspective similar similar to how the Spoon River Anthology was written. Her goal was to motivate students and draw on their strengths. Contrast the focus on motivation, thinking, language and writing development with how post teachers modified content based on their perception of students' future needs. They based content around skills they believed students would need in their future, specifically stating that they were not going to be English teachers, so they would not need to know Shakespeare or how to write a five-paragraph essay.

When discussing what drove their curricular decisions, post teachers consistently mentioned the advanced placement (AP) program, as well as the two standardized college admissions tests, SAT and ACT. AP was an especially frequent mention for post-NCLB teachers. "AP" references "advanced placement" program which is a College Board-sponsored program that offers high school courses for college credit. Because the term came up so often, I searched the data in NVivo for "AP" and "placement." Six post-NCLB teachers referenced "AP" or advanced placement in their responses compared to zero pre-NCLB teachers. The

advanced placement program began in the mid 1950s, so the discrepancy was not related to the time when the program was developed (A Brief History of the Advanced Placement Program, 2003).

Placed in the context of the NCLB-driven environment, these shifts make sense. The law legitimized the idea that what was taught in high school should be directly linked to the skills employers or colleges were seeking. An explicit initiative in NCLB was to increase enrollment in the advanced placement, gifted and talented programs, as well college preparatory courses. All three were proposed as optional academic indicators for AYP reports. Additionally, funding was offered to states for building on and increasing their Advanced Placement programs, and the law specifically prioritized teaching skills that were important to employers:

to build on the many benefits of advanced placement programs for students, which benefits may include the acquisition of skills that are important to many employers, Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores that are 100 points above the national averages, and the achievement of better grades in secondary school and in college than the grades of students who have not participated in the programs. (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 1702)

During the post-NCLB era, the importance of student knowledge as quantifiable standardized test scores, high graduation rates, and labor market outcomes provided teachers with a more defined classification system for students. It became easier to define students as successes or failures and tailor the content accordingly. Because scores and graduation rates were so publicized and linked to funding, they became an end-goal for schools and teachers. As a result, teachers' goals became narrowed, and their ideas of a successful student were bound by these ideas. In the post-era, teachers conceived of the content that students received in high school as something that should align with what they need in the future to help them become

better income earners, rather than provide them with foundational set of skills that helped them think and communicate more effectively.

During the pre-NCLB era, teachers valued teaching the historical context of literature. But this preference almost completely disappeared as an emphasis in the post-NCLB era. What emerged in its place in the post-NCLB era was a preference for technology. In the post-NCLB era, technology replaced history. Rather than supplementing content with historical context, post-NCLB teachers supplemented content with technology. Pre-NCLB teachers almost never mention technology-based resources, other than the occasional tape player or television; but post-NCLB teachers consistently used technology, such as cell phones, tablets, YouTube videos, blogs, Ted Talks, grammar programs such as Red Ink, Craigslist ads, podcasts, and iPads.

As I noted before, I originally attributed this finding to the inevitable fact that 21st century life is dominated by technology; but when I analyzed NCLB more closely, I realized that technology imperatives are laced throughout the policy. Part D of the NCLB is titled “Enhancing Education through Technology,” and its stated purpose was:

to provide assistance to States and localities for the implementation and support of a comprehensive system that effectively uses technology in elementary schools and secondary schools to improve student academic achievement” with the additional goals of assisting “every student in crossing the digital divide by ensuring that every student is technologically literate by the time the student finishes the eighth grade” and to “encourage the effective integration of technology resources and systems with teacher training and curriculum development to establish research-based instructional methods that can be widely implemented as best practices by State educational agencies and local educational agencies. (NCLB, 2002, Sec. 2402)

The finding that post teachers replaced history with technology in the post-NCLB era can be connected to several features of the NCLB climate. First is the law's heavy-handed technology push mentioned above. Next, historical context was not tested, and it is not a skill; so it likely became deemphasized as newer teachers joined the teaching force under the NCLB regime. Finally teaching historical context adds time to the instructional day and requires an increase in disciplinary knowledge, two areas of teachers' work that became less central during the post-NCLB era. Plus, integrating technology presents its own time and knowledge hurdles. Over the course of NCLB's term, the teaching of historical context got pushed out and replaced by the imperative to integrate technology based resources.

Finally, post-NCLB teachers expressed feelings of anxiety and conflict that the pre-NCLB era teachers did not express. This shift makes sense considering the high-stakes NCLB environment that prioritized results and outcomes. Teachers were subconsciously subject to pressures that states and districts were under to produce acceptable test scores and graduation rates in compliance with the public mandate to report these outcomes for all subgroups. I say subconsciously because post teachers did not indicate that they were explicitly told to comply with policy mandates; rather their anxiety stemmed from a constellation of issues that were an indirect result of the high-stakes environment. They indicated anxiety about issues such as having enough time to meet standards and teach skills, making sure *all* students could master and apply content, keeping students engaged, and being able to implement strategies that targeted the correct students for academic deficiencies. At one district, post teachers were upset about the administrative pressure to pass failing students, especially because they were told to lower expectations and requirements for failing students. There was a tone of exasperation in their

responses, as though they had expressed their unease with the policy but their voices were not heard.

Two main conflicts emerged from post teachers surrounding content they were expected to teach. The nature of the conflicts, in addition to the fact that they were not present in the pre teachers' responses, suggests that they can be linked to the external pressures placed on the educational environment during the NCLB era, as well as the focus on skills. There were remnants of the pre-NCLB logic in the post-NCLB responses. For example, post teachers expressed feelings suggesting that the focus on results and performance diminished an important aspect of teaching that encouraged connection with content and learning progress that was irrespective of explicit standards or skills. This conflict indicated an internal understanding that their classroom work was more than insuring mastery of skills, but also about making progress and connecting with content in a way that was not measurable. But that internal understanding clashed with the importance of the external mandates. This conflict can be linked to NCLB's explicit focus on measurable objectives, as well as the imperative to increase test scores for all students on a yearly basis. The law also rewarded schools that demonstrated a reduction in the achievement gap or exceeded their goals for adequate yearly progress. This system of rewards and sanctions that were very important to a state's, district's, and school's public legitimacy shaped the organizational environment in a way that placed less value on progress and connection with content, and more value on measurable results.

Second, the focus on college readiness skills caused emotional conflict for post teachers because they felt that a subset of their students did not need those skills for their futures. This conflict suggests that the shift from knowledge-based content to skills-based content actually created conditions where teachers felt it was their duty to narrow or alter students' access to

certain types of curricula based on their perceived social status. The way teachers thought about content was impacted by NCLB's skills-based goals and its emphasis on preparing students for college and employment.

From Craft-like to Engineer-like

In this section, I briefly highlight aspects of teachers' work that may be characterized, in Perrow's (1967) terms, as moving from craft-like to engineer-like. This section addresses the question: "*Did No Child Left Behind (NCLB) shift teachers' work, in Perrow's (1967) terms, from craft-like to engineer-like?*"

Perrow's *theory of work* may be too technical to describe some of the shifts found in the data, but the typology has the potential to demonstrate ways the occupation may be shifting. As I described in chapter three, Perrow proposed examining two aspects of work: (1) the number of exceptional cases encountered in the work, making it either *routine* or *non-routine*; (2) the type of search process an individual must use when a problem occurs in the work, making it either *analyzable* or *unanalyzable*.

He also proposed analyzing raw materials in terms of (1) *understandability*, which is how well the nature of the material is understood; and (2) *stability* and *variability*, which is "whether the material can be treated in a standardized fashion or whether continual adjustment is necessary" (Perrow, 1967, p. 197). For the purposes of this dissertation, raw materials in schools were pedagogy, students, and content because there were aspects of all three of these materials that the policy, and thus the organization, intended to shape. According to the framework, craft-like work draws on intuition and relies on chance and guesswork to address the unique and unpredictable problems that occur. Engineer-like work is more prescriptive and relies on standardized techniques and protocols that help minimize exceptions that occur in the work. An

increase in routineness or analyzability in work or search processes would indicate more engineer-like. In terms of raw materials, an increase in understandability and stability and a decrease in variability would indicate a shift from a craft-like to a more engineer-like conception of work. Analyzing the data against Perrow's model suggests that, overall, there is evidence that elements of teachers' work can be characterized as moving toward a more engineer-like conception in the post-NCLB era.

To begin with, the initiatives promoted in NCLB hinged on the standardization of the raw materials it sought to reform: pedagogy, students, and content. The law sought to increase understandability of pedagogy by promoting evidence-based strategies, especially those highlighted on the What Works Clearinghouse website. Placing students in subgroup categories, such as those mandated in NCLB (race, ethnicity, gender, disability status, migrant status, English proficiency, and status as economically disadvantaged) created more understandability in students and decreased their variability. And the goals for content were reduced to proficiency targets. According to Perrow's framework, increasing knowledge of the raw materials had the benefit of permitting "easier analysis of the sources of problems that may arise in the transformation process" (Perrow, 1967, p. 197). Perrow's quote reflects the main goal of NCLB: to use scientifically-based instructional strategies to target the gaps in proficiencies in order to transform low-performing students and reform the schools.

Pedagogy in the pre-NCLB era was consistent with Perrow's definition of craft-like work. In the pre-era, the pedagogical goals were understood on a more intrinsic, personal level. Teachers intuitively understood that they were the experts and their job was to help students become better readers, writers and communicators. The goals were vague but understood on a personal level. Students were encouraged to express their opinions, especially in composing

analysis papers. Teaching students how to express opinions in writing and then evaluating those opinions was ambiguous work that was difficult to measure in an objectively standardized way. For the most part, methods for evaluating student work were subjective and required the judgment of the teacher. Evaluation also depended more on progress and improvement; it was difficult to reduce it to a defined process or checklist.

Contrast this picture of pedagogy with the one presented in the post-era. Teachers' work became more engineer-like in the post-NCLB era because the purpose was externally defined as a performance outcome, rather than a love for or connection with reading, writing, and communicating. The work tasks of both students and teachers became more directed, prescribed, and defined. The goals for teaching became more skills-centered, standards-oriented and measurable, making teaching more analyzable. Instruction in the post-NCLB era lost its ambiguity and was replaced with externally set standards, proficiency targets, and scientifically based strategies, creating a more routine and understandable environment.

The more professionally, intrinsically understood way of teaching that emphasized participation, fairness, and an ambiguous goal of improving students' abilities to think and communicate was replaced with a different way of teaching that focused on standards, proficiency targets, and strategies. This combination helped to push teaching from a more craft-like conception toward a more engineer-like one. In the post-NCLB era, state standards drove teachers' classroom work, along with a desire to help students become more standards' proficient. Work became more routine and analyzable as post teachers gathered data about students and used evidence-based strategies to teach skills and target deficiencies.

According to Perrow's model, engineer-like work can be analyzed with an objective protocol. NCLB promoted objectivity, and post teachers reflected a preference for more

objective practice. Rather than teach students how to express opinions, post-NCLB teachers taught the mastery and application of discrete skills, such as how to properly structure an argumentative paragraph. Teaching students how to structure a paragraph can be measured with a rubric. A student may not be able to write well, but if they can demonstrate the skill of argumentation in their writing; it can be measured and the skill can be checked off the list. This method of evaluation is much less ambiguous than evaluating a student's opinion and less open to the subjectivity of professional judgment. These changes are consistent with Perrow's definition of engineer-like work.

In the pre-era teachers described reaching students to connect them to the learning; whereas in the post-era, teachers described identifying reasons for failure and then targeting those reasons in order to insure the student passed. This shift suggests the trend for teachers' work moved toward operationalizing and formalizing what teachers have always intuitively done: checked progress of students, listened to students, and cultivated a learning environment. The protocols of teaching became more formalized and pseudo-scientific. Whereas pre teachers walked around and checked on the writing progress of each student, the post teachers gathered data using formative assessment and addressed the data with scientific strategies. Post-NCLB, instructional work became more technicized. More tools for evaluating student work were introduced. The methods to evaluate students became atomized and more targeted. In other words, how teachers began to evaluate students became more mechanistic.

The New Logic That Drives Teachers' Work

This dissertation was an examination of patterns and prevalences in the way individual teachers articulate their values, interests, and preferences, which I viewed as their *cognitive premises for decision-making*. Cognitive premises are a patterned way of thinking that restrict

decision-making to a mutually understood set of norms and values (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Perrow, 1986). They are the source that people subconsciously or preconsciously refer to when making decisions in particular contexts.

Based on the findings of this research, I argue that these teachers' work was recast in light of the outcomes-based ideology of NCLB. Teachers' cognitive premises for decision-making took on elements shaped by what was prioritized in the federal policy, shifting their values, interests, and preferences about essential classroom components from a craft-like conception toward a more engineer-like conception. Post-NCLB teachers used an altered cognitive lens through which to view their worlds. I also contend that NCLB shaped an environment that changed what teachers noticed and attended to, contributing to a redefinition of their work. In chapter two, I proposed a shift could potentially happen through the organizational arrangement of direct and indirect mechanisms that served to set boundaries for the way teachers think about their work. As a result, I argue, teachers began to make different sense of their work on a fundamental level.

I contend that this new worldview is a reflection of an altered professional logic that gradually aligned with NCLB's goals and purposes. The post-NCLB era culturally repackaged teachers' work, giving birth to a new type of teacher. As organizational mechanisms at the state, university, school level, as well as professional associations, adapted to the policy changes, new elements were incorporated into the social stock of knowledge that teachers drew on for decision-making. Teachers' thinking began to adapt as well. I do not think that the explicit reward/punishment and high-stakes testing logic of NCLB was embraced by teachers (Barrett, 2009; McCarthy, 2008; Sunderman, et al., 2004). Rather, the school organizational structures and programs that were created in response to NCLB's mandates influenced the cognitive

premises that teachers draw on to make decisions through the reorientation of professional values, interests, preferences, and goals.

Identities took on elements of the institutional logic through an incremental process. Beginning in 2001, NCLB handed new responsibilities to states. To meet these federally mandated goals, school districts and administrators were assigned the task of making sure schools carried them out (Opfer, Henry, & Mashburg, 2008). At the organizational level, new personnel were added and new ways of thought were disseminated through various communication channels and through professional development in schools (Boardman & Woodruff, 2004). Teachers were mobilized to implement the changes necessary to try to meet the mandated goals. These changes were supported by federal authority, linked to funding and political legitimacy, and difficult to resist. Over time, this process aided in incrementally adding new elements to the teaching profession's institutional logic, which infiltrated the individual's understanding of the role of a teacher.

The evidence presented in this dissertation suggests that new modes of thinking were added to the professional logic of teaching as a result of NCLB and the accountability movement. For each of the shifts in my research, there was evidence that teachers' range of alternatives for decision-making became constrained by the goals of the policy. NCLB limited teachers' decision-making options to its standardized skills-based, college and career ready priorities. And teachers began to conceptualize important aspects of their work through the lens of these priorities. The institutional logic of teaching absorbed the goals that were promoted by the regulation, thereby impacting teachers' internal belief systems without their explicit awareness. For example, a teacher who began in the NCLB era, especially a younger teacher, began to hold a different set of values, interests, and preferences regarding important

components of classroom teaching. NCLB changed teachers' work by changing the thinking of the professional at the heart of it all.

It is important to note that the institutional logic of the pre-NCLB era was altered but not abandoned. Both eras expressed several aspects of teachers' work very similarly. What changed was what teachers noticed and attended to and the values, interests, and preferences they attached to their work. Their behaviors looked the same, but they were redirected toward new goals in the post NCLB era.

NCLB created conditions where the regulations actually penetrated the classroom walls to impact the belief systems of teachers. So while it may not have looked like anything changed, teachers actually attached different values, interests, and preferences to their work. Behaviors did not change, but minds did. The standards-driven reform of NCLB redefined the role of the teacher in society by changing the common-sense world of everyday classroom life.

Implications

The evidence in this dissertation does not contradict Cuban's observation that a teacher-centered and student-centered model for teaching has endured across generations. But my study deviates from this observation by demonstrating evidence of a change in the way teachers' think about essential components of their work. From the perspective of this study, NCLB changed teachers' work by prompting a normative shift in the cognitive foundation of the occupation. Although this study did not analyze the processes through which the shift may have occurred, I offered a possible explanation in chapter two. I outlined how NCLB coordinated organizational behaviors at the state, district, school, and classroom levels through its system of mandates, rewards, and sanctions. I suggested that this system prompted states, districts, and schools to

alter organizational structures, operations, and routines in a way that allowed indirect mechanisms to impact the cognitive foundation of teaching.

The shifts in teachers' work that emerged in this study suggest that the institutional logic of the teaching profession absorbed elements of the accountability regime in ways that subtly permeated the cognitive premises that guide the decision-making of individual teachers. As a result, the values, interests, and preferences guiding teachers' ideas about essential classroom components changed over the course of the NCLB era. Perrow's framework helped characterize the change in teachers' work as moving from a craft-like conception to an engineer-like conception. This type of shift in teachers' work has consequences that are potentially far-reaching and perhaps unpredictable. I offer four potential implications that I can identify given the nature of my findings.

Post-NCLB Teachers Working More. My findings demonstrated that teachers' ideas about students shifted in the post-era, but the data also spoke to teachers' increased workload. This finding is consistent with other research that has pointed out teachers' lowered sense of autonomy (Sparks & Malkus, 2015) and desire to leave the profession because of the increased demands (Ingersoll, 2014). NCLB's imperatives and the performance-based climate led to an increase in hours worked (Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Harrington, 2014), even as it had negligible impact on student achievement (Dee & Jacob, 2011; Lee, 2006).

A potential reason teachers in the post-era had to work harder was the shift toward skills- and standards-based content. Many post teachers indicated that they felt pressure to insure students mastered the vast array of skills covered in the state standards. Pre teachers never mentioned this type of pressure. It seemed like post teachers actually had more content to cover, potentially increasing lesson planning, pacing, and grading. Also, the danger of a heavy

emphasis on skills is that they are boring, and teachers could have to work harder to keep students interested in school. The focus on skills rather than knowledge is generally less exciting to students or to anyone for that matter. Imagine having the choice of reading a book and expressing your opinion about it versus reading an excerpt from a book and using evidence from that excerpt to write a formulaic argumentative paragraph. Couple the shift to less intrinsically relevant skills with the added diversion of technological devices, like smartphones or tablets. Pre-teachers had to motivate students to care about reading and learning; post-teachers had to prove to students that the skill of writing an argumentative paragraph would benefit them both in the moment and in their college or career pursuits. And they had to convince students that it was more important than whatever else was holding their attention on their smartphone or computer device.

If post-NCLB students did not care about learning the skill, teachers suffered the potential consequences of lowered standardized test scores, as well as the possibility of a failed grade. A failed grade or even the possibility of a failed grade set off the sequence of events described in chapter five where teachers had to investigate, document, and justify student failure. It led to enormous amounts of pressure, as well as more work, including contacting the student, the parents, the counselor, the administration, having meetings, creating homework contracts, and keeping constant tabs on the student. To avoid the string of consequences that happened to teachers when students were not engaged with the material, it paid dividends for the post-NCLB teacher to do whatever it took to interest the student at the front end. Hence, the increased importance of “engagement.” This set of conditions potentially led to an increase in physical and mental workload.

A New Explanation for Resistance from Veteran Teachers. These findings have the potential to add alternative ways of looking at why some teachers, especially veteran ones, resist reform. First, I would offer that there are many valid reasons why teachers resist reform efforts, and educational leaders and policymakers would benefit from listening to and accounting for those reasons before assuming the response is pathological. Some research has found that newer teachers resent older teachers for their resistance toward standardization (Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006). In fact, Rusch and Perry (1999) found that the stigmatization of “resistant older teachers” dominated the narrative among varying career-level teachers in the schools they studied. They found the narrative to be rooted in false assumptions, yet it negatively impacted veteran teachers’ involvement in reform efforts. Scholars frequently cite teachers’ attitudes as the point of resistance (Hess, Maranto, & Milliman, 2000). Scholars have suggested that the pendulum of educational fads results in cynical attitudes from veteran teachers (Tyack & Cuban, 1995) or that veteran teachers become unwilling to change because it is harder to do so (Huberman, 1988).

The findings in my study suggest that teachers who were socialized in different political eras hold different foundational ideas about the goals of their work that go beyond individual motivations, attitudes, or pathologies. Their values, interests, and preferences regarding essential classroom components varied depending on the institutional logic under which they began their careers. This suggests that the reasons veteran teachers have typically been viewed as resistant may have been misrepresented as personal preferences or attitudes. Rather, their resistance (if it exists) may stem from a set of cognitive assumptions about the goals for schooling that are potentially shaped by the political era in which they were established. Instead of casting judgment on experienced teachers, it would serve educational leaders to value their experiences

and seek their guidance when determining policies that impact their work (Gitlin & Margonis, 1995).

A Neoliberal Shift. One positive aspect about the post-NCLB teachers was that rather than blame student failure on intrinsic motivation as teachers did in the pre-NCLB era, they recognized how non-school factors and emotional issues contributed to a student's success. This change is positive because there was danger in the *pre*-NCLB view of student failure to ignore differences in social and cultural capital that may contribute to underachievement, thereby confusing lack of preparation with lack of motivation. I do believe having high expectations for all students is important, regardless of level of social and cultural capital. However, I think attributing deficiencies in capital to lack of motivation potentially misidentifies the problem and blames the victim rather than recognizing that disadvantaged students require different types of supports than more advantaged students.

My data indicated that pre-NCLB teachers did *not* ignore the socioeconomic factors that impacted underachieving students, and they addressed student failure by providing multiple opportunities for turning in work, encouraging students, and calling home. But my data did indicate that there was less pressure on the pre teacher *compared* to teachers in the post-NCLB era to do everything possible to help the student pass. Where the issue becomes complicated is that in the highly regulated post-NCLB environment, teachers were limited in the scope of supports they could offer. While they recognized the importance of helping underachieving students, post-NCLB teachers had few avenues for providing more support to students, other than alerting everyone in the system that the student may potentially fail and altering classwork expectations by providing students with just enough work to "pass."

But how did the post-NCLB approach enhance student achievement or improve students' life chances? The post-NCLB teachers in this study indicated they did more work than pre-NCLB teachers because of the accountability pressures. Yet the outcome of this increased workload may have resulted not in higher achievement or improved life chances. Rather, it potentially resulted in students who came to expect that teachers provide them with every opportunity to pass, and teachers who expected disadvantaged students to fail because of their home lives. Ultimately, there is no evidence to show that the extra work post teachers devoted to investigate the root cause and alert all parties involved in the lives of failing students actually had any impact on their achievement or life chances. Although, it is possible that this shift resulted in an increase of graduation rates, providing more students with the more prestigious credential of a high school diploma rather than a GED.

Contrast the post-options to the two pre-NCLB teachers at one district who were instrumental in starting a comprehensive alternative program for underachieving students, even before there was a consequence or incentive attached to helping them improve their test scores. Support was provided to students in the form of more attention from teachers, smaller class sizes, and more resources. This leads me to believe that a different solution for supporting underachieving and disadvantaged students could have existed that did not involve the performance-based reforms, standardized learning, the high-stakes tests tied to funding, and the emphasis on labor-market outcomes.

NCLB routed the solution to underachievement in a specific direction, focusing on test preparation, isolated skills development, and college and career-readiness rather than a more balanced effort that could have addressed socio-cultural needs and set more holistic and civic-

minded academic goals. A different route might have had different outcomes for underachieving students, which seems particularly important in light of the current political climate.

Framers of policy should find a better way to illuminate and address subgroup differences in cultural and social capital without attaching funding and public legitimacy to high-stakes test scores. This approach led schools to attack the problem by trying to find ways to improve students' scores, rather than provide students with creative supports that addressed their real needs. Low achieving students were filtered into test prep classes, their electives were eliminated, and they were tasked with working harder at content that seemed boring and irrelevant (Menken, 2006). So, while NCLB illuminated the subgroup differences, it created a pressure-induced climate for teachers who became responsible for their students' scores and potentially aggravated the achievement problem for underperforming students. To make matters worse, teachers worked harder than ever in the post-NCLB era, while students continued to underachieve at the rate they always had.

The evidence in this dissertation suggests that teachers' taken-for-granted ideas about the goals for schooling have shifted toward a school model that values managerialism and social efficiency (Ball, 2003; Labaree, 1997). The shift in the way teachers think about content from knowledge to skills is especially insightful because it has potentially paradoxical consequences. In the pre-era, when the focus of content was knowledge, all students were expected to improve their reading, writing, and thinking abilities regardless of what their futures held after high school. The shift to skills, especially to "college and career-ready" skills, made post-NCLB teachers question why non-college-bound needed to learn the skill of writing an argumentative essay. The implication of more easily labeling students as either career ready or college ready is that there is more justification for teaching different skills to different groups, potentially

widening the gap between students who have access to higher forms of knowledge and those who are receiving rudimentary instruction in basic skills or test prep. If teachers believe their role is to provide students with skills that will benefit them after high school, they could potentially support more tracking of college-bound and non-college-bound students. This would result in leaving a great many children behind and in a more stratified society.

Another unfortunate possibility is that the performance-based environment may foster individualistic attitudes in teachers that they pass on to their students. In a high stakes climate that values test scores, teachers may prefer to hoard rather than share the methods they believe are producing the highest scores. If the logic that drives teachers' work continues to be impacted by the values that are promoted through accountability policies; teachers could be nurturing individualism and competitiveness in their students, further legitimating the market-driven ideology that grounds test-based reform. These ideas potentially pave the way for a more receptive attitude toward the privatization of education.

The data in this dissertation suggests that NCLB compelled teachers to focus on all kids in their classrooms, which seems like a positive outcome. Post teachers discussed at length the importance of differentiation and meeting the needs of all students in the classroom; especially those with emotional issues and individualized education programs (IEPs). But the pressure and anxiety that post teachers expressed regarding failing students, coupled with the intense focus on engagement, suggests something more might be going on. Sure, post teachers clearly cared about students; but the character of the caring in the post-era was palpable, necessary, weighty, and, at times, overwhelming. If educational policy continues to link student performance with school and teacher legitimacy, a subtle shift in classroom power dynamics may result. Over time, this dynamic may result in teachers viewing students as threats to their professionalism, while

students may internalize their ability to pull the classroom strings. I am not suggesting anarchy. What I am suggesting is that teachers may experience a loss of autonomy and authority as they are subjected to increased scrutiny from administrators, students, parents, and community.

Conclusion. This study added a multifaceted empirical understanding of how teachers' work may have changed as a result of the standards-driven, high-stakes reform initiatives of NCLB, and it broadly offered a portrayal of how federal policy potentially affects the black box of teaching. Personally, I have a better understanding of what my colleagues meant when they asserted throughout my NCLB-era career as a high school English teacher that No Child Left Behind changed everything. The results of this study point to the possibility that teachers' work is becoming more directed, coordinated, and controlled in the face of accountability; a possibility that has important implications for the profession of teaching. I argue that the bureaucratic controls of accountability became institutionalized and invisible in teachers' everyday reality, giving newer teachers the impression that this is just the way their work is, was, and always will be. Externally imposed accountability goals changed what teachers attend to in their minds and in their classroom work, potentially redefining public schooling for generations of students. Small differences in the way teachers think about and perform their work can have potentially large effects over time, significantly impacting the way our society's citizens see the world.

Contrary to the institutionalist view that classrooms are loosely coupled from policy and that teachers have the ability to buffer their classrooms from radical reform (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Tyack & Cuban, 1995); my findings suggest that reform finds its way into the minds of teachers through a restructuring of organizational programs that align with the federal policy's goals. The accountability regime created financial and social incentives to increase graduation rates and standardized tests scores, as well as the number of highly qualified teachers. NCLB

established the need for schools to both symbolically and authentically respond to its mandates and goals by adding new personnel and subunits, such as the instructional coach or the data management office, creating new classes to address failing subgroup scores, and promoting scientifically-based best practices in professional development. These organizational changes gradually shifted the way teachers think about their work. Teachers' responses may have subtly, but notably transformed the kind of teaching and learning that takes place inside classrooms.

Although these findings cannot be generalized beyond the teachers in this study to the entire professional population of teaching, they do provide some empirical support for the hypothesis that the ideology grounding education policy may become part of the cognitive assumptions that drive teachers' work. In light of this potentiality, it is important for policymakers to design policies that reflect how we want our teachers to educate our students. Policymakers should carefully consider how policy goals align with our country's democratic values, in addition to our economic goals. In the case of NCLB, the law may have worked better than planned. Because although it did not achieve 100% grade level proficiency for all students by 2014, it did succeed at aligning aspects of teaching's professional logic with its market-driven ideological goals. Nonetheless, evidence of entrenched ideas in the institutional logic of teaching suggests that there are aspects of the profession that resist reform. In light of this insight, there exists the possibility that any aspects of the professional logic that were impacted by policy could potentially revert when the policy changes: an idea that is consistent with Tyack and Cuban's (1995) tinkering notion. Combined with the findings that policy has potentially impacted aspects of teachers' institutional logic, it also suggests that intentionally targeting entrenched aspects of professional logic would be a practical reform route to take.

If we want America's teachers to educate students with more civically-driven, participatory democratic principles in mind, then federal policy has to reflect those goals; and, unfortunately, it may have to tie them to financial and public legitimacy. Finally, the most important step in achieving successful government regulation is to enlist classroom teachers from a variety of career stages to help design a system of reform that recognizes, values, and supports their efforts.

Limitations and Ideas for Further Study

Because of the nature of qualitative work, it is not possible to isolate NCLB as the cause of the shift in teachers' work demonstrated in this study; nor is it possible to rule out the impact of other policy shifts and cultural forces that have acted to shape the way teachers think about their work. There is the possibility that my results are picking up differences in levels of experiences between the teachers in the two groups. Many of the pre-NCLB teachers had 20 to 30 years of teaching under their belts, whereas the post teachers had between 3 and 10. The possibility of attrition attributes also exists. Perhaps teachers who end up staying in the profession are the ones with the qualities that the pre-NCLB teachers exhibited. So, the post-NCLB teachers I spoke with may end up leaving the profession after a few years, leaving a set of teachers that has a completely different worldview. Also, another potential reason for a shift is generational differences in the way people view the world, regardless of their status as a teacher. So eighty year olds think differently than thirty year olds. The era-specific differences that emerged may be attributed solely to generational differences in thinking patterns.

Another limitation that should be mentioned is the softening of memories over the years. I think about what I might remember twenty years after leaving the profession of teaching. Even though I was a post-NCLB teacher, I would remember the funny moments, the human moments,

the love and laughter I experienced in the classroom. I may gloss over much of the stress that was brought on by principal evaluations of my work, the focus on standardized testing or the “best practices” I used, or how I used data to drive my instruction.

I tried to control for these limitations by designing questions that targeted teachers’ foundational classroom ideas and by systematically analyzing their responses with theory in mind. My questions helped teachers, especially pre teachers, go beyond the more accessible, softer memories. And I prompted them during interviews to talk and think about different instructional practices they remembered. It would be interesting to find the post-NCLB teachers in twenty years and, first, see if they are still in the classroom; and then ask the same questions to see how or if their thinking changed. If the results are picking up differences in experience or generation, the findings are nonetheless an important contribution because they reveal a change at the level of cognition rather than behavior.

Ideas for Further Study. To add to the insights of this study, bridge teachers should be interviewed to confirm or reject these findings or add new insights into their meaning. Bridge teachers are those teachers who began teaching well before 2002 and continue to teach. When I interviewed them for my pilot study, I found their views to align more closely with pre-NCLB teachers. It would be interesting to ask bridge teachers, as well as pre and post teaches, to confirm or reject the characterizations portrayed in this study.

I tried to find teachers for this study who began their teaching careers in 2011 or later, ranging in age from 22-28. My intention was to interview younger teachers whose taken-for-granted ideas for the teaching profession may have been more prominently shaped by years of schooling in the NCLB climate. My rationale was Lortie’s (2002) assertion that teaching maintains an enduring set of norms because all teachers have experienced a twelve-year

apprenticeship in school. That endeavor proved difficult because younger teachers were not responding to my recruitment strategies at a high enough rate that would allow me to isolate the post-NCLB group to that range. So I had to abandon that goal for practical reasons.

I am very interested in the different dimensions of teachers' classroom work, although I focused only on the instructional dimension for this study. During the analysis of my summer pilot study, I identified three different dimensions of teachers' classroom work: instructional, relational, and ethical. In a further study, I would like to more adequately flesh out the dimensions of teachers' work. I wonder if learning more about the dimensions could provide insight into why some reform efforts succeed or fail and lead to better outcomes. I also wonder if more understanding of the dimensions could untangle the complexity of teachers' work in a way that make it easier to study.

Adding the student perspective to these findings is crucial. Understanding how changes in teachers' work affected students' understandings, achievement, or worldviews would provide a clearer picture of accountability's impact. Student responses could be used to clarify accountability's impact on teachers' work, as well. I envision interviewing students from the pre and post-NCLB eras about how they learned in the classroom and comparing their responses to patterns found in teachers' work. Also, comparing pre and post-NCLB students' life outcomes using statistical analysis might yield deeper understanding of accountability's impact on society.

References

- A Brief History of the Advanced Placement Program. (2003). Retrieved from http://www.collegeboard.com/prod_downloads/about/news_info/ap/ap_history_english.pdf
- Apple, M. W., & Teitelbaum, K. (1986). Are teachers losing control of their skills and curriculum? *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 18*(2), 177-184.
- Au, W. (2007). High-stakes testing and curricular control: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Educational Researcher, 36*(5), 258-267.
- Au, W. (2010). The idiocy of policy: the anti-democratic curriculum of high-stakes testing. *Critical Education, 1*(1).
- Au, W. (2011). Teaching under the new Taylorism: High-stakes testing and the standardization of the 21st century curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 43*(1), 25-45.
- Babbie, E. R. (2004). *The practice of social research* (10th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Ball, S. J. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215-228.
- Barrett, B. D. (2009). No Child Left Behind and the assault on teachers' professional practices and identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*(8), 1018-1025.
- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Berliner, D. (2011). Rational responses to high stakes testing: The case of curriculum narrowing and the harm that follows. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 41*(3), 287-302.
- Bird, T., & Little, J. W. (1986). How schools organize the teaching occupation. *The Elementary School Journal, 86*(4), 493-511.
- Boardman, A. G., & Woodruff, A. L. (2004). Teacher change and “high-stakes” assessment: What

- happens to professional development? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20(6), 545-557.
- Booher-Jennings, J. (2005). Below the bubble: "Educational triage" and the Texas accountability system. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(2), 231-268.
- Borkowski, J. W., & Sneed, M. (2006). Will NCLB improve or harm public education? *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(4), 503-525,725,727.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Brint, S., & Teele, S. (2008). Professionalism under siege. In A.R. Sadovnik, J.A. O'Day, G. W. Bohrnstedt, & K. M. Borman (Eds.), *No Child Left Behind and the Reduction of the Achievement Gap: Sociological Perspectives on Federal Educational Policy* (131-153). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Brown, C. P., & Lan, Y.C. (2015). A qualitative metasynthesis comparing US teachers' conceptions of school readiness prior to and after the implementation of NCLB. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 45, 1-13.
- Cimbricz, S. (2002). State-mandated testing and teachers' beliefs and practice. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 10,(2).
- Coburn, C. E. (2004). Beyond decoupling: Rethinking the relationship between the institutional environment and the classroom. *Sociology of Education*, 77(3), 211-244.
- Coburn, C. E. (2006). Framing the problem of reading instruction: Using frame analysis to uncover the microprocesses of policy implementation. *American Educational Research Journal*, 43(3), 343-349.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2003). The unforgiving complexity of teaching avoiding simplicity in the age of accountability. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 54(1), 3-5.

- Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (2006). Troubling images of teaching in No Child Left Behind. *Harvard Educational Review, 76*(4), 668-697.
- Crocco, M. S., & Costigan, A. T. (2007). The narrowing of curriculum and pedagogy in the age of accountability urban educators speak out. *Urban Education, 42*(6), 512-535.
- Cuban, L. (1983). How did teachers teach, 1890–1980. *Theory into Practice, 22*(3), 159-165.
- Cuban, L. (1986). Persistent instruction: Another look at constancy in the classroom. *Phi Delta Kappan, 68*(1), 7-11.
- Cuban, L. (1993). *How teachers taught: constancy and change in American classrooms, 1890-1990*. *Research on Teaching Series*: ERIC.
- Cuban, L. (2007). Hugging the middle: Teaching in an era of testing and accountability, 1980-2005. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 15*(1), 1-29.
- Cuban, L. (2010). *As good as it gets: What school reform brought to Austin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cuban, L. (2013). *Inside the black box of classroom practice: Change without reform in American education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2007). Race, inequality and educational accountability: The irony of ‘No Child Left Behind’. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 10*(3), 245-260.
- Darling-Hammond, L., & Berry, B. (1988). *The Evolution of Teacher Policy*: ERIC.
- Darling-Hammond, L., & Rustique-forrester, E. (2005). The consequences of student testing for teaching and teacher quality. *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 104*(2), 289-319.
- Day, C. (2002). School reform and transitions in teacher professionalism and identity. *International Journal of Educational Research, 37*(8), 677-692.

- DeBray, E. H. (2006). *Politics, ideology, and education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Dee, T. S., & Jacob, B. (2011). The impact of No Child Left Behind on student achievement. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 30*(3), 418-446.
- Dee, T. S., Jacob, B., & Schwartz, N. L. (2013). The effects of NCLB on school resources and practices. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 35*(2), 252-279.
- Desimone, L., Smith, T., & Frisvold, D. (2007). Has NCLB improved teacher and teaching quality for disadvantaged students. In A. Gamoran (Ed.), *Standards-based reform and the poverty gap: Lessons for No Child Left Behind*, (89-119). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Diamond, J. B. (2007). Where the rubber meets the road: Rethinking the connection between high-stakes testing policy and classroom instruction. *Sociology of Education, 80*(4), 285-313.
- Diamond, J. B. (2012). Accountability policy, school organization, and classroom practice: Partial recoupling and educational opportunity. *Education and Urban Society, 44*(2), 151-182.
- DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*(2), 147-160.
- Douglas, J. D. (1976). *Investigative social research: Individual and team field research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Elmore, R. F. (2007). *School reform from the inside out: Policy, practice, and performance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Friedland, R., & Alford, R. R. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices and institutional contradictions. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (232-266). Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Gamoran, A. (2007). *Standards-based reform and the poverty gap: Lessons for No Child Left Behind*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

- Gitlin, A., & Margonis, F. (1995). The political aspect of reform: Teacher resistance as good sense. *American Journal of Education, 103*(4), 377-405.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1999). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldstein, L. S. (2008). Kindergarten teachers making “street-level” education policy in the wake of No Child Left Behind. *Early Education and Development, 19*(3), 448-478.
- Goldstein, R. A. (2011). Imaging the frame: Media representations of teachers, their unions, NCLB, and education reform. *Educational Policy, 25*(4), 543-576.
- Grant, S. G. (2000). Teachers and tests: Exploring teachers' perceptions of changes in the New York state testing program. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 8*(14), 14.
- Greenwood, E. (1957). Attributes of a profession. *Social Work, 2*(3), 45-55.
- Greenwood, R., Suddaby, R., & Hinings, C. R. (2002). Theorizing change: The role of professional associations in the transformation of institutionalized fields. *Academy of Management Journal, 45*(1), 58-80.
- Greenwood, R., Díaz, A. M., Li, S. X., & Lorente, J. C. (2010). The multiplicity of institutional logics and the heterogeneity of organizational responses. *Organization Science, 21*(2), 521-539.
- Grissom, J. A., Nicholson-Crotty, S., & Harrington, J. R. (2014). Estimating the effects of No Child Left Behind on teachers' work environments and job attitudes. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 36*(4), 417-436.
- Hallett, T. (2010). The myth incarnate recoupling processes, turmoil, and inhabited institutions in an urban elementary school. *American Sociological Review, 75*(1), 52-74.

- Hamilton, L. S., Stecher, B. M., Marsh, J. A., McCombs, J. S., & Robyn, A. (2007). *Standards-based accountability under No Child Left Behind: Experiences of teachers and administrators in three states*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
- Hargreaves, A., & Goodson, I. (2006). Educational change over time? The sustainability and nonsustainability of three decades of secondary school change and continuity. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 42(1), 3-41.
- Hess, F. M., Maranto, R., & Milliman, S. (2000). Resistance in the trenches: What shapes teachers' attitudes toward school choice? *Educational Policy*, 14(2), 195-213.
- Hirsch, P. M. (1986). From ambushes to golden parachutes: Corporate takeovers as an instance of cultural framing and institutional integration. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(4), 800-837.
- Huberman, M. (1988). Teacher careers and school improvement. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 20(2), 119-132.
- Hursh, D. (2007). Assessing No Child Left Behind and the rise of neoliberal education policies. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44(3), 493-518.
- Ingersoll, R. (2014). *What impact have accountability policies & practices had on teacher turnover & retention?* Presentation. Consortium for Policy Research in Education. Retrieved from https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B9KFZi_mhkSHS3FFSWF4TXAya3c/edit
- Ingersoll, R. M. (2003). *Who controls teachers' work?: Power and accountability in America's schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jackall, R. (1988). Moral mazes: The world of corporate managers. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 1(4), 598-614.
- Jacob, B. A. (2005). Accountability, incentives and behavior: The impact of high-stakes testing in the Chicago Public Schools. *Journal of Public Economics*, 89(5), 761-796.

- Kirtman, L. (2002). Restructuring teachers' work. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 10(25), 25.
- Labaree, D. F. (1997). Public goods, private goods: The American struggle over educational goals. *American Educational Research Journal*, 34(1), 39-81.
- Lee, J. (2006). *Tracking achievement gaps and assessing the impact of NCLB on the gaps: An in-depth look into national and state reading and math outcome trends*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard.
- Lok, J. (2010). Institutional logics as identity projects. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), 1305-1335.
- Lortie, D. C. (2002). *School-teacher: A sociological study* (Second ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lounsbury, M., & Pollack, S. (2001). Institutionalizing civic engagement: Shifting logics and the cultural repackaging of service-learning in US higher education. *Organization*, 8(2), 319-339.
- Loveless, T., Parkas, S., & Duffett, A. (2008). *High-achieving students in the era of NCLB*. Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Institute.
- Lukes, S. (1977). *Power: A radical view* (Vol. 1). London: Macmillan.
- Luna, C., & Turner, C. L. (2001). The impact of the MCAS: Teachers talk about high-stakes testing. *The English Journal*, 91(1), 79-87.
- Malm, B. (2009). Towards a new professionalism: enhancing personal and professional development in teacher education. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 35(1), 77-91.
- March, J. G., & Simon, H. A. (1958). *Organizations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Mausethagen, S. (2013a). A research review of the impact of accountability policies on teachers' workplace relations. *Educational Research Review*, 9, 16-33.
- Mausethagen, S. (2013b). Accountable for what and to whom? Changing representations and new

- legitimation discourses among teachers under increased external control. *Journal of Educational Change*, 14(4), 423-444.
- Maxcy, B. D. (2011). The politics of priorities in turbulent times: Policy logics, faces of power, and reform possibilities. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 86(3), 252-271.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- McCarthy, S. J. (2008). The impact of No Child Left Behind on teachers' writing instruction. *Written Communication*, 25(4), 462-505.
- Means, B., Padilla, C., DeBarger, A., & Bakia, M. (2009). *Implementing data-informed decision making in schools: Teacher access, supports and use*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education.
- Mehta, J. (2013). How paradigms create politics: The transformation of American educational policy, 1980–2001. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(2), 285-324.
- Menken, K. (2006). Teaching to the test: How No Child Left Behind impacts language policy, curriculum, and instruction for English language learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 30(2), 521-546.
- Metz, M. H. (2008). Symbolic uses of NCLB. In A.R. Sadovnik, J.A. O'Day, G. W. Bohrnstedt, & K. M. Borman (Eds.), *No Child Left Behind and the Reduction of the Achievement Gap: Sociological Perspectives on Federal Educational Policy* (343-358). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 340-363.
- Meyer, J. W., Scott, W. R., Strang, D., & Creighton, A. L. (1988). Bureaucratization without centralization: Changes in the organizational system of US public education, 1940-80. In L. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment* (139-168). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publication Company.

- Milner, A. R., Sondergeld, T. A., Demir, A., Johnson, C. C., & Czerniak, C. M. (2012). Elementary teachers' beliefs about teaching science and classroom practice: An examination of pre/post NCLB testing in science. *Journal of Science Teacher Education, 23*(2), 111-132.
- Mintrop, H. & Sunderman, G. L. (2009). *Why high stakes accountability sounds good but doesn't work—And why we keep on doing it anyway*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA.
- Murnane, R. J., & Papay, J. P. (2010). Teachers' views on no child left behind: Support for the principles, concerns about the practices. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 24*(3), 151-166.
- Neill, M. (2003). Leaving children behind: How No Child Left Behind will fail our children. *Phi Delta Kappan, 225-228*.
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, Public Law 107 - 110 - An act to close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind., H.R. 1, United States Congress § 115 (2002).
- Olsen, B., & Sexton, D. (2009). Threat rigidity, school reform, and how teachers view their work inside current education policy contexts. *American Educational Research Journal, 46*(1), 9-44.
- Opfer, V. D., Henry, G. T., & Mashburn, A. J. (2008). The district effect: Systemic responses to high stakes accountability policies in six southern states. *American Journal of Education, 114*(2), 299-332.
- Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications.
- Perrow, C. (1967). A framework for the comparative analysis of organizations. *American Sociological Review, 194-208*.
- Perrow, C. (1974). Is business really changing? *Organizational Dynamics, 3*(1), 31-44.

- Perrow, C. (1986). *Complex organizations*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman & Company.
- Plank, S. B., & Condliffe, B. F. (2013). Pressures of the season: An examination of classroom quality and high-stakes accountability. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(5), 1152-1182.
- Ramberg, M. R. (2014). Teacher change in an era of neo-liberal policies: a neo-institutional analysis of teachers' perceptions of their professional change. *European Educational Research Journal*, 13(3), 360-379.
- Ranson, S., Hinings, B., & Greenwood, R. (1980). The structuring of organizational structures. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1-17.
- Ravitch, D. (2011). *The death and life of the great American school system: How testing and choice are undermining education*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Ravitch, D. (2013). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Reback, R., Rockoff, J., & Schwartz, H. L. (2011). Under pressure: Job security, resource allocation, and productivity in schools under No Child Left Behind. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 6(3), 207-241.
- Rusch, E., & Perry, E. (1999). Resistance to change: an alternative story. *International Journal of Educational Reform*, 8, 285-300.
- Russell, J. L. (2011). From child's garden to academic press: The role of shifting institutional logics in redefining kindergarten education. *American Educational Research Journal*, 48(2), 236-267.
- Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, 15(1), 85-109.
- Ryan, J. E. (2004). Perverse Incentives of the No Child Left behind Act, The. *NYUL Rev.*, 79, 932.
- Scott, R., Ruef, M., Mendel, P., & Caronna, C. (2000). *Institutional change and healthcare organizations: From professional dominance to managed care*. Chicago, IL: University of

Chicago Press.

- Scott, W. R. (2005). Institutional theory: Contributing to a theoretical research program. *Great Minds in Management: The Process of Theory Development*, 460-484.
- Scott, W. R. (1995). *Institutions and organizations. Foundations for organizational science*. London: A Sage Publication Series.
- Selznick, P. (1949). *TVA and the grass roots: A study of politics and organization* (Vol. 3). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Sleeter, C. E. (2007). *Facing accountability in education: Democracy and equity at risk*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Sloan, K. (2006). Teacher identity and agency in school worlds: beyond the all-good/all-bad discourse on accountability-explicit curriculum policies. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 36(2), 119-152.
- Sloan, K. (2008). The expanding educational services sector: neoliberalism and the corporatization of curriculum at the local level in the US. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 40(5), 555-578.
- Smith, J. M., & Kovacs, P. E. (2011). The impact of standards-based reform on teachers: the case of 'No Child Left Behind'. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 17(2), 201-225.
- Sparks, D., & Malkus, N. (2015). *Public school teacher autonomy in the classroom across school years 2003-04, 2007-08, and 2011-12*. (NCES 2015-089). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Spillane, J. P. (2009). *Standards deviation: How schools misunderstand education policy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Spillane, J. P., & Kim, C. M. (2012). An exploratory analysis of formal school leaders' positioning in instructional advice and information networks in elementary schools. *American Journal of Education*, 119(1), 73-102.

- Spillane, J. P., Parise, L. M., & Sherer, J. Z. (2011). Organizational routines as coupling mechanisms policy, school administration, and the technical core. *American Educational Research Journal*, 48(3), 586-619.
- Spillane, J. P., Reiser, B. J., & Reimer, T. (2002). Policy implementation and cognition: Reframing and refocusing implementation research. *Review of Educational Research*, 72(3), 387-431.
- Stecher, B. M. (2002). Consequences of large-scale, high-stakes testing on school and classroom practice. In L.S. Hamilton, B.M. Stecher & S.P. Klein. *Making sense of test-based accountability in education* (79-100). Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Stecher, B. M., Epstein, S., Hamilton, L. S., Marsh, J. A., Robyn, A., McCombs, J. S., Russell, J., & Naftel, S. (2008). Pain and gain: Implementing NCLB in three states, 2004 – 2006. Santa Monica, CA: RAND. Retrieved from http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG784.pdf
- Stone-Johnson, C. (2014). Parallel professionalism in an era of standardisation. *Teachers and Teaching*, 20(1), 74-91.
- Sunderman, G., & Orfield, G. (2006). Domesticating a revolution: No Child Left Behind reforms and state administrative response. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(4), 526-556.
- Sunderman, G. L., Kim, J. S., & Orfield, G. (2005). *NCLB meets school realities: Lessons from the field*. Thousand Oakes, CA: Corwin Press.
- Sunderman, G. L., Tracey, C. A., Kim, J., & Orfield, G. (2004). *Listening to teachers: Classroom realities and No Child Left Behind*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University.
- Taubman, P. M. (2010). *Teaching by numbers: Deconstructing the discourse of standards and accountability in education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. (1999). Institutional logics and the historical contingency of power in organizations: Executive succession in the higher education publishing industry, 1958–1990. *American Journal of Sociology, 105*(3), 801-843.
- Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional logics. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin, & R. Suddaby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*, (99-128). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Thornton, P. H., Ocasio, W., & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure, and process*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Tyack, D. B., & Cuban, L. (1995). *Tinkering toward utopia: A century of public school reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Valli, L., & Buese, D. (2007). The changing roles of teachers in an era of high-stakes accountability. *American Educational Research Journal, 44*(3), 519-558.
- Vaughn, M. (2013). Examining teacher agency: Why did Les leave the building? *The New Educator, 9*(2), 119-134.
- Vogler, K. E. (2008). Comparing the impact of accountability examinations on Mississippi and Tennessee social studies teachers' instructional practices. *Educational Assessment, 13*(1), 1-32.
- Vogler, K. E., & Virtue, D. (2007). "Just the facts, ma'am": Teaching social studies in the era of standards and high-stakes testing. *The Social Studies, 98*(2), 54-58.
- Watanabe, M. (2007). Displaced teacher and state priorities in a high-stakes accountability context. *Educational Policy, 21*(2), 311-368.
- Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 1*-19.
- Weick, K. E. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- What Works Clearinghouse. (2016). Retrieved from <http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/Wwc/>
- White, K. W., & Rosenbaum, J. E. (2008). Inside the black box of accountability: How high-stakes accountability alters school culture and the classification and treatment of students and teachers. In A.R. Sadovnik, J.A. O'Day, G. W. Bohrnstedt, & K. M. Borman (Eds.), *No Child Left Behind and the Reduction of the Achievement Gap: Sociological Perspectives on Federal Educational Policy* (97-116). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wilkins, C. (2011). Professionalism and the post-performative teacher: New teachers reflect on autonomy and accountability in the English school system. *Professional Development in Education*, 37(3), 389-409.
- Wills, J. S., & Haymore Sandholtz, J. (2009). Constrained professionalism: Dilemmas of teaching in the face of test-based accountability. *The Teachers College Record*, 111(4), 1065-1114.
- Wong, H. K., & Wong, R. T. (1991). *The first days of school*. Sunnyvale, CA: Harry K. Wong Publications.
- Yin, R. (2011). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York: Guilford Press.
- 6+1 Trait Writing. Retrieved from <http://educationnorthwest.org/traits>

Appendix A Informed Consent Letter



Informed Consent Statement

The Department of Educational Leadership at the University of Kansas supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You may refuse to sign this form and not participate in this study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time. If you do withdraw from this study, it will not affect your relationship with this unit, the services it may provide to you, or the University of Kansas.

The purpose of this project is to examine patterns in teachers' conceptions of effective instruction and student performance.

You will be asked to participate in an interview that will last approximately 60 minutes. If you permit, your interview will be audio recorded. Only the researcher will have access to the recordings, which will be stored in a secured location; and they will be erased after the study is completed.

There are no anticipated risks associated with participation in this study. Benefits associated with this study are indirect in that the information you provide will add to the scholarly body of knowledge on the teaching profession as a whole.

Your name will not be associated in any publication or presentation with the information collected about you or with the research findings from this study. Instead, the researcher will use a study number or a pseudonym rather than your name. Your identifiable information will not be shared unless (a) it is required by law or university policy, or (b) you give written permission.

You are not required to sign this Consent and Authorization form and you may refuse to do so without affecting your right to any services you are receiving or may receive from the University of Kansas or to participate in any programs or events of the University of Kansas. However, if you refuse to sign, you cannot participate in this study.

If you cancel permission to use your information, the researchers will stop collecting additional information about you. However, the research team may use and disclose information that was gathered before they received your cancellation, as described above.

You can withdraw your consent at any time. Your participation is strictly voluntary. For any concerns or questions, you can contact me at smarten@ku.edu or at 785-393-3966, or my faculty advisor Dr. John Rury at jrury@ku.edu at 785-864-4458 at any time. I appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Sarah Marten
Ph.D. Candidate
smarten@ku.edu
785-393-3966

Joseph R. Pearson Hall - 1122 W. Campus Road - Room 421 - Lawrence, KS 66045-3101 - (785) 864-4458



KU Lawrence IRB # STUDY00001171 | Approval Period 8/26/2015

Appendix B Interview Protocol

Date:

Interviewee Code:

- First of all, let's go over the informed consent document for you to sign. [Go through each paragraph, highlighting the important information.]
- Audiotape – erased -- With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview—would you be comfortable with that? [Set up audiotape.]
- The purpose of this study is to examine historical patterns in teachers' conceptions of effective instruction and student performance. The questions are not meant to evaluate you or your teaching and won't be written up as such. I'm looking for patterns in the way teachers think about their work, so the patterns will be explained without judgment to individual teachers' decisions.
- Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary.
- You might need a break mid-way through.
- Some of your responses will be shorter or longer, so don't worry about that.
- Do you have any questions or concerns before we begin? Then with your permission let's begin the interview.

Orienting Questions. (Quickly)

What year did you begin teaching?

Would you mind sharing your age?

What grades, subjects and in what schools have you taught?

Grades?

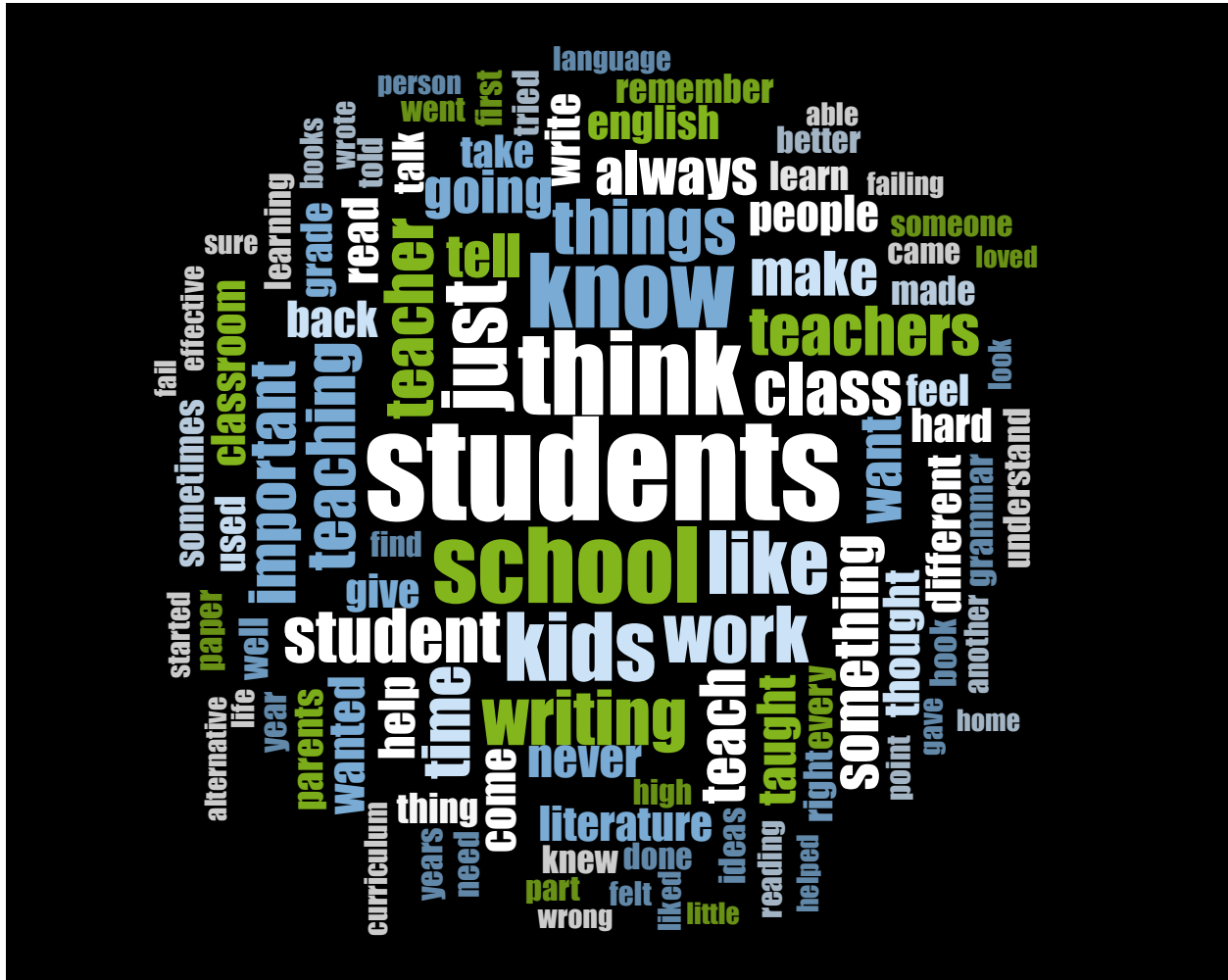
Subjects?

Schools?

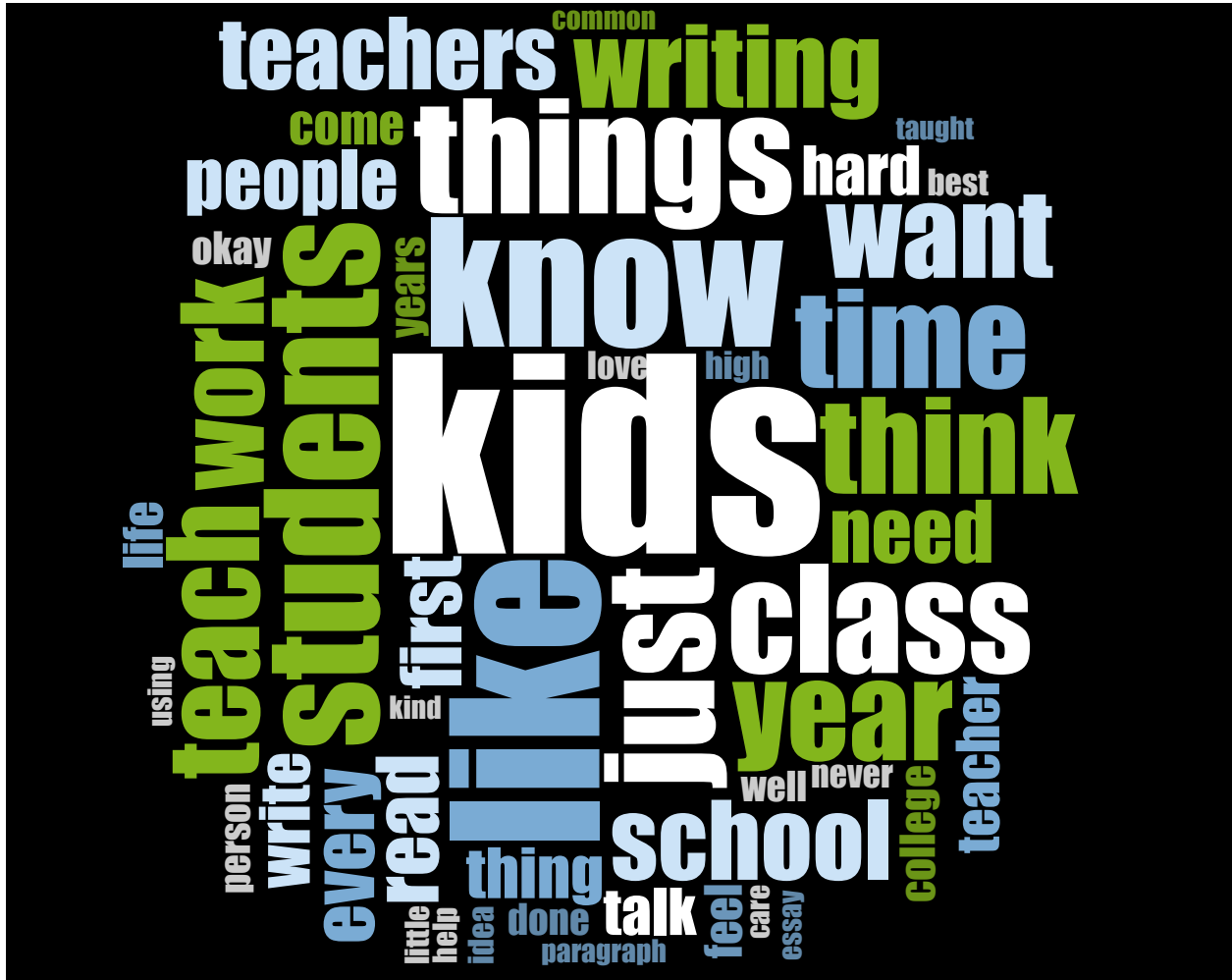
Can you think back to some of the main reasons you become a teacher?

1. If you were to write a teaching handbook, what sections would it contain?
2. Can you describe the process you use in deciding what to teach?
3. What are the major ways in which you tell whether you are doing the kind of job you want to do? What do you watch as indication of your effectiveness?
4. Can you think of one of the toughest concepts to teach and then describe how you go about teaching it?
5. When do you know a student is failing and how do you respond?
6. Can you tell me how you make sure a student is learning?
7. Think about one of your biggest successes as a teacher and try to describe what happened in as much detail as possible.
8. Of the various things you do as a teacher, which do you consider to be the most important?
9. What is the purpose of school?

Appendix C
Pre-NCLB Word Frequency Cloud



Appendix D
Post-NCLB Word Frequency Cloud



Appendix E

Summary of shifts in teachers’ values, interests, and preferences and the possible links to policy goals and priorities

Pre-NCLB Teacher “fair, organize, participate, respect, express, care”	Post-NCLB Teacher “differentiate, manage, engage, assess, apply, build relationships”	NCLB
Instruction		
Motivator	Manager	NCLB
Create conditions for students to feel comfortable expressing opinions in discussion and writing	Manage the classroom using strategies that insure students are engaged and applying targeted skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heavily promoted the use of strategies. An explicit goal of NCLB was “promoting schoolwide reform and ensuring the access of children to effective, <i>scientifically based instructional strategies</i> and challenging academic content.”
Participation is a means to improved reading, writing and thinking	Engagement is the means through which discrete knowledge and skills are transmitted to students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Because of the high-stakes, standards-based accountability environment, it became important to make sure students know discrete knowledge and skills for the test.
Fair and fun classroom	“Student-centered” strategies and differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heavily promoted the use of strategies. An explicit goal of NCLB was “promoting schoolwide reform and ensuring the access of children to effective, <i>scientifically based instructional strategies</i> and challenging academic content.”
Freedom to express opinions about literature and improve ability to communicate	Opportunity to meet and apply targets, goals, and skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focused on and prioritized academic assessments that “objectively measured academic achievement, knowledge, and skills.”
Grade for the purpose of getting to know students	Gather data to assess if students have applied targeted skills or mastered standards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Required states to set “challenging academic achievement standards that: describe two levels of high achievement (proficient and advanced) that determine how well children are mastering the material in the State academic content standards; and describe a third level of achievement (basic) to provide complete information about the progress of the lower-achieving children toward mastering the proficient and advanced levels of achievement.”
“Accept” failing students	“Investigate, justify, and document” failing students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mandated the public reporting of graduation rates disaggregated by subgroup. Required states to set annual measurable objectives that must be met to “ensure that all students will meet or exceed the State's proficient level of academic achievement on the State assessments within the State's timeline.” Required all schools to make adequate yearly progress for all subgroups. Prioritized the discovery of “factors affecting student achievement” and required states to

		coordinate and collaborate with agencies providing services to children, youth, and families, with respect to local educational agencies within the State that are identified under section 1116 and that request assistance with addressing major factors that have significantly affected the academic achievement of students in the local educational agency or schools served by such agency.”
	Difficulty incorporating technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted technology throughout the Act. “technology literacy” “integrating technology into curricula” “technology based teaching methods” “use of computer-related technology to enhance student learning”
Students		
Protégé	Product	NCLB
Mini-English teachers with analytical and communication capacities	College and career ready student equipped with skills to benefit their futures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provided optional indicators for state AYP reports were “changes in the percentages of students completing gifted and talented, advanced placement, and college preparatory courses.” • As part of the School Dropout Prevention Initiative, the Act promoted comprehensive reform approaches that developed “clear linkages to career skills and employment.”
When student failure was teacher failure it was characterized as the teacher not being able to get the student interested in school	When student failure was teacher failure, it was characterized as the teacher not doing enough to produce achievement in students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted professional development for failing schools that “directly addressed the academic achievement problem that caused the school to be identified for school improvement.” In other words, teachers were tasked with fixing the problem that led to low performance on academic assessments.
Failure was a choice	Failure was a result of complicated home lives, emotional issues or packed schedules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As part of the Act, states were required to determine, address, and track reasons for low performance of students. • Prioritized the discovery of “factors affecting student achievement” and required states to coordinate and collaborate with agencies providing services to children, youth, and families, with respect to local educational agencies within the State that are identified under section 1116 and that request assistance with addressing major factors that have significantly affected the academic achievement of students in the local educational agency or schools served by such agency.”
Less refined student labels	More standardized student labels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Required state to report assessment scores and “separate measurable annual objectives for continuous and substantial improvement for each of the following: The achievement of

		<p>all public elementary school and secondary students. The achievement of economically disadvantaged students; students from racial and ethnic groups; students with disabilities; and students with limited English proficiency.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Required states to produce Annual State Report cards with assessment data “disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, disability status, migrant status, English proficiency, and status as economically disadvantaged.”
Content		
Knowledge	Skills	NCLB
<p>Content drove skills --Whole novel --Classic texts and textbook --Composition and journals</p>	<p>Skills drove content --Important parts of novel --Relevant texts and supplemental materials, especially in the form of technology</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An explicit priority of NCLB was “ensuring that high-quality academic assessments, accountability systems, teacher preparation and training, curriculum, and instructional materials are aligned with challenging State academic standards so that students, teachers, parents, and administrators can measure progress against common expectations for student academic achievement.” • Required each state to “establish statewide annual measurable objectives, for mathematics and reading or language which identified a single minimum percentage of students who were required to meet or exceed the proficient level on the academic assessments that applied separately” to each subgroup. • Academic assessments were to “be consistent with widely accepted professional testing standards, objectively measure academic achievement, knowledge, and skills, and be tests that do not evaluate or assess personal or family beliefs and attitudes, or publicly disclose personally identifiable information; and enable itemized score analyses to be produced and reported to local educational agencies and schools, so that parents, teachers, principals, and administrators can interpret and address the specific academic needs of students as indicated by the students’ achievement on assessment items.”
<p>A deeper grasp of disciplinary knowledge to become better readers, writers, thinkers and communicators</p>	<p>Mastery and application of standards, skills to become better prepared for career and/or college (Advanced Placement, SAT, ACT, Argumentative Writing)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted “changes in percentages of students completing gifted and talented, advanced placement, and college preparatory courses” as an optional academic indicator. This priority was added to the educational environment. • Promoted the distribution of funds to build on

		<p>and increase “Advanced Placement Programs.” The number of students completing Advanced Placement classes was also provided as an optional indicator of progress for a state’s AYP report.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mandated that each state adopt “challenging academic content standards and challenging student academic achievement” that “encourage the teaching of advanced skills.” • Required student attainment of standards, proficiency of standards. • Hinged the policy’s effectiveness on academic assessments that “objectively measured academic achievement, knowledge, and skills.” • Encouraged states “to build on the many benefits of advanced placement programs for students, which benefits may include the acquisition of skills that are important to many employers, Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores that are 100 points above the national averages, and the achievement of better grades in secondary school and in college than the grades of students who have not participated in the programs”
History	Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted technology through Part D “Enhancing Education through Technology” “The primary goal of this part is to improve student academic achievement through the use of technology in elementary schools and secondary schools. The additional goals of this part are the following: “(A) To assist every student in crossing the digital divide by ensuring that every student is technologically literate by the time the student finishes the eighth grade, regardless of the student’s race, ethnicity, gender, family income, geographic location, or disability. “(B) To encourage the effective integration of technology resources and systems with teacher training and curriculum development to establish research-based instructional methods that can be widely implemented as best practices by State educational agencies and local educational agencies.” • Another major initiative was to “ensure that teachers are trained in the use of technology so that technology and applications of technology are effectively used in the classroom to improve teaching and learning in all curricula and academic subjects, as appropriate.”
	Feelings of anxiety and conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mandated the public reporting of graduation rates disaggregated by subgroup. • Required states to set annual measurable

		<p>objectives that must be met to “ensure that all students will meet or exceed the State's proficient level of academic achievement on the State assessments within the State's timeline.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Required all schools to make adequate yearly progress for all subgroups.• Allowed states to designate “Distinguished School” that demonstrated reduction in achievement gap or exceeded AYP.
--	--	---