Transgressive acts in an era of accountability: narratives of New Jersey's public school teachers

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TRANSGRESSIVE ACTS IN AN ERA OF ACCOUNTABILITY: NARRATIVES OF NEW JERSEY’S PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

By

Gary D. Scavette

A Dissertation

Submitted to the
Department of Educational Leadership
College of Education
In partial fulfillment of the requirement
For the Degree of
Doctor of Education
at
Rowan University
February 9, 2016

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Ane Turner Johnson, Ph.D.
Dedications

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my late brother, Daniel Scavette, who passed just months before I completed this work. Dan was a consistent presence throughout my life. He helped me to navigate around obstacles and maintain a straight course throughout all of my various participations, both good, and bad. It was Dan’s motivation that prompted me to first attend college so many years ago. Many of the successes that I have experienced are a consequence of the influence that my big brother had on my life.

This work is dedicated to others in my family, notably my children, Tony, Victoria, and Mason, who did their best to understand the significance of the many hours that I spent immersed in my studies. Of most importance, I dedicate this work to a beautiful, caring, and strong person. She is the one that inspires me to want to get better, who has unlimited faith in my abilities, and is always there for all of us, my wife, Carman. It was only through her enduring love and support that I was able to reach this point.
Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to my dissertation chair and teacher, Dr. Ane Johnson, for her tremendous influence over the past four years. Her high expectations challenged me academically and encouraged me to grow as a student, a researcher, and also, as a person. I will forever be thankful for the level of commitment and patience that she expressed along the continuum of my development. More than this, Dr. Johnson inspired me to find my voice, the same voice that will sustain me throughout the next phase of my life as a scholar, researcher, and writer. There can be no greater gift that a teacher may bestow upon a student.

Special thanks to:

Dr. Kim Clark, who served as a mentor and coach, at all the right times, throughout the dissertation process. Her own work as a researcher, writer, and speaker provided me a gold standard to strive toward.

Dr. JoAnn Manning for serving as my teacher, and later as an active member of the dissertation committee. Her expertise and quality of feedback have enhanced this dissertation.

Dr. Zeynep Isik-Ercan for, also, serving as an active member of the dissertation committee and contributing to the value of this document through her quality feedback.

The members of my dissertation advisee group who worked as a team to assist me in improving my work along the entire way.

My mother, Irene Scavette, who encouraged me throughout all phases of my work by reminding me of who I am and what I am capable of achieving.
Abstract

Gary D. Scavette
TRANSGRESSIVE ACTS IN AN ERA OF ACCOUNTABILITY: NARRATIVES OF NEW JERSEY’S PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS
2015-2016
Ane Turner Johnson Ph.D.
Doctor of Education

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate the transgressive responses that have emerged in the wake of AchieveNJ, New Jersey’s new teacher evaluation system. Ten teachers, each with five or more years of teaching experience, all of which had demonstrated manifestations of transgression, were selected from random schools throughout the state based upon surveyed response. Through the use of graphic elicitation and narrative interviews, the teachers in this study revealed a variety of responses ranging from open acts of defiance, to more subtle performances, enacted on the spot, while under the surveillance of inspectors. Findings suggest that the act of creating performances may contest the binary terms of compliance or resistance, as, from one point of view, this action serves to create a sense of teacher agency within a prescriptive context; however, from an alternate point of view, such fabrications may serve to simultaneously advance the self-interest of the teacher through the enterprising use of the instruments of performativity permitted by the new policy landscape. The data from this study gives way to a hybridized view of education within the context of performativity that permits the coexistence of both explanations and suggests the need for researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners to expand their focus of analysis when viewing the consequences of the performative agenda in public schools.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The 1980’s marked a significant change in American ideology catalyzed by widespread changes in economic policy. Economic frameworks favoring privatization and the liberalization of markets were created by global entities such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization, and the U.S. Treasury (Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2011; Goldstein & Chesky, 2011; Lakes & Carter, 2011). Fueled by the new ideology, the neoliberal agenda emerged. Under neoliberal stimulus, there was a shift in the social democratic ideal, placing the values of individual competition, consumerism, and consumption in the highest regard; far above the nation’s democratic promise that once assured representation and welfare to all (Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2011).

The rise of neoliberalism brought with it a new form of social imagery, one which permitted economic markets to influence that which is valued in society, economy, and culture (Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Couldry, 2010). What followed was a shifting emphasis away from social democratic values toward the values of entrepreneurial freedom, private property rights, and free trade relations (Hursh, 2007). With the neoliberal agenda in place, key public services agencies became challenged by the private sector which opened the door to a variety of corporate, business-like, values and imperatives. (Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2011).

Neoliberalism seeks to marginalize the social welfare systems of governments in favor of the belief that markets function most favorably without regulation (Apple, 2014; Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2009). The implied contract between the state and its citizens is thereby broken when many aspects of the welfare state such as social
security, Medicare, Medicaid, and public pensions are philosophically challenged (Giroux, 2009). As market values take the place of civic values, citizens are left in isolation to deal with their own private worries. Homelessness, poverty, unemployment, and alcoholism are no longer viewed as social issues, instead they become problems of the individual, and are dismissed as attributes of poor character or personal irresponsibility rather than a broader social problem (Giroux, 2009). With the dismantling of the public sector, the notion of “the public good” is largely determined by private enterprise which places an overwhelming emphasis on fiscal profit (Apple, 2014; Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2009). As individuals tend to their personal needs, and value such needs above that of society, they become autonomous entrepreneurs (Cassell & Nelson, 2013), or, as Foucault (1979) describes, they become transformed into equally competent, equally privileged “entrepreneurs of themselves” (p. 198).

Neoliberalism has permeated multiple dimensions of society through its disguise as a form of non-politics (Duggan, 2012). Endorsed as a way of being rational and universally desirable for economic expansion, neoliberal principles have often been presented as the only sensible alternative through well-funded and heavily advertised entities (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011). These principles, and the policies that stem from them, have reached an apex of acceptance and are considered “necessary, inevitable, and unquestionable” (Hursh, 2007, p. 498). Those who dominate economic relationships have had the most influence on creating the current neoliberal narrative. As the prevailing paradigm, neoliberalism is difficult to combat - augmenting this is its propagation by the powerful entities who benefit the most by its existence (Bourdieu, 1998). Consequently, there has been a growing divide between the rich and the poor (Berg & Ostry, 2011).
One social system that neoliberal policy has dramatically altered is public education. Neoliberalism has altered both the practice of teaching as well as what it means to be a teacher (Apple, 2014; Ball, 2003; Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2009). Apple (2014) sheds light on the consequence of this influence:

- Budget cuts have been pushed forward; jobs have been cut; attacks on educators at all levels, and on their autonomy and their organizations, gain steam: corporate models of competition, accountability, and measurement have been imposed: continual insecurity has become the norm. The loss of respect for the professionalism of educators is striking. (p. XIII)

Educational policies favoring standardized testing, accountability, competition, and privatization serve as evidence for the dominance of the neoliberal discourse (Hursh, 2007). As early as the 1983, with the dissemination of *A Nation at Risk*, schools began to bear the blame for economic problems in the United States (Hursh, 2011). The policies that would follow converged and sustained the prevailing rationale that it is the job of the public school to prepare workers to compete in a global workforce (Hursh, 2011).

Notwithstanding the challenges that teachers and schools face when performing the neoliberal agenda, the consequence of neoliberalism is actually on the learner. Multiple scholars contend that a quality education promotes democratic principles thereby empowering students to engage their world through a critical perspective (Abowitz, 2008; Apple, 2014; Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2009; Hursh, 2011).

Giroux (2009) posits:

- Schools are now predominately seen as a private asset rather than a public good, teachers are increasingly being eliminated from the language of educational
reform (except as test preparers), and students seem to be valued more as consumers and test takers than they do as potential critical citizens. (p.1)

Under the neoliberal paradigm the future generation may find it difficult to mutually produce their own sense of agency through discourse, community participation, and public stories (Giroux, 2009). Consequently, their culture is produced for them by the market, and they have been transformed to thoughtlessly and instinctively consume it. The market, however, offers little to address respect, compassion, decency, and ethics. Nor can it deal with poverty, inequality, or civil rights issues. Public schools, once thought of as an arena to nurture critical discourse, civic engagement, and the promises of a democratic society, have become targets under the neoliberal paradigm (Abowitz, 2008; Apple, 2014; Cassell & Nelson, 2013; Giroux, 2009; Hursh, 2011).

**The Neoliberal Influence on Global Educational Systems**

Market priorities create the need for managers and managerial processes within worldwide educational contexts. These forces, motivated by competition and governmental target-setting, have the consequence of reorienting the work of teachers toward the needs of international competition (Apple, 2014; Ball, 2003; Giroux, 2011; Lakes & Carter, 2011). There is a flood of educational policy mandates that permeate the globe with inter-related ideas that serve to re-orient education and align it with these tenets (Ball, 2013). The public finds these new educational mandates attractive as they serve to align, ostensibly, public sector norms with the methods, culture, and ethical systems of the private sector (Ball, 2013; Giroux, 2011). In this manner, education, which was once a public welfare tradition, is replaced by “policy technologies” that pave the way for the privatization of public services (Ball, 2003, p. 216).
Policy Technologies

Ball (2013) describes policy technologies as involving “the calculated deployment of forms of organization and procedures, and disciplines or bodies of knowledge, to organize human forces and capabilities into functioning systems.” (p. 48). The technologies include elements that involve relationships, procedures for motivation, change mechanisms, and responsibilities. Ball (2013) identifies three primary policy technologies: “the market” (p. 52), “managerialism” (p. 55), and “performativity” (p. 57). Based on the work of Lyotard (1984), these policy technologies are situated as the reformation of identity, a shift in relationships, and new values for what it means to teach and be a teacher (Ball, 2013).

The market. Brought forth through the introduction of competition into the public sector, the market positions schools to function as separate business-like entities that compete to bring about the most desirable outcome (Ball, 2013). That which is desired, under the neoliberal agenda, manifests as high performance on standardized tests (Burch, 2009; Giroux, 2011; Hursh, 2007; Kumashiro, 2008). Testing, which is promoted as a means to assess the quality of students, teachers, and schools, provides objective information regarding student learning that parents may use to inform choices about the schools where they will send their children (Hursh, 2007). The market is created and nurtured through governmental legislation in concert with school policies such as that which provides families the choice for where they send their children (Ball, 2013; Hursh, 2007). This commodification of education, nonexistent prior to neoliberal influence, perpetuates a paradigm shift from education as a public service, to education as a choice commodity (Giroux, 2011).
The market opens the door for privatization. As more schools struggle to increase test scores, there becomes new opportunity for entrepreneurial profit making such as entities that sell expertise, tutoring services, curricula, tests, and managerial resources to underperforming schools (Burch, 2009). Within this trend of “new privatization” firms draw upon political networks to become suppliers to school systems for a large array of educational services and products (Burch, 2009, p. 1). In this manner, public school funds are being used to benefit private sector entities through the products and services they provide. These services include, but are not limited to, technologies for storing and retrieving test data, remedial instruction, online instructional programs, curriculum, and online school management systems (Burch, 2009).

Managerialism. With its roots embedded in corporate culture, *managerialism* transforms the role of school leader as instructional leader, to school leader as compliance manager. There is a shift from professional values to entrepreneurial competitive values (Ball, 2013). Emphasis is placed on creating mechanisms of surveillance to closely monitor the production of teachers. The new school manager is consumed with measuring the behavior of teachers and comparing it to an institutionally accepted norm (Ball, 2013).

An abundance of surveillance mechanisms exist for monitoring teacher productivity. Educational managers are able to oversee and ensure that teachers are planning lessons that are in alignment with prescriptive content standards through carefully reviewing lesson plans. This process has become perfected in an era of computer technology and further supported by private entities that profit from the development of products that map teacher lessons with prescribed curriculum
standards (Burch, 2009). Additionally, teachers’ classroom practices and behaviors are closely monitored through a variety of technologies again made possible by an expanding presence of private entrepreneurs who market teacher observation tools, trainings, and supportive technologies (Burch, 2009). These technologies are designed to support educational managers as they rate a teacher’s observed instructional behaviors against a prescriptive list of standards that purportedly constitute effective practice (Hallinger, Heck, & Murphy, 2014). Some instruments are designed to quantitatively encapsulate a teacher’s effectiveness through assigning a numerical value that correlates to the ability of the teacher to adhere to the prescriptive standards identified in the model. Finally, surveys completed by both parents and students, serve as another mechanism whereby educational managers can compile data regarding a teacher’s practice.

With managerialism, of key importance to the prosperity of the school is the educational manager’s ability to create a culture where teachers feel accountable and personally invested in the norms and values of the school. The emphasis is on efficiency and effectiveness. Of value is that which works best to create higher production (Ball, 2003). Within the educational realm, production myopically masquerades as test scores on standardized exams (Ball, 2013; Giroux, 2009).

Performativity. Ball (2013) describes *performativity* as “a regime of accountability that employs judgments, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition, and change” (p. 57). Performances may be used to characterize the quality, value, or worth of an individual or an organization (Ball, 2003). Often the quality of a teacher is gauged by their ability to raise standardized test scores which are strategically aligned to a model curriculum (Kumashiro, Ayers, & Quinn, 2012). Ultimately the
highest performers are those who are able to contribute the most skills indispensable to
the system (Lyotard, 1984; Marshall, 1999).

In the practice of teaching, the call for accountability is expressed through a
variety of activities such as pre-observations, post-observations, annual reviews, and data
conferences. For each teacher, databases are maintained that house student test data,
student and parent surveys, evaluations, and anecdotal comments made by educational
managers past and present. The data, ultimately used as a basis of comparison for the
value or worth of the teacher, may be used to inform decisions of retention or termination
(New Jersey Department of Education [NJDOE], 2014d).

The regimen of accountability represents an enormous commitment of resources
for all involved. Educational managers, under increased demands of compliance, perform
more classroom observations, pre-conferences, post-conferences, data conferences, and
annual evaluations. Similarly, teachers and students devote increasing amounts of
instructional time to performance benchmarks such as standardized tests and pre-test
activities designed to enhance their performance on these benchmarks (Hursh, 2007).
Additional personnel and financial resources are called into play to manage the ever-
growing body of data that is generated under the pressures of compliance. Students,
treated as the consumer under the neoliberal paradigm, are transformed into highly
skilled test takers; what Giroux (2011) describes as “cheerful robots” (p. 3) as they
function as a cog in the wheel of the accountability continuum for teachers and schools.
Ultimately, the pressures of performativity (re)form the day-to-day practice of what it
means to be a teacher, what it means to be a learner, and the role of the school
administrator (Ball, 2003; Giroux, 2011).
Initiatives emphasizing high stakes exams and accountability, often promoted as a means to increase fairness to all, should be questioned. Evidence suggests that some educational systems, such as that of the United States, are actually becoming more, not less, unequal, with higher dropout rates for low income students and students of color (Kozol, 2006). Additionally, under these reform initiatives, students are more likely to be subjected to curricula and pedagogy that is less demanding (Economic Policy Institute, 2010; Milner, 2013; The Center for Comprehensive School Reform and Improvement, 2006). Hursh (2011) argues that such policies are less about decreasing achievement gaps than they are for introducing market-based systems into education.

The “achievement gap”, referring to disproportions in testing scores among recent immigrants and White, Latino and White, and African American and White students, is a foundational topic of discussion throughout educational reform contexts in the United States. Ladson-Billings (2006) suggests that a persistent focus on the achievement gap within the confines of public education is somewhat shortsighted and may only serve to advance short term solutions, forsaking the more insidious long term problems that have persisted for many years. She posits that the achievement disparities in schools are a manifestation of much larger problems and coins the term “education debt” (p. 3) to create analogy with the term national debt. The education debt, Ladson-Billings suggests, transcends historic, sociopolitical, economic, and moral domains (2006). Subsequently, when the full magnitude of the problem is scrutinized it is evident that there are far greater inequalities that must be ameliorated before the achievement gap narrows.

Excessive focus on basic math and reading scores for the purpose of increasing
standardized test scores can lead to a narrowing of the curriculum to only focus on those 
skills and competencies required for test performance (Economic Policy Institute, 2010; 
Milner, 2013). Students of families with low socioeconomic status may already lack an 
exposure to a broad array of experiences due to low resources. For these students, who 
may not be otherwise getting an authentic education outside of the classroom, taking time 
away from social studies, science, and the arts can have significant long term effects on 
learning (Milner, 2013; The Center for Comprehensive School Reform and Improvement, 
2006).

The connection between teacher evaluation, sanctions, and test scores can 
discourage teachers from wanting to work in schools with the neediest students. Even 
when statistical methods are used to adjust to student demographic factors, teachers have 
been found to receive lower effectiveness scores when they teach special education, new 
language learners, and low income students when compared to those students with higher 
educational advantage (Economic Policy Institute, 2010). Consequently, surveys have 
shown that teacher attrition and demoralization is increased in high-need schools when 
test-based accountability efforts are in place (Economic Policy Institute, 2010).

**Governance in America’s Public Schools**

America’s schools, historically viewed as a solution to social inequalities, have 
been greatly influenced by neoliberal politics (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011). Educational 
policies such as No Child Left Behind (NCLB), Race to the Top, and various science 
technology engineering and mathematics (STEM) initiatives, as proposed, present market 
solutions to America’s failing schools (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011). The general public 
most commonly perceives what teachers teach, and how they teach it, as the problem
in education today (Kumashiro et al., 2012). This has opened the door for intense levels of standardization both in curriculum as well as pedagogical practice.

Those who are most distanced from education wield the greatest power for making educational decisions under today’s model of governance in America’s schools (Cuban, 2004). Federal and state-level politicians advance their political careers through the adoption of market driven mandates that they espouse to be the cure-all for America’s failing schools. These mandates often serve to disempower those who are, perhaps, best suited for making educational decisions by convincing Americans that authority must be shifted away from districts and placed into the hands of federal and state control. Ultimately, this shift in power from the local level to that of the state and federal government creates a condition whereby districts, schools, administrators, and teachers are left out of the decision making process.

The 10th Amendment of the United States Constitution explicitly provides states with power over their educational systems; however, in practice, power follows the money (Ryan, 2004). Through the funding of initiatives, Congress exerts significant control over education. While education may not appear in federal law, education has always been used as a system to achieve social goals (Conley, 2003). Many of these goals are funded through federal grants. As federal reform initiatives grant money to states, federal regulatory forces gain appointment at the state level for the purpose of controlling the distribution of funds. A cascading effect follows where state legislatures begin to control school boards that ultimately oversee the compliance of individual schools with the criteria set forth in the grants. At the district level there is expansion in the central office to accommodate federal and state categorical programs (Hill, 2004). In this
manner, a bureaucracy of compliance pervades education that virtually reduces boards of education, superintendents, and schools into becoming compliance managers (Hill, 2004). The words of the 10th Amendment may create the illusion that we are free to control education at the local level, yet it is clearly as Ryan describes, a “paper tiger” (2004, p. 42).

The majority of Americans mistakenly believe that the bulk of the decisions made in education rest with local school boards (Hill, 2004). However, the autonomy to make major educational decisions has been nearly removed at the district and school levels (Kirst, 2004). Ultimately, there is a growing gap between those who make policy and those who are responsible for the results (Hill, 2004; Kirst, 2004). This ambiguity relative to determining “who’s in charge” has created a safe platform whereby politicians and special interest groups may espouse their schemes for how they will ameliorate the problems that exist in America through the next educational reform mandate or standardized curriculum. Finn and Petrilli (2013) describe the reality that exists today by identifying that there are “too many cooks, and too many kitchens” (p. 32), illuminating the fact that educational policy decisions are made in a multitude of different places, each with some capacity to create change. However, they identify that each level has an ever greater capacity to block such changes whereby nobody is really in charge (Finn & Petrilli, 2013). Our current system of governance has relinquished the autonomy of local systems in crafting educational decisions. School officials and principals have taken more of a managerial stance with respect to policy rather than a leadership role in its design (Kirst, 2004).
Educational Climate in New Jersey

Property taxes in New Jersey are among some of the highest in the nation (Tax-Rates.org, 2016). The private sector has experienced pay cuts, lay-offs, and job loss. At a time when New Jersey citizens need economic relief, gubernatorial candidate Chris Christie emerges and advances his political platform through his plans to cut back spending, a stance that edged his victory at his election into office in 2009. Encapsulating the governor’s common-sense approach to ameliorating the tumultuous economic conditions experienced by New Jersey residents was an emphasis on using private sector values in the public sector (Spina, 2011). Espousing his ideals that educational reform is the key to repairing a broken economy, Christie asserts that New Jersey’s schools are failing and signed into action multiple pieces of legislation that attempted to overhaul the educational system (Spina, 2011). In challenging economic times the private sector has little sympathy for enhancing public employee pay raises, preserving pension systems, or lay-offs (Spina, 2011). Fueled by a news media that commonly perpetuates false equivalencies through framing reform initiatives through the threat of dramatic economic consequences (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011), Christie was able to dramatically alter the educational landscape in New Jersey. In a very short time, Christie was successful in freezing school aid, cutting back the school funding formula, and challenging the state’s teacher unions (Spina, 2011). He used multiple media sources to perpetuate the crisis of New Jersey’s schools as he enacted, what appeared to be, a common sense approach to granting New Jersey residents tax relief (Spina, 2011).
Policy Technologies in New Jersey’s Public Schools

On August 6, 2012, Governor Christie, after receiving unanimous legislative support, signed into law the “Teacher Effectiveness and Accountability Act for the Children of New Jersey (2014)” (TEACHNJ) (NJDOE, 2014d). The core of the legislation is focused upon reforming the process of earning and maintaining tenure. Tenure decisions are now based upon multiple measures of student achievement and by teacher practices that are informed by new evaluation procedures. Additionally, the legislation shortens the tenure hearing process and makes it less costly. For teachers, related tenure decisions are based upon the outcome of summative ratings. Should a teacher receive a rating of “ineffective” or “partially effective” in two consecutive summative annual evaluations, that teacher will be charged with inefficiency and will likely suffer job loss (NJDOE, 2014d).

“AchieveNJ” represents the teacher evaluation component of the tenure reform legislation found in the enactment of TEACHNJ (NJDOE, 2014c). It consists of two primary components: the teacher practice, and the student achievement components. The teacher practice component is based upon a regimen of systematic analytical classroom observations culminating in quantitative measurements that seek to numerically encapsulate a teacher’s pedagogical practice. The student achievement component is measured through student growth objectives (SGOs) and/or student growth percentiles (SGPs) (NJDOE, 2014c). Both SGOs and SGPs rely upon student achievement as a means to evaluate a teacher’s performance. Both the teacher practice component, as quantified through multiple observations/evaluations, and the student achievement component, as quantified through either SGOs or SGPs, are weighted and combined to
produce a teacher’s final summative teacher effectiveness rating. Presently, the teacher practice component constitutes between 70 and 80 percent of the teacher’s summative rating with the balance of the weighing determined by the SGO and/or SGP score (NJDOE, 2014c). The sections to follow will more thoroughly address each of these policy technologies as they are found in New Jersey.

**New Jersey’s managerialism and mechanisms of surveillance.** The teacher practice component of AchieveNJ is based upon a minimum of three observations using a state-approved research based instrument (NJDOE, 2014c). A post-conference between the teacher and observer is required following each observation. Both observers and teachers are trained in the use of the state-approved evaluation instrument. Evaluation instruments help to guide observers as they identify key components of effective teaching (NJDOE, 2014c). The new generation of evaluation systems, produced by a variety of independent entities, include teacher evaluation rubrics that are strategically aligned to a variety of teaching standards and indicators proposed to correlate with effective practice (Hallinger et al., 2014).

The increased emphasis on surveillance in concert with a new institutionally accepted “checklist” for what constitutes effective teaching can create great dissonance among teachers should personal beliefs and values conflict with that which is newly prescribed. Ball (2003) describes the conflict between “the teacher’s soul and the terror’s of performativity.” (p. 216)

The ground of such struggles is often highly personal. Expressed in the lexicons of belief and commitment, service and even love, and of mental and emotional well-being. The struggles are often internalized and set the care of self against
duty to others. (Ball, 2013, p.216)

**New Jersey’s instruments of performativity.** SGOs represent a long-term goal that teachers set for their students. The goals must be specific and measurable, aligned to New Jersey’s curriculum standards, and must be measured between two points in time (NJDOE, 2014c). The goals are developed in collaboration with the school’s principal who ultimately makes the decision relative to the suitability of the SGO. Artifacts that may be used for SGOs include portfolios, performance assessments, benchmark assessments, finals, and program-based assessments (NJDOE, 2014c).

In some subject areas that are already subjected to standardized tests, teachers are also evaluated based upon SGPs. SGPs are designed to use the results from standardized tests to measure the progress of a student in a given year (NJDOE, 2014c). Presently, students in grades four through eight take state standardized assessments in New Jersey. Subsequently, teachers who teach students within these grade levels will be evaluated through the use of an SGP and SGO while others teaching non-tested subjects will be evaluated through the use of SGOs.

New Jersey is experiencing a transition in both its content standards as well as the means through which students display proficiency in those standards. In 2010, New Jersey adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) along with 45 other states. The standards were designed to ensure that all graduating students are college and career ready by aligning learned skills and knowledge with that which is valued by employers and institutions of higher education (NJDOE, 2014a). Presently, the CCSS define grade level expectations from kindergarten through high school in the content areas of English language arts and mathematics.
Accompanying the CCSS is a new assessment developed by the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Career (PARCC). PARCC is funded through a 186 million dollar grant from the United States Department of Education Race to the Top Assessment Competition (NJDOE, 2014b). In NJ, the PARCC assessment replaced existing statewide assessments such as the New Jersey Assessment of Skills and Knowledge (NJASK) and the High School Proficiency Assessment (HSPA) in 2014-2015. The PARCC is aligned to the CCSS; therefore, beginning in 2014-2015 all students in grades three through eleven were tested in the areas of English language arts and mathematics. PARCC assessments are computer-based and designed to be administered multiple times in the course of a school year (NJDOE, 2014b). In a 2011 memo from the past acting commissioner of education to chief school administrators and charter school lead persons, acting commissioner Cerf (2011) identified multiple reasons why the State of New Jersey chose the PARCC assessments. Among them, Cerf (2011) described an accountability system inherent in PARCC that includes four assessments throughout the year that will be cumulatively weighed to contribute to a teacher’s summative accountability score. Additionally, Cerf (2011) identified that the PARCC partnership will ease comparisons of student performances across cooperating states.

The CCSS, and the accompanying instruments that measure student progress toward them, are under intense scrutiny by many states. In New Jersey a task force has been created to study the effectiveness of the standards and the aligned tests which are considered to be in flux (Bidwell, 2014). A new national movement to “opt-out” of standardized testing arises from the intense scrutiny among parents. The opt-out has become so commonplace in New Jersey that lawmakers approved a bill to
accommodate parents who opt out of testing by providing alternative activities for their children (Wallace, 2015).

**Collective effect of policy technologies in New Jersey’s public schools.** The instruments of performativity in combination with the mechanisms of management and surveillance that support them, function to render education as a commodity rather than a public good (Ball, 2013; Giroux, 2011). They work in concert with one another to (re)form the work of individual practitioners, groups, and entire organizations through targeting self-esteem, values, purpose, and a common notion of what constitutes good practice (Ball, 2013). They change the meaning of social relationships and provide “a new language, a new set of incentives and disciplines, and a new set of roles, positions, and identities within which what it means to be a teacher, student/learner, parent” are transformed (Ball, 2013, p. 49). The instruments of performativity either exclude or greatly marginalize existing roles, loyalties, and subjectivities, ultimately changing that which is deemed important, valuable, and necessary (Ball, 2013). While the future of education may seem uncertain under the policy technologies in place in New Jersey’s public schools, private entities offering test preparation materials, new mechanisms and models of surveillance, new ways of managing data, and new educational options, for what are now determined to be failing schools, are likely to amass great profit (Burch, 2009).

**Teachers & Teaching in the Neoliberal Environment**

Ball (2003) describes the struggles that teachers encounter when their values are challenged by policy technologies. Teachers mourn the loss of their creativity, professional integrity, and the fun that once embodied the profession of teaching. They
begin to question that which is valued and to what extent their efforts bear results when their world becomes an array of figures and comparisons. Faced with the pressures of performativity, teachers wonder if their actions may be justified because it is what they believe in, what they should be doing, or if the actions just make them look good (Ball, 2003). As teachers attempt to negotiate a professional identity, they are confounded with the possibility that they are the kind of teacher whose sole purpose is to produce performances. “A kind of values schizophrenia is experienced by individual teachers where commitment, judgment and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance” (Ball, 2003, p. 221).

The way that teachers handle reform initiatives alters the nature of the relationships that are formed with students and colleagues (Mausethagen, 2013). With an intense focus on test preparation, teachers find it increasingly difficult to maintain the autonomy necessary to tailor instruction to unique student needs (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Additionally, there is less time to establish the meaningful and caring relationships with students that are critical to learning (Day, 2002; Lasky, 2005). These relationships are not only paramount to student learning, they also exert a powerful influence on teachers’ self-efficacy, commitment, and perceived effectiveness (Gu & Day, 2007). In an extreme case, Elstad (2009) found that schools that were highlighted by media as underperforming placed teachers under such intense pressure for student test performance that they formed demanding relationships with students.

Peer relationships are also affected when the emphasis is on test performance. The nature of these relationships is, however, context specific (Mausethagen, 2013). Grant (2000) found that collegial relationships where enhanced in an atmosphere of
standardized testing. Both peer-to-peer and principal-to-teacher collaboration was enhanced when testing data was used to inform discussions and collaborative interventions influencing student learning (Grant, 2000). Enhanced collaboration is not always the case however. Within the context created by an authoritative school leader exercising management practices driven by accountability, a staff may be driven to distress and turmoil (Hallett, 2010). In some contexts, a divide is created between school leaders and teachers where they once functioned as a partnership. Relationships may become “subjugative, contrived, and de-personalized” (Jeffrey, 2002, p. 1).

A teacher’s professional identity may shift due to contextual changes such as that created by reform initiatives (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005). This can marginalize commitment to the practice of teaching (Day et al., 2005). Lasky (2005) focused upon teachers’ professional identity, sense of purpose, and agency during a period of reform and concluded that all three factors are mediated within the context of reform; however, a teacher’s sense of purpose and professional identity is largely shaped by experiences that occur in their younger years implying cause for the resistance that may be encountered by veteran teachers in the wake of new reform initiatives.

Resistance to prescriptive policies and mandates manifest in a variety of different behaviors and subsequent consequences for teachers. This opposition may be rooted in professional principles rather than undisciplined resistance or psychological deficits (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). If a prescribed practice violates a teacher’s concept of teaching and professionalism, resistance may follow. Achinstein and Ogawa (2006) conclude that such principled resistance is congruent with a teacher’s widely shared conceptions of teaching and professionalism, which often aligns with high quality and
reflective teaching practice.

Teacher have been shown to transgress prescriptive curricula in an effort to retain agency and perceived efficacy in the classroom (Sonu, 2012). Behind closed doors individuals will speak back to the structures that they find to be oppressive and in turn, produce spaces in which to release frustration. It is in this manner, outside of the eyes and ears of administrators, that these individuals will refuse to submit to the absolutes reproduced by the hegemony (Sonu, 2012). Ultimately, these actions may serve to reframe agency.

**Problem Statement**

Standardization and accountability represent the educational imperative for the 21st Century in America’s public schools. Neoliberal market values masquerading as test performances, quantitative teacher performance ratings, and prescriptive content standards have pervaded schools placing an inescapable grip on teachers, students, and administrators alike. Consequently, the practice of teaching, learning, and leading schools in New Jersey today is considerably different than it was prior to TEACHNJ and subsequently AchieveNJ.

Reform initiatives may catalyze a variety of responses among teachers. Under increasing pressure to (re)form professional identity teachers may experience marginalized commitment and exhibit signs of resistance as they call into question that which is valued in education and compare it to deeply held notions of professionalism and quality practice (Ball, 2003). These responses may affect relationships formed with peers, administrators, and students.

AchieveNJ, implemented in 2013, has created perturbations that reverberate
throughout every level of public education. This jolt to the system could lead to revolutionary change as the impositions have clearly dismantled the inertial balance of New Jersey’s public schools (Burke, 2011; Kezar, 2001). In the wake of this phenomenon, it is important to understand the transgressions that may emerge as teachers, in an effort to cling to an autonomous self, disobey the mandates through acts of superficial implementation and game-playing as they create illusions of compliance.

**Purpose of the Research**

The purpose of this qualitative narrative research was to capture the experience of professional practice of New Jersey public school teachers as they shared stories of their teaching practice, before, during, and after the implementation of the AchieveNJ mandates. Through the analysis of teachers’ narratives this study sought to elucidate the contestations that emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the parameters of performativity prescribed through AchieveNJ. Emphasis was placed upon those transgressive responses that emanate from the dialogical space between a teacher’s personal self-enduring concept of identity and that which is socially produced through the policy technologies of marketization, managerialism, and performativity as outlined by Ball (2013).

**Research Questions**

Four research questions guided the exploration of teacher experiences and the acts of transgression that may have arisen from the intersection of identity and policy technologies:

1. How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?
2. How have teacher’s professional relationships changed as a result of
AchieveNJ?

3. What transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ?

4. What motivates transgressive responses?

Definition of Key Terms

A variety of essential terms, not previously defined, were used throughout this study. They are defined in this section.

**Transgression.** Transgression will be defined as an act, or instance of transgressing as infringement or violation of a law, command, or duty. This constitutes crossing a line (Foucault, 1977). Within the context of this study, transgression will be broadly defined as an act against a code of conduct for the purpose of avoidance, subversion, or modification; rituals and performances enacted for the purpose of “gaming the system” thereby creating illusions of compliance.

**Identity.** Identity will be defined as an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple “I” positions in such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one’s working life (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).

**Intersection.** Intersection is broadly defined for this study as a theoretical phenomenon where a socially/institutionally constructed and imposed identity superimposes, in either a constructive or destructive manner, with an individual’s coherent, and consistent sense of self (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).
**Teacher narratives.** Teacher narratives will be defined as stories that are constructed in a sequential consequential manner to convey meaning based upon spoken, written, and visual materials (Riessman, 2007).

**Dialogical spaces.** This will be defined as the theoretical divide between an individual’s multiple, discontinuous, and socially contrived sense of identity and that which is developed through unity, continuity, and individual description (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).

**Theoretical Framework**

In an effort to elucidate teacher experiences as they attempted to negotiate and maintain a self-identity in a rapidly changing educational context, a dialogical lens was used, as suggested by Akkerman and Meijer (2011), for a deep analysis of the contestations that emerged in the space between the dialogic of self and social context. Additionally, I relied upon decades of research summarized by Geert Kelchtermans (2009) in his “personal interpretive framework” for my analysis of participant texts. Kelchtermans describes the personal interpretive framework as “a set of cognitions, of mental representations through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it, and act in it” (2009, p. 260). The sections that follow highlight the guiding principles associated with these frameworks.

**Akkerman and Meijer’s dialogical approach to teacher identity.** A postmodern lens to understanding identity reveals repetitive themes. Identity is multiple, identity is discontinuous, and identity is social in nature (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Such a perspective allows us to recognize that identity is consistently shifting relative to time and context. In opposition to multiplicity, discontinuity, and the social nature of
identity, is unity, continuity, and individual description. It is here, in consideration of the counterpart to postmodern description, that Akkerman and Meijer (2011) re-introduce a modern perspective to understanding identity. The modern perspective asserts that identity is found within oneself and is therefore unique to the individual.

Akkerman and Meijer (2011) assert that it is necessary to embrace both modern and postmodern perspectives in order to adequately understand teacher identity. A postmodern decentered approach alone would not account for those who maintain individuality and uniqueness independent of their context. Additionally, such a uniparadigmatic stance would fail to develop an explanation for how individuals can maintain a sense of self through the passage of time (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).

Akkerman and Meijer (2011) define teacher identity in the following way:

*Being someone who teaches is an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple I-positions is such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one’s working life.* (p. 315)

A dialogical approach to identity can be especially valuable because it characterizes identity as both unitary and multiple, individual and social, and both continuous and discontinuous. Such an emphasis embraces both modern and postmodern perspectives.

**Kelchtermans’s personal interpretive framework.** Kelchtermans (2009) calls the personal interpretive framework “a set of cognitions, of mental representations through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it, and act in it” (p. 260). Kelchtermans (2009) posits that the framework guides teachers’ interpretations and actions within a given context. He places particular emphasis on the meaningful sense
making interactions that are coproduced along with the context, and punctuates that the personal interpretive framework serves as both a condition for and a result of an interaction (Kelchtermans, 2009).

**Self-understanding.** Kelchtermans (2009) coins the term “self-understanding” (p. 261) to encapsulate the first domain of the personal interpretive framework. This domain addresses the teacher’s conception of self. The product of self emerges at a given instant of time but is it is the result of an ongoing process as an individual attempts to make sense of their context (Kelchtermans, 2009). He validates the use of a narrative approach to elucidate a teacher’s self-understanding as he implies that “self” emerges through the act of story telling. Kelchtermans (2009) represents five components of his self-understanding domain. They are: self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, task perception, and future perspective.

**Subjective educational theory.** This second domain of Kelchtermans’s (2009) personal interpretive framework is closely interwoven with a teacher’s self-understanding. The subjective educational theory refers to the personal system of knowledge and beliefs that the teacher brings with them to the job. It serves as the basis for their professional knowledge and beliefs. Knowledge may come from past experiences and formal teacher training. Beliefs are more personal. They refer to the acquisition of unique experiences over the full term of one’s career. Ultimately, a teacher’s cumulative knowledge and beliefs influence the way that they will deal with situations on a day-to-day basis. Kelchtermans’s (2009) posits that teachers must first judge and then deliberate on situations that arise in the context of the teaching practice. The teacher’s subjective educational theory is what guides their actions.
Efficacy of Approach

The policy technologies encapsulated under AchieveNJ, like other neoliberal reform initiatives, (re)form the practice of teaching and what it means to be a teacher (Ball, 2013; Giroux, 2011). Subsequently, using a lens such as that proposed by Akkerman and Meijer (2011) as well as Kelchtermans (2009) to focus upon the dialogic of identity, teacher self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, task perception, and future perspective proved to be valuable in understanding the transgressions that arose as teachers experienced the various “terrors” of performativity associated with AchieveNJ (Ball, 2013, p. 57).

Significance of Study

The findings from this study have implications for research, policy, and practice. By engaging a deeper understanding of the transgressive responses that emanate from the context of reform, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers can mobilize varied perspectives and stimulate discourse that may result in more effective approaches for initiating change. Additionally, an act of transgression may be viewed as an attempt to disempower the dominant regime, exposing multiple conduits through which researchers, policymakers, and practitioners may view hidden power relationships, counter agendas, and other manifestations characteristic of a populace that refuses to submit to subjugation.

Research. The findings from this study may benefit researchers by providing a sociocultural lens for viewing those forces that shape teacher agency within a context of accelerated educational reform. This study illuminated the mechanisms that teachers develop to transgress, escape, or subvert prescriptive mandates thereby providing a
catalyst for additional studies, notably those concerned with unearthing hidden power relations and counter agendas. Finally, the findings may identify the need for additional research into the area of teacher identity, teacher emotions, and the consequences of top-down policy implementation on teachers’ notions of professionalism.

**Policy.** This study may engage debate over policy reform initiatives that favor managerialism over those which promote teacher autonomy, agency, and professionalism, thereby catalyzing the need for additional policy development. In particular, it may suggest the need for policies that involve the teacher as a transformative intellectual and subsequent vector of change within the performative landscape of practice. In this way, teachers could be free to carve out spaces for themselves within the current reform context and possibly impose their own metric of calculation, one that favors authenticity of practice and autonomy, to be factored in among other metrics that serve to quantitatively encapsulate the practice of teaching. Such policies, favoring teacher leadership, function to give the teacher “a seat at the table” in crafting change an ultimately implicate them as a part of the solution rather than a part of the problem.

**Practice.** Practicing administrators may benefit from the findings of this study by gaining an understanding of the mechanisms that teachers develop in response to aggressive top-down reform initiatives. Such knowledge may punctuate the importance of exercising distributive leadership practices that foster a deeper sense of commitment on the part of teachers for changes that effect their day-to day-practice. With a clear picture of the larger consequences of managerialism, the findings from this study may provide cause for administrators to expand their leadership beyond compliance-based
practices. Teachers benefit from this study by gaining an understanding of the forces that are omnipresent in their professional lives as well as the lives of their students. With this understanding, teachers may engage in critical collegial dialogue to enhance the quality of the profession of teaching.

**Delimitations**

There are a variety of considerations that the researcher must embrace prior to and during the research process. The sections that follow will illuminate some of these key considerations.

**Setting, actors, and sampling.** This study was situated within the boundaries of New Jersey’s public schools all of which function under the mandates of AchieveNJ. The setting was, therefore, not specific to any particular school or region of the state. It was my belief, prior to initiating data collection, that New Jersey’s policy technologies affect all practicing teachers regardless of community/school demographics and may, subsequently, catalyze transgressive acts.

The narratives that shaped this study emerge from a multitude of actors. In consideration of my own position as researcher, my personal narrative was explicit and influenced my approach to understanding others. Subsequently, I considered myself an actor in this research. Presently all teachers are under the influence of AchieveNJ so no effort was made to isolate teachers by grade level or subject area. Finally, the process of participant storytelling was expected to invoke more actors that may have remained otherwise concealed as participants revealed contextual organizational narratives, as well as state, and national narratives that influenced their acts of transgression.

Since the emphasis of this researched was focused upon acts of transgression, it
was critical to elicit narratives from teachers that had experienced the landscape of education prior to the AchieveNJ mandates. Subsequently, all participants chosen for narrative interviews had a minimum of 5 years of experience in New Jersey’s public schools.

**Narrative inquiry.** Kelchtermans (2009) and other scholars have emphasized the efficacy of using narrative inquiry as an approach to exposing an individual’s identity (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004; Creswell, 2013; Riessman, 2007). The notion of “self” often emerges through the stories that people tell (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004). Negotiating identities, in particular one’s individual concept of self with that which is socially constructed, can create conflict and stimulate resistance (Kelchtermans, 2009). Subsequently, choosing a mode of inquiry that allowed me to understand these conflicting identities was critical.

**Researcher’s role.** It was my expectation that the use of interviews, as a means of gathering stories, would elicit an entirely new level of storytelling. As participants told their professional stories they were confounded with the presence of myself as researcher and the subsequent need to perform their identity (Riessman, 2007). In this regard, the context became important and influenced both the performance and the identity that the narrator chose for me to see. By adapting a dialogic/performance approach to analyzing interview transcripts as proposed by Reissman (2007), I include myself as an active participant in the narrative and its interpretation.

Telling stories is a common practice during social interactions and the interaction between interviewer and interviewee is no exception. It was important to give participants room to speak during this process (Czarniawska, 2004). I invited
participants to engage in storytelling as we mutually co-produced meaning. Questions were strategically posed in a manner that allowed respondents to lead the conversation or story in the direction that they chose.

My own story as an educator of nearly 25 years is one that includes many episodes of transgression. Manifesting the importance of an autonomous self, I have closely held beliefs that the best teachers are artists privileged to engage in a craft that they are passionate about. This passion transcends their physical presence in the classroom and permeates the lives of their students, inspiring them to learn, think critically, and challenge themselves. In short, it is my belief that the teacher’s ability to inspire others goes far beyond the curriculum. I have great concerns for the use of one-size fits all approaches in both curriculum and pedagogy. The use of reflexive bracketing was critical throughout this study. Reflexive bracketing begins with the researcher identifying internal presuppositions regarding personal values, culture, judgments, and history (Gearing, 2004). By making this information overt at the onset of my research I was able to reduce the influence of my lived experience on the phenomena under investigation.

**Ethical considerations.** There are ethical considerations in critical studies such as this one when the researcher attempts to make a side-by-side comparison of narratives. Comparing teacher narratives of quality teaching practice against state and institutional narratives can quickly reveal dissonance and competing agendas. Giving voice to a population of professionals that transgress the imposed accountability practices must occur within confined spaces that allow participants to feel safe and uncompromised. Revealing the identities of these participants through their narratives can be a source of
risk that the researcher must negotiate in collaboration with each participant. In an effort to combat this, I created fictitious identifiers for all individual actors and their institutions to protect the identity of those actors as well as the institutions that employed them.

**Organization of the Study**

This dissertation will be organized into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the nature of the issue being investigated and narrows the context to the level of the research participant. Additionally, the first chapter provides an overview of the purpose for the research, the research questions, a summary of the theoretical frameworks, and identifies the significance of the study along with its delimitations. The second chapter provides foundational research and literature relating to resistance, and transgression in reform landscapes. Additionally, it provides a thorough treatment of the theoretical foundations that will be later be used to analyze participant narratives. The third chapter includes specific details related to methodology, data analysis, and the general sequence for addressing the research questions. The fourth chapter will include a general review of the research findings. The fifth and sixth chapters will be arranged as manuscripts for publication in peer-reviewed journals.
Chapter 2

Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework

This chapter includes two major sections. The first segment is a review of relevant literature with an emphasis on illuminating the social, emotional, and psychological underpinnings that catalyze teacher resistance. The second section makes explicit the theoretical lens that was used throughout the research to make sense of the transgressive responses that emerged from participant narratives. The abridged literature review that follows is appropriate for this dissertation given that chapters five and six include manuscripts for publication, both of which contain individual literature reviews.

Literature Review

There are multiple lenses through which one could view the phenomenon of transgression. In an effort to approach an understanding of this phenomenon it is necessary to, first, make explicit both the definition of transgression as well as how this definition was adapted for this study. This will be the purpose of the first part of this section. Following this, I will examine extant literature in the area of teacher resistance in order to unearth the psychological, social, and emotional contestations that may catalyze transgressive acts. Finally, I will focus this literature review on the areas of teacher identity, professionalism, self-understanding, and emotions as these parameters, unique to the individual teacher, collide in the wake of prescriptive reform initiatives.

Transgression. As identified in chapter one, transgression may be defined as, an act, or instance of transgressing as infringement or violation of a law, command, or duty. In essence, it constitutes crossing a line (Foucault, 1977). However, for the purpose of this research the basic definition was broadened to fit the context of the study.
Subsequently, transgression was broadly defined as an act against a code of conduct for the purpose of avoidance, subversion, or modification; rituals and performances enacted for the purpose of gaming the system thereby creating illusions of compliance. It is necessary to dissect this broader definition to unveil the embedded themes that were explored in the research.

**Resistance.** Just as change is an omnipresent part of organizational life, so too is resistance. Manifestations of resistance pervade every organization (Smith, 2005). Gersick (1991) describes organizations as being inertial due to the fact that members are commonly resistant to change. Inertia is a manifestation of an organization’s “deep structure” (Burke, 2011, p. 98) which safely shields the organization from creating new alternatives outside of the comfort zone. Lewin (1951) posits that an essential element of creating organizational change is a focus upon unfreezing an organization’s deep structure. This is often accomplished through creating perturbations within the organization that give way to new structures when the existing order, or “deep structure” is being challenged (Burke, 2011, p. 98). Within the context of public education, perturbations come in many forms. The following paragraphs will serve to illuminate the resistance that often follows prescriptive mandates.

Debbie Sonu (2012) revisits the notion of resistance as a visible protest and attempts to expand its parameters. Using a new view of agency that includes teachers and students who behind the backs of school managers interrogate and criticize their institution’s agenda, she describes how urban teachers transgress prescriptive mandates in an effort to disempower the otherwise subordinating influence of neoliberal policies in an urban school. Borrowing the notion of “hidden transcripts” from Scott (1992, p. 4),
Sonu contends that teachers are forced to hide behind a degree of performative stealth when subjected to an evaluative environment permeated with surveillance technologies (2012). An understanding of the covert nature of resistance is of key importance in this research.

The literature is robust with examples of teacher resistance to mandated reform initiatives (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Bushnell, 2003; Crocco & Costigan, 2007; Kelchtermans, 2005) These studies often seek to understand the complex interplay among participants, setting, and context of reform in an effort to articulate the cause of resistance. When instructional programs become increasingly prescriptive as a consequence of controlling educational policies, teachers have a limited ability to implement professional principles (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). Principles serve as personal guides for educators and reside in the domains of diversified instruction, high expectations, and creativity (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). Concerned with the negative impact of educational reforms guided by technical and moralistic control, Achinstein and Ogawa (2006) conducted a case study focusing upon two new teachers as they resisted technical and moral control. The study revealed that resistance may be rooted in professional principles rather than psychological deficits or a broad overarching reluctance to change. Observed practice as well as participant discourse revealed that teachers manifest an understanding of teacher professionalism that includes the ability to adjust instruction to the needs of individual learners, high expectations, an emphasis on learning communities, and the ability to partake in self-critical dialogue about their practices with colleagues (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). These attributes, all of which characterize highly effective teaching practice, may come into conflict with
prescriptive policies, which often, ironically, espouse to enhance teacher professionalism.

Resistance may not always uncover itself as an open act of defiance. A qualitative study focused upon new and veteran teachers under the grip of externally constructed teacher accountability measures in New York City, revealed that “water-cooler-discourse” often conjures strong emotions as teachers complain about loss of autonomy in decision-making and practice (Bushnell, 2003, p. 266). Often it is only veteran teachers, protected by tenure and social prestige, that express their dissatisfaction through open acts of defiance (Bushnell, 2003). There is more of a tendency to maintain a “this too shall pass” attitude as teachers struggle to maintain agency when they perceive their professionalism is under attack. In this way, accountability contexts serve as a force of oppression that may catalyze a deprofessionalizing of teacher practice. Bushnell (2003) posits that teachers should be included in crafting decisions that reform education rather than being monitored as though they are a part of the larger problem. This attack on teacher professionalism greatly marginalizes commitment.

When teachers attempt to grow professionally and personally, it requires autonomy in exercising judgments and making mistakes. Without such an arena, a teacher is challenged in developing a personal and professional identity (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). In the context of scripted lessons and curriculum a teacher’s identity is often called into question. This may catalyze resistance as teachers resist their transformation into automatons (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Teachers may refuse to be subordinated into accepting that their new identity is to be one of faithful devotion to prescribed curricular mandates or mindless replication of scripted lessons. While the alignment of instruction with challenging academic content standards may be a pillar
of standards-based policy logic (Polikoff, 2013), Crocco and Costigan (2007) reveal in narrative study of urban educators, the “shrinking space” created by prescriptive teaching contexts has a very subordinating effect on teachers often compromising their commitment to the profession, the relationships they forge with students, and their own personal and professional growth (p. 520). Teachers may resist such forces both overtly and covertly.

Resistance may arise when emotions, mediated by professional context, are in conflict with reform initiatives (Kelchtermans, 2005). Teachers experience emotions relative to the relationships that they forge with students, about their working relationships with colleagues, and about their professional skills. The actions that may arise as a consequence of emotions are linked to the view that teachers have of themselves and others. In this way, emotions may effect a teacher’s actions or moral judgments (Kelchtermans, 2005). The policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ dramatically change the professional context within New Jersey’s public schools. It is essential to understand how these changes may be influencing the emotions of teachers relative to the important work that they do each day in forging relationships with students, peers, and professional practice.

A teacher’s sense of professionalism. The instruments of performativity in concert with the mechanisms of management surveillance that support them, function to (re)form the work of individual practitioners, groups, and entire organizations through targeting self-esteem, values, purpose, and the common notion of what constitutes good practice (Ball, 2013). They function to exclude or greatly marginalize existing roles, loyalties, and subjectivities, ultimately changing that which is deemed important,
valuable, and necessary (Ball, 2013). Teachers mourn the loss of their creativity, professional integrity, and the fun that once embodied the profession of teaching. They begin to question that which is valued and to what extent their efforts bear results when their world becomes an array of figures and comparisons. Faced with the pressures of performativity, teachers wonder if their actions may be justified because it is what they believe in, what they should be doing, or if the actions just make them look good (Ball, 2003). As teachers attempt to negotiate a professional identity, they are confounded with the possibility that they are the kind of teacher whose sole purpose is to produce performances (Ball, 2003).

A teacher’s enduring concept of professionalism is seen to greatly influence their practice in the classroom (Day, 2002; Day et al., 2005; Day, Flores, & Viana, 2007; Day & Smethem, 2009). Day (2002) identifies that reform agendas often expect teachers to adhere to standards of performativity before they have had an opportunity to engage in sustained critical discourse regarding the tenets of the reform or gain the necessary trust and respect for their inspectors. Consequently, reform initiatives fail when teachers invest little of their cognitive or emotional self. Day (2002) posits that reform initiatives need to nurture a teacher’s emotional and intellectual identities before their can be a reshaping of professionalism.

When traditional notions of professionalism are challenged, teachers may sustain a condition of confusion whereby they question their capacity to adhere to the new parameters of performativity. Ultimately, they may no longer be able to exercise discretionary judgments, which are centered upon traditional notions of purpose and practice. A teacher’s commitment becomes marginalized when their professional
identities become clouded (Day et al., 2005). In these circumstances teachers may mobilize “occasional identities” in response to the new challenges imposed through reform initiatives (Day et al., 2005, p. 575). Such identities may be viewed as somewhat shallow and superficial in comparison to a teacher’s strongly held purposes of care to student learning and achievement. These core purposes ultimately define a teacher’s sense of professionalism and transcend any transitional agenda of imposed change (Day et al., 2005).

Since 1988, schools in England have been the subject of accelerated reform initiatives by centralized government (Day et al., 2007). Mandates dictate inspection by external sources, national testing at multiple grade levels, the mass publication of data, annual performance management interviews, and target setting for teachers and schools. The intense focus on math and literacy lowered morale and negatively impacted, recruitment, retention, and the identities of teachers (Day et al., 2007). Teachers, once concerned with educating the whole child, have taken on new, more technical, identities as their practice is focused on a limited range of attainment indicators. These schools may serve as an example of how many years of centralized governmental control over prescriptive educational policies has taken a toll on a teacher’s sense of professionalism. Day et al. (2007) describes that teachers are no longer provided space for discretionary judgment, moral and social development, and the overarching requirements to sustain caring relationships with students. Teachers express that professionalism under the performativity regime is clouded with ambivalence and conflict. Teachers lack clear direction (Day et al., 2007). There is much to be learned by focusing on these reform initiatives as they have played out over time in similar contexts.
Fullan (2007) punctuates the importance of what teachers do and think in a context of reform. Ultimately, teachers serve as the gatekeepers for change. If they are not internally motivated or committed, then, he posits, change will fail. At the center of this commitment is the teacher’s sense of professionalism (Day & Smethem, 2009). Sach’s (2001) asserts that teachers will retain the image of the teacher that they wish to be. Their professional identity, based on strong values and beliefs, functions to sustain them in difficult times of hurried change. She draws a line between managerial professionalism, which is imposed by employing authorities, and democratic professionalism, which emerges from discourse within the profession (Sachs, 2001). Multiple scholars contend that it is discourse, within the context of practice, that contributes to a teacher’s overwhelming sense of professionalism and subsequent adoption of the change process (Day, 2002; Day & Smethem, 2009; Fullan, 2007; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2013; Sachs, 2001). It is critical that teachers have an arena for discourse to foster a deep level of adoption and commitment for change.

**A teacher’s identity and self-understanding.** The central role of identity in understanding teachers’ actions has been the subject of numerous studies (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Day, 2002; Kelchtermans, 2005; Lasky, 2005; Reio, 2005; Sloan, 2006). Unlike other occupations where a person may be separated from their actions, teaching involves meaningful connections with others. Subsequently, a teacher’s self-image is very important to them as they carry out day-to-day processes. Ball and Goodson (2002) have suggested that the ways that teachers acquire, maintain, and develop their sense of identity and self throughout the term of their career is of key importance in understanding their actions and commitment toward the craft of teaching.
Identity may be approached from varied perspectives. A postmodern lens to understanding identity reveals repetitive themes. Identity is multiple, identity is discontinuous, and identity is social in nature (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Such a perspective allows us to recognize that identity is consistently shifting relative to time and context (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). In opposition to multiplicity, discontinuity, and the social nature of identity, is unity, continuity, and individual description. It is here, in consideration of the counterpart to postmodern description, that Akkerman and Meijer (2011) re-introduce a modern perspective to understanding identity. The modern perspective asserts that identity is found within oneself and is therefore unique to the individual. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) state that it is necessary to embrace both modern and postmodern perspectives in order to adequately understand teacher identity.

A postmodern decentered approach, alone, would not account for those who maintain individuality and uniqueness independent of their context. Additionally, such a uniparadigmatic stance would fail to develop an explanation for how individuals can maintain a sense of self through the passage of time (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). A dialogical approach to identity can be especially valuable because it characterizes identity as both unitary and multiple, individual and social, and both continuous and discontinuous. Such an emphasis embraces both modern and postmodern perspectives. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) define teacher identity in the following way:

Being someone who teaches is an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple I-positions is such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one’s working life. (p. 315)
Kelchtermans also finds fault in a uniparadigmatic approach to understanding identity and has argued for a reconceptualization that avoids the pitfalls of looking at it as a “static essence” (2005, p.1000). In fact, he seldom uses the term identity and has replaced it with a term that takes into account his belief that identity is dynamic and develops over time. He coins the term “self-understanding” (Kelchtermans, 2009, p. 261) to address the teacher’s conception of self. The product of self emerges at a given instant of time but is it the result of an ongoing process as an individual attempts to make sense of their context. Kelchtermans (2009) denotes five components of his self-understanding domain and they are: self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, task perception, and future perspective. Each of these will be described in more detail in the theoretical framework section of this chapter.

**The role of emotions.** “Emotions are at the heart of teaching” (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 835). When teachers are asked to describe the positive emotions that guide their work they use terms such as care, affection, and even love (Shapiro, 2010). Teaching triggers intense emotions that may manifest as enthusiasm and commitment for teaching, student learning, and professional collaboration (Nelson, Low, & Hammett, 2012). Conversely, emotions may trigger micro-political acts of resistance and that marginalize teacher commitment (Kelchtermans, 2005).

Change often invokes negative emotions due to insufficient information that may lead to ambiguous task perception (Reio, 2005). A teacher’s emotional response to reform is mediated by their identity. Emotions, in turn, impact risk-taking behaviors, teacher learning, and development. Following this sequence, negative emotions may be a detriment to teacher learning and development thereby perpetuating an unfavorable
shift in professional identity (Reio, 2005).

Emotions in concert with a teacher’s identity or self-understanding exert a powerful influence on the way that teachers will respond to reform initiatives (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Hargreaves, 1998; Kelchtermans, 2005; Nelson et al., 2012; Reio, 2005). Consequently, this study was designed to elucidate both the emotions and the shifting dynamic of identity that transcends the AchieveNJ mandates in an effort to better understand the transgressive acts that follow.

**Theoretical Framework**

In an effort to understand teachers’ experiences as they tried to negotiate and maintain a consistent sense of self in a rapidly changing educational context, a dialogical lens was used as suggested by Akkerman and Meijer (2011). This provided for a deep analysis of the contestations that emerged in the space between the dialogic of self and social context. Additionally, I relied upon decades of research by Geert Kelchtermans (2007), as I applied his *Personal Interpretive Framework* for my analysis of participant texts. Kelchtermans describes the personal interpretive framework as “a set of cognitions, of mental representations through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it, and act in it” (2009, p. 260). The sections that follow highlight the guiding principles associated with these frameworks.

**A dialogical approach to understanding identity.** Akkerman and Meijer (2011) point out multiple theoretical implications to embracing a dialogical approach to analysis. They caution that researchers should refrain from the use of a single term to characterize a type of teacher. These solitary terms seldom take into consideration social interaction and the influence of contextual factors. Making explanations relative to teacher
identity involves the exploration of multiple facets of a teacher’s narrative. Considering the context within a particular social arena constitutes a micro-analysis that is a snapshot of identity at a given time and locality, whereas a macro-analysis of identity attempts to consider the teacher’s self-enduring concept of identity, which transcends time (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Researchers must avoid the separation of a teacher’s identity into personal and professional as is commonly seen in extant literature. When embracing a more holistic dialogical understanding of identity, the boundary between personal and professional identities becomes less defined (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011).

**Kelchtermans’s personal interpretive framework.** Kelchtermans (2009) developed a cycle of biographical interviews that focused upon having teachers recall experiences at different stages in their career. This resulted in the construction of professional biographies done through the narrative approach. As a consequence of doing this for a period of two decades, Kelchtermans (2009) developed a theoretical framework on teachers’ professional development. It serves as an interpretive construction of the way teachers think about themselves. I will rely upon the use of Kelchtermans’s personal interpretive framework to guide my analysis of teacher narratives.

Kelchtermans (2009) calls the personal interpretive framework “a set of cognitions, of mental representations through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it, and act in it” (p.260). Kelchtermans (2009) posits that the framework guides teachers’ interpretations and actions within a given context. He places particular emphasis on the meaningful sense making interactions that are coproduced along with the context and punctuates that the personal interpretive framework serves as both, a condition for, and, a result of an interaction (Kelchtermans, 2009). The framework
consists of two primary domains; the teacher’s self-understanding, and the subjective educational theory.

**Self-understanding.** As mentioned previously, “self-understanding,” the first domain of Kelchtermans’s personal interpretive framework, addresses the teacher’s conception of self. Kelchtermans (2009) represents five components of his self-understanding domain. They are: self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, task perception, and future perspective.

*Self-image.* Self-image is a descriptive means by which the teacher typifies himself or herself. The image is based upon self-perception but also is influenced by what others cast back upon the teacher. This could include comments from pupils, parents, colleagues, or the general public. For these reasons, the self-image may be shaped by the way that an individual teacher is perceived by others (Kelchtermans, 2009).

*Self-esteem.* Self-esteem is linked to self-image. In this second component of self-understanding, the teacher questions how well they are doing their job. Self-esteem may therefore be characterized as the teacher’s appreciation of job performance (Kelchtermans, 2009). Self-esteem becomes a way of evaluating self-image and brings importance to the role of emotions in the practice of teaching.

*Task perception.* Task perception is interlaced with self-esteem (Kelchtermans, 2009). This component of the self-understanding domain refers to the way a teacher perceives his/her duties or roles in being a good teacher (Kelchtermans, 2009). It is, therefore, value-laden and often represents a teacher’s deeply held beliefs with respect to good practice and moral duty. Kelchtermans (2009) posits that when the educational context challenges a teacher’s task perception it may lead to a variety of
transgressions. New policies and evaluation systems may catalyze powerful feelings in teachers making them feel as though their moral sense of integrity and self, as both a person and professional, are called into question (Kelchtermans, 2009).

Job motivation. The fourth component of the self-understanding domain, job motivation, is congruent with the reasons that people choose to teach, stay in teaching, or move on to other careers. At this junction, task perception plays an important role as teachers begin to negotiate their current context fueled by their deeply held beliefs and values. Kelchtermans’s (2009) research reveals that a teacher’s job motivation is dynamic throughout the course of a career particularly for veteran teachers who are often motivated for reasons other than simply being a qualified source of content delivery (Kelchtermans, 2009).

Future perspective. The final element, future perspective, relates to the teacher’s expectations of career in the future. This element reflects a dynamic characterization of a teacher’s self-understanding. It is the result of an ongoing need for the teacher to make sense of the current educational landscape and balance it with their moral sense of integrity and self, both as a person and a professional (Kelchtermans, 2005).

Subjective educational theory. This second domain of Kelchtermans’s (2009) personal interpretive framework is closely interwoven with a teacher’s self-understanding. The subjective educational theory refers to the personal system of knowledge and beliefs that the teacher brings with them to the job. Knowledge may come from past experiences and formal teacher training. Beliefs are more personal. They refer to the acquisition of unique experiences over the full term of one’s career. Ultimately, a teacher’s cumulative knowledge and beliefs influence the way that they will deal with
situations daily. Kelchtermans (2009) posits that teachers must first judge, and then deliberate, on situations that arise in the context of the teaching practice. The teacher’s subjective educational theory is what guides their actions. Figure 1 summarizes Kelchtermans’s personal interpretive framework and its relationship to his concept of subjective educational theory.

Figure 1. Kelchtermans’s (2009) Personal Interpretive Framework

**Conclusion**

To better understand the practice of teaching and the circumstances that procreate care, enthusiasm, commitment, passion, and student achievement, it is best to look
beyond a unified theory that attempts to identify some single monolithic trait characteristic of effective teachers. Instead, quality practice might best be viewed as a symphonic harmonization of multiple elements. When one’s concept of identity and professionalism are resonant with the educational landscape, they coalesce to create a symphony of favorable emotions that permeate practice (Kelchtermans, 2005; Reio, 2005; Shapiro, 2010). Teachers grow individually, professionally, and are ready to engage challenges in a collaborative and meaningful way. Quality relationships are forged among students and colleagues. Commitment to practice is high. However, in the event that one or more of the elements becomes “out of tune” with the others, dissonance may pervade the entire educational context challenging commitment, marginalizing relationships, dehumanizing and depersonalizing practice, and producing unfavorable emotions that become a detriment to a teacher’s professional growth and development (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Bushnell, 2003; Crocco & Costigan, 2007; Kelchtermans, 2005). Acts of resistance, both overt and covert may arise as teachers speak back to those structures that they find oppressive (Sonu, 2012).

While a strong ethic of care for students and a compassion for teaching/learning represent hallmark qualities universally attributed to the best teachers, the same attributes brand teachers critical and resistant to policies of which they have had no device (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). While change is a necessary and inevitable phenomenon in any organization, policymakers should be aware of the delicate interrelationships that exist among identity, professionalism, and emotions when enacting policy. Policies that implicitly treat teachers as a part of the problem rather than a part of the solution are the most dehumanizing and depersonalizing (Day & Smethem, 2009). Such policies
that strip teachers of autonomy also strip them of their dedication and commitment. Ultimately, teachers are the gatekeepers for change (Fowler, 2013; Fullan, 2007; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2013) Without motivation and commitment on the part of teachers, change initiatives fail, or at best, become acted out through highly superficial levels of compliance, or, mere illusions of compliance (Fullan, 2007; Sonu, 2012).

While a dialogical approach to analyzing identity is commonly used in other fields of research, there is a limited amount of empirical research that frames teacher identity through the use of such an approach (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). This study will elucidate the conflict that teachers experience when trying to negotiate and maintain a self-identity in a rapidly changing educational context. A dialogical lens will be borrowed for a deep analysis of the contestations that emerge in the space between the dialogic of self and social context. In this way, this study will be unique from the vast majority that attempt to clarify teacher identity through an emphasis based exclusively upon modernistic categorical description. The dialogical approach, when used in concert with Kelchtermans’s (2009) interpretive framework, is unique as it focuses on both the analysis of the teacher as well as the contextual forces that exert influence on practice.

Few studies attempt to illuminate covert acts of resistance. Perhaps this is because of the methodological challenges associated with observing that which often goes unnoticed. This study is uniquely designed to reveal these covert acts of resistance that may masquerade as compliance as teachers cling to an autonomous self. Such knowledge is powerful and worthy of representation in the vast body of scholarly work associated with teacher resistance.
Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this qualitative narrative research was to capture the experience of professional practice of New Jersey public school teachers as they shared stories of their teaching practice, before, during, and after the implementation of the AchieveNJ mandates. Through the analysis of teachers’ narratives this study sought to elucidate the contestations that emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the parameters of performativity prescribed through AchieveNJ. Emphasis was placed upon those transgressive responses that emanate from the dialogical space between a teacher’s personal self-enduring concept of identity and that which is socially produced through the policy technologies of marketization, managerialism, and performativity as outlined by Ball (2013).

Four research questions guided the exploration of teacher experiences and the acts of transgression that may have arisen from the intersection of identity and policy technologies:

1. How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?
2. How have teacher’s professional relationships changed as a result of AchieveNJ?
3. What transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ?
4. What motivates transgressive responses?
Rationale for and Assumptions of a Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research is a commonly used approach for understanding the meaning that groups or individuals may find in social phenomena (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). As an inductive approach, it starts with questions that later lead to data collected within the participant’s own setting; particulars are built into themes, and interpretations arise from these themes (Creswell, 2013). As such, qualitative research is a reflexive, holistic, interpretive, and iterative process that uses personal interaction as a humanistic approach to gaining knowledge. Often this knowledge is used as a means to better the human condition (Rossman & Rallis, 2012).

The strengths of qualitative research reside in its emphasis on situations, people’s lives, and vivid descriptions of contextual forces. With little focus on numbers and quantities, the qualitative researcher is in the constant pursuit of a rich description (Maxwell, 2012). There is an emphasis on understanding and describing the meaning that others find in their context, the influence that these contexts have on participant action, the processes through which actions take place, the unanticipated phenomena linked to contextual forces, and, in some cases, the development of causal explanations (Maxwell, 2012).

As a means of providing rationale for the methodological approach to this study, I would aver that my primary research purpose is in direct alignment with Maxwell’s (2012) position on the strength of qualitative research described in the previous paragraph. This particular study uniquely focused upon the individual teacher and the meaning that they are finding in the rapidly changing educational context under the AchieveNJ mandates, the influence of the context on transgressive acts, how those
transgressions manifest, and the unintended consequences that may emerge from contextual forces. Additionally, the study sought the potential causation for acts of transgression. Approaching this study through qualitative methods proved to be the most effective approach given the nature of the research questions and the congruence between those questions and strengths of qualitative research as a discipline.

The link between research design and approach is served by the purpose of the research (Creswell, 2012). The purpose of the study was to capture the experience of professional practice of New Jersey public school teachers as they shared stories of their teaching practice, before, during, and after the implementation of the AchieveNJ mandates. An approach uniquely suited to revealing the way that participants are experiencing the AchieveNJ mandates was chosen. A qualitative approach focuses on ordinary ways of making sense that may be unique to each individual participant (Stake, 1995). This, in contrast to more deductive approaches of assigning preconceived categories to human behavior, allows the researcher to construct an understanding focused upon individual meaning as expressed through participants. Given that meanings are complex and unique to the individual, I, as researcher, chose to exercise a qualitative approach due to its emphasis on more thoroughly rendering the complexity of a situation than that which could be obtained through the more reductionist deductive approach of quantitative research (Creswell, 2013).

**Strategy of Inquiry**

Storytelling has long been used as a means to convey knowledge, culture, emotion, and identity. When individuals or groups seek to convey an essence of meaning to others they will commonly resort to the practice of storytelling. Narratives may be
thought of as the artifacts of stories, or, as Riessman (2007) suggests, the term narrative may be used interchangeably with story. Narratives may take many forms. The French semiologist and literary critic Roland Barthes (1915-1980) is frequently quoted for his comprehensive treatment of narrative:

There are countless forms of narrative in the world. First of all, there is a prodigious variety of genres, each of which branches out into a variety of media, as if all substances could be relied upon to accommodate man’s stories. Among the vehicles of narrative are articulated language, whether oral or written, pictures, still or moving, gestures, and an ordered mixture of all those substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fables, tales, short stories, epics, history, tragedy, drame [suspense drama], comedy, pantomime, paintings (in Santa Ursula by Carpaccio, for instance), stained-glass windows, movies, local news, conversation. Moreover, in this infinite variety of forms, it is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes, all human groups, have their stories, and very often those stories are enjoyed by men of different and even opposite cultural backgrounds: narrative remains largely unconcerned with good or bad literature. Like life itself, it is there, international, transhistorical, transcultural. (Barthes & Duisit, 1975, p. 237)

Narrative is also a family of methods that serve the purpose of interpreting texts. Texts may take on a multitude of forms but commonly share a storied form. The storied form encompasses a serration events and ideas. In this way there is a linking of contingent
sequences that is at the core of narrative (Riessman, 2007). This contingency of sequence is what separates narrative from other qualitative methodological approaches which often represent events and ideas as random codes not necessarily linked by temporal sequence (Riessman, 2007). Instead, a narrative researcher is charged with preserving the natural temporal sequence inherent in the story when representing data.

Narratives can take the form of stories that extend beyond the individual. Communities, organizations, racial groups, nations, and governments construct narratives. Consequently, a key feature of narrative is an intense focus on identity as these groups attempt to distinguish themselves (Riessman, 2007). Focusing on post modern times, identities may be critically evaluated through their deconstruction and either accepted or contested (Riessman, 2007). Ultimately, narrative analysis, whether produced by an individual, group, or nation, may function to give us an in depth view of the identity of the creator.

Individuals may use narrative to persuade, argue, entertain, or even mislead others (Riessman, 2007). Narratives invite the audience to sample the experience of the storyteller or, at the very least, consider the storyteller’s perspective. The effect of engaging an audience makes narrative approach a unique approach to research. Stories can have a mobilizing effect and can often catalyze additional action (Riessman, 2007). Historically, narratives have been used as an instrument to guide progressive social change.

While narrative has existed since humans first gathered to communicate stories, its use in the human sciences as a subject of special study is relatively new. It is not until narrative begins to challenge realism and positivism in the mid-1980s that researchers
begin to recognize its strengths as a research tool (Riessman, 2007). The “narrative turn” emerged as a result of the movement of the social sciences away from discipline-specific and investigator-controlled practices (Riessman, 2007, p. 14). Political scientist, Walter Fisher coined the term “Homo narrans” to imply that the experience of being human, is, in itself, a narrative (Fisher, 1984, p.1). Fisher (1984) argues that technical reason has a way of rendering the public unreasonable due to the view that rationality is a matter of competence in specialized fields. Such a view, he argues, implies that the public and its discourse is irrational. This deepens the gap between experts and the public and opens the door for a particular class of citizen to be superior to another (Fisher, 1984). Instead, adopting what he describes as the “narrative paradigm”, he embraces the narratives created by the public and presents the notion that they have their place alongside scientific rationality (Fisher, 1984, p. 16). Fisher’s (1984) work begs the attention of scholar’s to reconceive the notion of value in the discourse created by the citizenry thereby opening the door for the narrative turn.

Czarniawska (2004) has taken a post-modern turn in her approach to narrative writing. In her text *Narratives in Social Science Research* (2004) she provides a framework for collecting stories through the provocation of story telling. She then describes the process of analyzing the stories for meaning. In her version of data analysis, she carefully deconstructs the stories and puts them together to form her own story. Her culminating narrative is then set against other narratives (Czarniawska, 2004). In this study, Czarniawska’s approach will be applied as a final analytic endeavor when participant narratives are compared with the imposed narrative created by AchieveNJ.
Methodological Overview

The sections to follow will provide an in depth description of the entire research process from sampling strategy and participant selection through data analysis. Figure 2 includes a graphical representation of the research process.

![Figure 2. Research Sequence](image)

Sampling Strategy and Participant Selection

Qualitative inquiry typically focuses upon relatively small samples or even single cases (Patton, 2001). This is in contrast to quantitative methods, which may often be dependent on relatively large sample sizes. Where quantitative inquiry often uses the power of random sampling and statistical probability to generalize findings to a larger
population, qualitative inquiry places a greater emphasis on creating an in depth understanding of individual participants or cases (Patton, 2001). Purposeful sampling, considered to be biased in a statistical quantitative approach, is actually a strength in qualitative analysis as the emphasis is on illuminating information-rich cases that will thoroughly address the researcher’s questions (Patton, 2001). A purposeful sampling approach was chosen for this study.

**Purposeful Sampling**

There are a variety of approaches to consider in purposeful sampling. All of these are dependent upon the unit of analysis in question (Patton, 2001). In this study there were two units of analysis. The first unit of analysis was “perspective or worldview based” (Patton, 2001, p. 231) as it was concerned with a group of people that shared a common experience. In this study public school teachers in New Jersey, with five or more years of experience, under the authority of AchieveNJ comprise this first unit of analysis. As a second unit of analysis, the focus was on “activity” (Patton, 2001, p. 231). All participants were required to exhibit manifestations for transgressive behavior in response to the AchieveNJ mandates in order to be included in the study. Stratified purposeful sampling was employed to address the need to focus upon both of these analytical domains (Patton, 2001).

In an effort to leave no trace of transgression unnoticed, I exercised more opportunistic sampling methods in addition to stratified purposeful sampling (Patton, 2001). The opportunistic methods of snowball sampling and emergent sampling were used throughout the duration of the data collection phase and are described in detail in the sections to follow.
Stratified purposeful sampling. Patton (2001) describes stratified purposeful samples as “samples within samples” (p. 240). This approach was well suited to acquire research participants since the focus was both on perspective and activity. The first stratification of the sampling method was criterion sampling and the second was intensity sampling.

Criterion sampling. In criterion sampling the goal is to review all participants that satisfy a pre-determined criterion of significance to the study (Patton, 2001). In this study it was critical to choose teachers that had been teaching five or more years in New Jersey’s public school system. Additionally, participants were required to exhibit manifestations of resistance to the AchieveNJ mandates to be included in the study.

Intensity sampling. Intensity sampling functions to illuminate those cases that are information-rich by zeroing-in on the phenomena of interest (Patton, 2001). As a second stratification, participants that satisfied the criterion sampling described above were also expected to manifest a prescribed “intensity” for the phenomena being studied. The focus was on transgressive acts. An emphasis was placed on the diversity of policy technology categories that influenced the participant’s transgressive acts. Additionally, emphasis was placed on the intensity of each transgressive act. Figure 3 represents an overview of the stratified purposeful sampling strategy that was used.
Figure 3. Stratified Purposeful Sampling Strategy

Sampling Protocol

A survey was disseminated through electronic means as well as by letter correspondence to a large number of teachers throughout the state of New Jersey. Accompanying the survey was a cover letter that briefly described the nature of the research and commitment to confidentiality. The survey required participants to certify that they are currently New Jersey teachers with a minimum of five years experience. Additionally the survey asked participants to provide contact information if they would consider being a participant in the study. The cover letter made it explicit that the survey data itself would not be used as a form of data collection or for analysis. The cover letter may be found in Appendix A.

The use of a survey that included an ordinal scale allowed me to conduct a stratified purposeful sample where I was able to establish that potential participants would meet both the criteria as well as the intensity necessary for inclusion in the study. Fink (2013) identifies ordinal scales as those which allow the rater to choose a limited number of categories that have an ordered arrangement. The scale ranged from “deeply committed,” a condition where the participant displays full emotional adoption and a
tendency for full technical implementation, to, “attempt to dismantle”, a condition where
the participant displays open acts of resistance and varying levels of technical
implementation. At the center of this seven item scale is “superficially comply” which
identifies the condition where there is little to no emotional commitment, possibly
opposition, and the tendency to only comply to those aspects of the standard that are
under surveillance.

The survey included directions as well as clear definitions of each of the ratings. It was estimated to be less than a five-minute commitment to complete the twelve-item survey. Each of the twelve items aligned to various policy technologies either directly associated with AchieveNJ or a consequential product of its implementation. Care was taken to only include aspects of the policy where teachers had the potential for transgression. To illustrate an example; including an item such as “standardized testing” is beyond the locus of control for teachers and was not included, however, “initiative to align instruction with state assessments” is within control of the teacher and was included as a survey item. The twelve items were broken into three overarching categories; the alignment of teacher practice with state standards, the alignment of teacher practice with state approved evaluation instruments, and the alignment of teacher practice with assessment instruments.

To meet the category requirement for participation in the study potential participants had to currently be teachers in New Jersey’s public school system with five or more years of experience and exhibit manifestations of transgression for AchieveNJ. Potential participants were required to certify that they were currently teaching in New Jersey’s public schools and had been teachers for at least five years after taking the
survey. Once completed, the survey results could validate that participants satisfied the final requirement for inclusion, which was to demonstrate transgression. I chose to establish the threshold for transgression to be at the very center of the scale as indicated by the response “superficially comply.” A potential participant indicating this choice demonstrates that they have little to no emotional commitment for the policy technology item and that they only conform to those aspects that are under surveillance. Any participant who completed the survey and chose “superficially comply” or beyond for any of the 12 survey items satisfied the first condition of the stratified sampling strategy and then moved on to the second condition that was based upon the intensity of manifestation.

No threshold for intensity was set. However, participant surveys that had met the appropriate criteria were ordered from greatest intensity of transgression to least. Data collection was initiated first among those exhibiting the greatest manifestations for transgression and continued in sequence from greatest to least. Intensity was determined through looking at both the scope for transgressive responses as well as the level of rating for each. A participant would have a great scope of transgression if they demonstrated superficial compliance or greater for more than half of the twelve policy technology domains surveyed. A participant would have the greatest level of transgression if they indicated, “attempt to dismantle” for a single item on the survey. Those survey respondents that had a displayed both a great scope of transgression coupled with high levels of transgression where most desirable for this study and chosen above those that displayed lower manifestation for transgression.

The survey instrument was pre-tested for reliability, clarity, and the total time
commitment for completion. Several New Jersey public school teachers, with greater than five years of experience, were chosen to pre-test the survey instrument. These teachers would not be included later in the actual study. A copy of the survey may be found in Appendix B.

**Opportunistic Sampling Methods**

Some participants were chosen through other processes not associated with the instruments of stratified purposeful sampling. In an effort to elicit rich narratives of participant experience every opportunity to gather stories was seized. While survey instruments were not used to identify these participants, as they were in the stratified sample, all participants satisfied both the criteria and intensity requirements described previously.

**Emergent sampling.** Patton (2001) describes emergent sampling as an opportunistic sampling method that involves on-the-spot decisions to take advantage of new opportunities that may arise during data collection. If at any time or place, during the course of the research, I became aware of suitable participants who had a story to share, I would include them in the study.

**Snowball sampling.** As a second opportunistic approach to sampling I employed snowball sampling. Using this sampling method the researcher asks well-suited people if they may provide leads to others who would fit the parameters of the study (Patton, 2001). During the process of narrative interviewing I asked participants to inform me of other potential participants for the study. If the opportunity presented itself, I followed these leads.
Sample Size

This study does not seek to generalize findings over a given population or establish a probability for the occurrence of a particular event within bounded parameters in the way that many quantitative studies do (Creswell, 2013). Instead, this study elucidates the experiences of others and phenomena in question as participants become actors in a story that is mutually created between myself as researcher they as the actors. Consequently, the sample size reflects that which is needed to sufficiently contribute to the narrative (Riessman, 2007). Sampling persisted until a complete story could be told that provided a rich description of the experiences of participants and the nature of their transgressive acts (Riessman, 2007).

Data Collection

Prior to initiating data collection I sought approval from Rowan University’s Institutional Review Board on Human Subjects (IRB). Once approval was granted I initiated the formal research. Three primary sources provided the data for this study: relational maps, narrative interviews, and field notes. Once participants were chosen through stratified purposeful sampling or opportunistic methods, they moved into the first phase of data collection, which was to develop relational maps. Once the maps were completed participants moved into the narrative interview phase, which could extend over multiple meetings if necessary. Field notes were collected simultaneously through both phases.

Relational maps. Relational maps, designed around the metaphor of the solar system, represent a graphical means by which participants can represent themselves at the center and place other elements around them as they assign each a given value of
meaning in their lives (Bagnoli, 2009). When using such an instrument, closeness to center is congruent with meaning. By using non-linguistic dimensions to supplement language we may allow for different levels of expression that may give-way to new and different meanings for participant experience as language alone should not the privileged medium of data collection (Bagnoli, 2009). Relational maps belong to an art based form of qualitative data collection known as graphic elicitation (Bagnoli, 2009). This particular non-linguistic endeavor provided a new way to supplement language (Bagnoli, 2009) as well as means by which data sources could later be triangulated for more trustworthy representations of participant experience (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013).

**Interactive narrative interviews.** Generating an interview that will lead to an oral narrative or story is a substantial departure from the use of the more common semi-structured interview approach that often leads to brief and concise answers from participants (Riessman, 2007). Narrative interviewing is a discursive event, which gives way to conversations between interviewer and interviewee. Meaning is often rendered collaboratively (Riessman, 2007). The goal of narrative interviewing is to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers. It is especially important that participants are given appropriate freedom to speak for appropriate narrative production to occur. In this regard, these interviews were not viewed as the exchange of questions and answers; instead, the role of the interviewer becomes that of prompting the participant to tell stories. In the research I provoke storytelling through the use of interactive interviews. Such interviews serve the purpose of prompting the participant to engage in a process of storytelling through the use of questions that are designed to elicit a storied response (Czarniawska, 2004; Riessman, 2007). The primary tool that was used to guide the
nature of the interview questions was the results of the relational mapping activity. The relational mapping activity explicitly revealed dichotomies from participant diagrams that could serve as a basis for discussion. In the narrative tradition, this served to prompt participant storytelling giving way to opportunities to render meaning collaboratively (Riessman, 2007).

Field notes. As a third data collection method, I created field notes. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) aver that field notes should be both descriptive and accurate enough to later allow you to visualize the moment. The field notes sought to capture body language, mannerisms, and expressions to identify the comfort level that participants had with both interview and elicitation methods. Field notes included descriptions of people, places, things, events, activities, and conversations. They functioned as a place for ideas, reflections, insecurities, patterns, and reactions (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). In this way the notes were descriptive, analytic, and autobiographical serving to further capture and connect participant experience, context, and the phenomenon under investigation (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

By using all three approaches to data collection I was able to triangulate the data with the research questions. The triangulation process allowed me to align each question with multiple sources of data to arrive at trustworthy conclusions (Miles et al., 2013).

Instrumentation

Relational map protocol. The relational map activity was performed at the first meeting with participants only after they had completed and signed the letter of informed consent. The letter of informed consent form may be found in Appendix C. As the following paragraphs will reveal, the relational map activity is a precursor to the
interactive narrative interview as it led to interview questions that would elicit a storied response.

The relational map activity was composed of three parts. In the first part participants were asked to create a list of at least ten things in the form of words or short phrases that could be used to identify them as a teacher. The list could include personal beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies. In the second part of the activity participants were presented a blank page with a large icon of a schoolhouse. The schoolhouse represented the institution of public education in New Jersey. In this part of the activity participants were asked to evaluate how they perceive that the current institution of public education in New Jersey regards their list of personal values, beliefs, practices, and philosophies. Using their personal list they were to place each item in proximity of the center of the schoolhouse if they felt that it was highly regarded by the current institution of public education in New Jersey and radiate outward placing those personal values beliefs and practices in low regard further away from the center of the schoolhouse. Once participants had placed all of their own personal values, beliefs, practices, and philosophies in and around the schoolhouse they were given the choice of another pen color to complete the third and final part of the activity. In this part of the activity participants were asked to write in those words and phrases that would summarize beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies most valued by today’s institution of public education in New Jersey that were not included at all on their own personal list. Using the other pen, participants placed those that they perceive to be most highly regarded by the state at the very center of the schoolhouse.

This activity provided an at-a-glance description of the dialogical space
between self and social context. Through an analysis of the distance between those attributes held in importance by the individual and that same individual’s perception of how they are regarded by the state, I was immediately able to reveal dissonance. Furthermore, items written in an alternate color represent the participant’s view of that which is most valued by the institution of public education in New Jersey but of little or no value to them. Most importantly, this activity provided powerful information to inform interview questions that could generate a storied response. In essence, this activity created a uniquely adapted interview protocol for each individual participant that served to bring forth the meaning that each was finding in the mandates.

This activity is an adaptation of a relational mapping activity developed by Bagnoli (2009) for a study through which she was attempting to understand the relative importance of various family influences on the lives of children. The use of the solar system metaphor, where the participant places the most valued people, places, or things at center, allowed her to unearth information which could have possibly remained unknown otherwise (Bagnoli, 2009). In this same tradition, the mapping activity created for this study required participants to evaluate how they perceive their most closely held beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies to be valued by the institutional contexts through which they function. It was presumed that the separation that participants created between their personal values and the center of the schoolhouse is “related to” the dialogical space that separates their personal enduring sense of identity from that which is socially constructed through the current institution of public education in New Jersey. The concept map activity may be found in its entirety in Appendix D.
**Interview protocol.** Immediately following the relational map activity and informed consent, participants were engaged in the activity of narrative interviewing. This form of interviewing, designed to be a discursive event which gives way to conversations between interviewer and interviewee, was used to elicit storied responses. Relying upon the results of the relational map protocol, participants were asked both main questions as well as probing questions designed to elucidate practices, beliefs, and relationships. Emphasis was placed on “teasing out” the stories that have helped to shape practice, beliefs, and values. When conversations revealed a great dialogical divide between that of self and social context, I attempted to unearth the mechanisms that participants used to cope. It was from this space that participants revealed transgressive acts through storied response. Table 1 provides correlation between the four primary research questions with main interview questions (M) and probing questions (P). The full interview protocol may be found in Appendix E.

Once the informed consent was completed, aliases were determined for both the participant and his/her institution. From that point forward only alias were used during actual interviews and throughout all graphic elicitation activities. Interviews were audio recorded and conducted in a setting where the participant would feel secure. The place for interview was mutually agreed upon in advance and never occurred within the participant’s school. The informed consent may be found in Appendix C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Part of Protocol: Interview Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RQ 1. How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?</td>
<td>1. (M) <em>Referring to graphic elicitation</em>: Tell me how you have come to value this (practice, belief, relationship) that you have identified on your relational map.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. (P) I would enjoy hearing the story of how you have arrived at this as a core value that permeates your practice. Share your story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. (M) <em>Referring to graphic elicitation</em>: You have identified that you do not feel that your personal (practice, belief, relationship, value) is held in high regard by the institution of public education in New Jersey today. Please explain why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. (P) Tell a story that can help to illustrate your explanation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ 2. How have teacher’s professional relationships changed, if at all, as a result of AchieveNJ?</td>
<td>5. (M) Describe how you perceive a change in the professional relationships that have formed between yourself and teaching colleagues/administration as a consequence of AchieveNJ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. (P) Please provide a story that illustrates your assertion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ 3. What transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ?</td>
<td>7. (M) <em>Referring to graphic elicitation</em>: With such a great separation of personal (practice, belief, relationship, value, philosophy) from that which you perceive to be valued by the state, how do you manage to come to work each day?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. (P) What mechanisms have you developed to cope?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. (P) Please provide a story of how you apply these mechanisms in an effort to cope.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Field notes. Field notes were composed using an Apple IOS application called Notability. Using this application, I was able to make sketches, take pictures, write notes, record audio, and save the resulting artifacts in multiple electronic formats. The application is Cloud based which further allowed me to upload the documents to a secure server and access them on any computer device. During the data analysis phase I was able to integrate the documents into MAXQDA, the primary data analysis software used in this study, and code it along with interviews and relational maps. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) identify that the structure and organization of the field notebook is specific to the needs of the researcher. Using this format I was able to spontaneously snap a picture, audio record a bit of narrative, which often took the form of my own random thoughts in the field, and write notes. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) punctuate the importance of keeping descriptive notes, analytical notes, and autobiographical notes as a means to capture as much of the research context as possible. The use of a digital device in concert with the appropriate software allowed me to secure field notes at virtually any moment throughout the research process.

Data Analysis

Interview transcripts, graphic elicitations in the form of concept maps, and researcher notes were collected from each participant in this study. Given this great quantity of data it was necessary to create a systematic process for distilling the data into meaningful themes that could be used to address research questions.

Miles et al. (2013) suggest common features that are inherent in analytical strategies across the various qualitative research genres. These include first assigning codes or themes to field notes, interview transcripts, and in the case of this study,
graphic elicitations. From this point, the researcher sorts and sifts through similar codes in search of relationships, patterns, or differences. Noting these reflections in jottings and journals, the researcher crafts analytical memos that include personal interpretations for the phenomenon unearthed in the codes (Miles et al., 2013). I have chosen this more generic approach to guide the initial distillation of the tremendous wealth of data that emerged in this study. Following this, however, I begin a theming process that is true to the narrative strategy of inquiry where I no longer attempt to encapsulate participant response within descriptive words or phrases (Riessman, 2007). Instead, I view the stories holistically being especially careful to keep them intact in an effort to preserve meaning. Ultimately, short episodes of participant transgression may be grouped according to a typology of transgression, embodied in the text, and retold in a manner that creates a new story, rich in meaning from both participant words and researcher analysis (Riessman, 2007). This theming of the data is an attempt to address the research questions. As a final measure, holding true to a post-modern theoretical perspective, I unearth competing narratives between that of individual participants and the socially constructed institution of public education in New Jersey. The following sections will provide a detailed description of the processes that are summarized here. However, prior to highlighting the processes of data analysis it is first necessary to declare my stance as researcher with respect to the concept of identity as this will greatly influence the methodological approach during data analysis.

Toward an Understanding of Identity

Central to an understanding of acts of transgression is an understanding of identity (Kelchtermans, 2005). While this study addresses identity in depth in Chapter Two, it
is necessary to highlight the challenges associated with unearthing manifestations of identity through participant response as this will become a key focus throughout data analysis. Saldaña (2013) identifies the challenges in unearthing discreet manifestations of identity.

Some say will say identity is a state of being; others will say it is a state of becoming. Some say identity is the accumulation of one’s past; others say it is how we envision ourselves in the present and future. Some say identity is your individual sense of self; others say it is how you are similar to and different from other people. Some say identity is composed of the personal stories you tell; others say it is composed of the interpersonal relationships you have. Some say identity is what you do; some say it is what you value and believe; some say it is how you perform; and others say it is what you own and consume. Some say identity can be categorized; some say it is holistic; and others say it is composed of multiple and shifting forms in different social contexts. Some say identity is cultural; some say it is political; some say it is psychological; and others say it is sociological. Still others will say that it is all of the above; and still others will say it is some of that but it is also something more. (p. 62)

Clearly, identity is difficult to encapsulate into a single discreet manifestation.

Throughout the initial data analysis phase of coding this research little attempt was made to isolate identity as a single manifestation. In this way Saldaña’s (2013) comprehensive treatment of identity was pragmatically embraced. However, as data continued to be distilled and themed into discreet episodes of transgression, a more focused approach to isolate identity into discreet manifestations was employed. In this manner, broad and
lengthy participant narratives had to be separated into clipped and trimmed episodes of transgression for the purpose of understanding identity as well as any other factors that may have contributed to such acts. This will be further illustrated in the sections that follow.

**Coding**

The process of coding involves assigning a word, phrase, or caption to a discreet section of data (Saldaña, 2013). There are many types of codes that may be used according to the unit of analysis for a particular study, the strategy of inquiry used, and the nature of the research questions (Saldaña, 2013). This section will highlight the coding strategy adapted for this study.

**Simultaneous coding.** There are often multiple issues at work within a participant’s story. Storied responses may convey emotions, values, and contestations among actors, evaluative judgments, as well as description. To use only a single type of code to approach a storied response would result in leaving out a great wealth of information. Saldaña (2013) advocates for the use of simultaneous coding when a single type of coding simply cannot summarize the complexity of a transcript. Consequently, simultaneous coding of affective methods will be used in this study. They include, emotion coding, values coding, verses coding, and evaluation coding (Saldaña, 2013). Included among the affective codes are descriptive codes that seek to identify actions that may be unearthed in participant response. Narrative transcripts as well as graphic elicitations and field notes were coded using this method. Simultaneous coding occurred in a single cycle before moving on to the process of theming the data.
**Emotion coding.** Emotion coding labels emotions recalled by participant. It is especially appropriate for those qualitative studies that focus upon both intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions (Saldaña, 2013). As Chapter 2 of this dissertation reveals, emotions play a key part in how teachers perceive their relationships with others as well as their professional practice.

**Values coding.** Storied responses often provide a rich display of participant values, attitudes, and beliefs (Riesman, 2007). Every effort will be made to capture these displays through the use of values coding.

**Verses coding.** Saldaña (2013) describes verses coding as those codes that identify dichotomous or binary terms that may be in direct conflict with each other. This study has been designed based upon the presupposition that transgressive acts arise out of such conflict. Verses coding is well suited for the study of teacher transgression.

**Evaluation coding.** When participant words and actions are based upon judgments that they reveal about the phenomena they are experiencing, evaluation coding can be used to capture their perceptions (Saldaña, 2013). Kelchtermans (2005) posits that teachers often make value judgements relative to the tasks that they are asked to perform which may, under certain circumstances, lead to resistance. As a researcher I will draw my attention to instances where participants attempt to encapsulate the value of a given task placing particular emphasis on how these tasks perceptions may catalyze transgression.

**Descriptive coding.** Descriptive coding summarizes in a word or short phrase the basic topic of a passage (Saldaña, 2013). While not considered an affective coding method, descriptive coding was used in this simultaneous coding protocol due to the
need to provide descriptive labels to the actions that participants conveyed through both interview data and graphic elicitation.

Collectively, established codes function to help the researcher by unearthing patterns among participants across the vast amount of data that is collected throughout the research process (Saldaña, 2013). Through a single cycle of simultaneous coding employing both affective and descriptive coding methods, data was prepared to enter into the next phase of analysis where it would be themed.

**Analytical Memos**

Throughout the process of distilling data for meaning I created analytical memos that functioned to cross-check interview data with field notes and graphic elicitation data. Analytical memos are identified by Saldaña (2013) as “a place to dump your brain about participants, phenomenon, or processes under investigation” (p. 41). I used analytical memos as a means to be critical of my position in the research as well as a source for identifying emerging meaning. It is important to use analytical memos throughout the entire research process as a means to document and reflect upon code choices, emergent patterns, categories, subcategories, themes, concepts and the general flow of the study (Saldaña, 2013).

**Theming the Data**

In contrast to initial coding which often seeks to describe that which is made explicit and tangible through participant words, actions, or drawings; the process of theming is a movement along the analytical continuum toward the development of an understanding (Miles et al., 2013). Themes represent abstractions that may emerge from diverse pieces of data when they are integrated in codes. In this way “something jumps
out at you and suddenly makes sense” (Miles et al., 2013, p. 277).

In thematic analysis of narratives there is minimal emphasis placed on how narrative is spoken or the structure of speech and words as sometimes used in other forms of narrative analysis. Instead, the researcher is more concerned with what is told rather than how it is told (Riessman, 2007). In Chapter Two of this dissertation multiple frameworks were identified that may serve as a means to understand participant experiences and actions. These frameworks will be used as theoretical constructs to guide the analysis of participant narratives.

The unit of analysis in this study was transgressive acts; therefore much attention will be given to the small moments where the respondents reveal such actions. The purpose of these bounded segments of narrative is to create a rich detailed account of the situation rather than a detailed bibliographical account of the participant’s life story (Riessman, 2007). However, should broader life stories influence acts of transgression they will be worthy of deep analysis.

Through looking at these episodes holistically along with the previous codes that were assigned to them, I will attempt to classify them according to themes. Once the data is themed it may be used to inform the next process of data analysis, which involves retelling the story.

**Restorying**

Ultimately stories and graphic elicitations may be grouped according to a typology of transgression and be retold to construct an unambiguous plot line using ellipses to indicate deleted speech (Riessman, 2007). In this tradition, the final narrative text will represent grouped and themed participant narratives in concert with the
interpretation of these texts and graphics as viewed through a variety of theoretical constructs that were identified in Chapter Two of this dissertation. At this stage an explicit emphasis is placed upon addressing this study’s research questions.

**Exposing Dissonance, Subjugation, and Competing Narratives**

As a final analytic endeavor, I will use a post-modern perspective to interrogate narrative codes, themes, analytical memos, and graphic elicitation in search of dissonance, subjugation, and competition between narratives. In this manner there is a side-by-side comparison of the narrative produced by New Jersey’s public school teachers with that which is produced through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ. This is consistent with the approach exercised by Czarniawska (2004) where, as a final analytic endeavor, she re-stories participant narratives in such a manner that they expose dissonance, subjugation, and competing narratives.

**Data Quality and Rigor**

From a methodological perspective narrative is considered to have elusive, contested, and indeterminate borders (Riessman, 2007). It refers to a diverse interpretive approach to understanding spoken, written, and visual texts. Given this, there are two levels of validity that should be considered. The first encompasses the story told by the research participant, and the second is the story told by the researcher (Riessman, 2007).

Riessman (2007) identifies three forms of trustworthiness that may be inherent in participant narratives. They are coherence, persuasion, and presentation. Do the episodes of a participant’s story hang together? Does the ability exist to theoretically link the accounts for the purpose of persuasion? Is there flow from one account to another free from major gaps and inconsistencies? These questions served to screen participant
narratives prior to inclusion in this study.

Clandinin and Connelly (2004) provide a thorough description of the “risks, dangers, and abuses of narrative” (p. 181) with respect to the way that the researcher may compromise the validity of the story through the process of retelling it. First, they posit that researchers must use every available means to listen carefully to participants as they complete field texts and final research texts. Clandinin and Connelly (2004) treat every segment of text as though it is important with the potential of making an important point. They further urge that researchers must avoid the practice of using excessive “narrative smoothing” when recording data (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004, p. 181). They caution that the researcher must constantly make judgments critical to those events that get obscured through smoothing the data and must resist the natural tendency to form the “Hollywood plot” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004, p. 181). Finally, Clandinin and Connelly (2004) identify a researcher paradigm that is at the core of crafting trustworthy accounts of participant experience. They use the term “wakefulness” to describe an attitude of fluid inquiry that necessitates an ongoing pattern of self-reflection in such a way that the narrative researcher becomes a critic of themselves (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004, p. 182). In this way the narrative researcher is cognizant of the need to be a self-critic and understands that their work will continuously be the subject of criticism from more reductionist and formalistic research practitioners.

From a pragmatic perspective, I made every effort to ensure that the stories I heard as well as those that I told were trustworthy. Instead of collecting data from a single data collection method I relied upon data from three sources. In this way I was able to triangulate data from graphic elicitation, to interview, to field notes. Triangulation is
a process used to support and defend interpretations emanating from the data through the inclusion of multiple sources (Lather, 1986; Stringer, 2007). For this research, triangulation served as a means of actively and accurately hearing participant narratives thereby ensuring validity over using a single method alone.

Throughout this study I found it necessary to employ the process of bracketing to suppress the presuppositions, biases, and assumptions relative to the phenomena I was seeking to learn more about. Gearing (2004) identifies that reflexive bracketing is a process whereby the researcher becomes aware of his or her personal presuppositions and biases thereby reducing the threat of such variables having a negative effect on the reliability and accuracy of the findings. The use of analytical memos throughout the analysis process served as a medium to flesh-out these dichotomies. This research endeavor, guided by pre-existing theory and varying levels of presupposition called for a “systematized reflexivity” in order to interpret how the “logic of the data” shaped the findings and conclusions (Lather, 1986, p. 67). Analytic memos provided that opportunity throughout and addressed issues of researcher bias.

Chapter Two of this dissertation provided a comprehensive theoretical framework through which I could begin to interpret participant narratives. By aligning themes from the participant’s narratives within the boundaries of pre-existing themes developed by other researchers, I was able to more adequately validate the study’s findings.

With further attention to trustworthiness, Riessman (2007) suggests that the ultimate test of validity is when a piece of narrative research stimulates future research in the scholarly community. This research was case centered offering an understanding that is grounded in participant words and graphic elicitation. Its future use to inform policy

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development could one day serve as a form of pragmatic validity.

**Researcher’s Position**

My personal experiences as an educator have demonstrated that students gravitate toward a teacher’s unique and authentic style of teaching. Teachers that teach in a manner that is most natural for them are often very effective. I believe that emotional intelligence permeates the teaching practice. Those teachers who are passionate about their content and methods of delivery get a favorable response from students. Conversely, teachers who emulate behaviors in the classroom for which they hold no allegiance are often not capable of making such connections with students. The same may be said of curriculum and assessment strategies that depart from a teacher’s natural style.

I have a deep concern for our current trajectory in America’s public schools. The rubrication of practice is at an all time high. While prescriptive standards have permeated our practice for many years, today we see rubrics that attempt to standardize the behavior, mannerisms, and gestures of teachers as they engage in pedagogical practice thereby reducing them to automatons for fear of losing their jobs. There is an increased emphasis on surveillance enhanced by technologies that create an ever-shrinking space for teachers to pursue an autonomous self.

By making my beliefs, values, and attitudes explicit I will be more capable of bracketing presuppositions, biases, and assumptions so that they do not interfere with the ability to interpret the stories of the participants (Gearing, 2004).

**Philosophical Assumptions**

I believe that individuals, through their own experiences in life, constitute their own values, meaning, and sense of being. I take an existentialist position and assert
that an individual's existence reigns superior to their essence or the labels that may be
assigned to them by others (Dowling, 2007).

What is the reality of things just as it is? It is the absence of essence.

Unskilled persons whose eye of intelligence is obscured by the darkness of
delusion conceive of an essence of things and then generate attachment and
hostility with regard to them (Tsong-kha-pa, 2002, p. 210)

An existential philosophy deeply challenges me as a researcher. Husserl (1970) reminds
us that a phenomenon is created only after that which is ordinarily taken for granted
begins to be called into question. In essence, we create the phenomenon that we are
researching. Given this, it is the belief that all actors must take part in co-constructing
what we, as researchers, identify as the phenomenon of study. Such an approach is
validated by the ontological alignment that reality is unique to an individual’s perspective
and may be multiple.

The axiological alignment recognizes value as omnipresent in all of life’s
interactions. As researchers we assign our own values to the situations we observe. Data
is value laden I gravitate toward an approach whereby I engage in a continuous cycle of
self-reflection and validation. In this manner, the values, biases and assumptions will not
be set aside, instead they become a critical part of the interpretive process (Laverty, 2008; Wilcke, 2002). However, it is necessary to bracket those values and assumptions that are
uniquely my own and not allow them to pervade the analysis of the phenomena of study
(Creswell, 2012).

The epistemological stance recognizes that knowledge is known through the
subjective experiences of the individual as they navigate their life’s journey. Given
this, it is my belief that knowledge is unique to an individual’s experience with their immediate environment. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct research as close to the participant’s natural environment as possible.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

My perspective is largely shaped by postmodern thought (Hicks, 2011; Lyotard, 1984). Throughout life I have expressed the habit of deconstructing what others perceive to be truth, reason, and reality. It is my perspective that many of the problems associated with our civilization, such as oppression, violence, and the destruction of our environment, are a product of manufactured reasons, truths, and distorted realities. In this manner, I commonly challenge the coalition of power and reason. I seldom succumb to conveniently packaging any witnessed phenomena of human behavior into an absolute of truth or reason. I recognize a need to deconstruct concealed hierarchies of power that exert oppressive forces and control over others. I am critical of the means through which we allow media, politics, and post-positivist influence to shape knowledge with respect to the social order of human behavior. Such claims to knowledge often fail to embrace a multiplicity of values, cultures, or those attributes, which make us unique. Consequently, I take a postmodern perspective and critically deconstruct much of what is espoused to be truth, reason, and knowledge in our modern world.

When trying to make sense of the social world, I assume a constructivist worldview. I acknowledge that interpretations emanate from our own personal, cultural, and historical experiences. I embrace the fact that meaning is constructed through an individual’s personal experiences and history. Meaning is forged through social practices. Theoretical orientations (explanations) will be displayed through the lived stories of
the individuals involved in this research inquiry. Narrative method, as a means to understand the experiences of others, is deeply resonant with my worldview and theoretical perspectives.

**Ethical Considerations**

Narrative researchers are confronted with the challenge of needing to delineate the purpose of their research clearly before even establishing initial relationships with participants through the process of University review (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004). In this regard it is implied to the participants that the full research process has been delineated before it even begins. This presents great conflict, as eliciting narrative responses from participants is often emergent and contingent upon the context of the moment.

There are other ethical considerations in critical studies such as this one when the researcher attempts to make a side-by-side comparison of narratives. Comparing teacher narratives of quality teaching practice against state and institutional narratives can quickly reveal dissonance and competing agendas. Giving voice to a population of professionals that transgress the imposed accountability practices must occur within confined spaces that allow participants to feel safe and uncompromised. Revealing the identities of these participants through their narratives can be a source of risk that the researcher must negotiate in collaboration with each participant.

It is the primary responsibility of the researcher to be aware of those participants who may be most vulnerable to the nature of the inquiry and make every effort to protect them (Sieber & Tolich, 2012). There is inherent risk and vulnerability in any research endeavor. Vulnerabilities in human research may be emotional, social, psychological,
physical, economic, legal or may arise out of mere inconvenience (Sieber & Tolich, 2012)

**Inconvenience.** This vulnerability centers upon taking up the time that the participant might otherwise use more productively (Sieber & Tolich, 2012). In this study every effort was made to conduct interviews at a time and place most convenient for the participant. However, due to the sustained nature of narrative interviews, the strategy of inquiry used in this study may create increased exposure to this vulnerability when compared with more deductive quantitative methodologies.

**Emotional, physical, or psychological harm.** This study places no emphasis on inflicting terror upon participants that could lead to emotional or psychological harm. Additionally, there is little risk of physical harm in this study. However, the nature of the sampling protocol, graphic elicitation activity, and interview questions may conjure thoughts that stimulate emotions among participants. Conversely, teachers experiencing great levels of discord with AchieveNJ may experience a therapeutic value from the research process.

**Social, economic, and legal harm.** Every effort will be made to ensure the security and confidentiality of data in this study. No identifiable information will be used when describing the results in order to alleviate risks. Aliases will be used to masque the identity of participants as well as their institutions. Interviews are not conducted at the participant’s place of employment.

**Transparency as a researcher.** Creswell (2013) identifies additional ethical considerations centered upon functioning in complete transparency as a researcher. He identifies the importance of a full disclosure with respect to the purpose of the study,
gaining all necessary permissions to conduct research, and providing proof of compliance throughout all phases of the research process. Prior to initiating this research IRB approval was secured. Prior to initiating interviews participants were provided a letter of consent that fully outlined the nature of the research, the degree to which data would be kept confidential, and that the participant may withdraw at any time.
Chapter 4

Overview of Findings

This chapter introduces the major findings that emerged at the conclusion of data collection and analysis from a purposeful sample of ten public school teachers, grades K-12, located throughout the state of New Jersey. The study was crafted to answer four primary research questions:

1. How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?
2. What transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ?
3. What motivates transgressive responses?
4. How have teacher’s professional relationships changed as a result of AchieveNJ?

This chapter will be organized to link findings to each of the four research questions guiding this study. Two code maps (Table 2 and Table 3) are included that align primary codes with overall findings and research questions. Code maps are a graphical means through which researchers may link research questions with data sources and illustrate the categories or themes that are developed over the continuum of the data analysis process (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002).

Key Findings

Revisiting the theoretical frameworks outlined in chapter two, Kelchtermans’s Personal Interpretive Framework (2009) provided a useful lens for identifying the means through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it, and act in it. A teacher’s deeply held notion of what constitutes quality practice proved to be an overarching
theme that catalyzed a variety of responses, such as; how that teacher weighs, values, or devalues, policy technologies, as well as the means through which the teacher negotiates the implementation of such technologies. Additionally, the dialogical view of identity, as posed by Akkerman and Meijer (2011), assisted in an understanding of how New Jersey’s public school teacher can, despite such a barrage of contextual challenges to their identity, still maintain a consistent sense of self through the passage of time. The paragraphs that follow will summarize each finding and link each to the study’s research questions.

**Shrinking space.** The “shrinking space” (Crocco & Costigan, 2007, p.520) metaphor is used to describe the conditions through which teachers are challenged to maintain autonomy in an educational landscape confined by intense prescription. Addressing three of the four research questions in this study, the shrinking space metaphor speaks to the questions of how New Jersey’s public school teachers are experiencing the policy technologies of Achieve New Jersey, how their professional relationships have changed, and provides an explanation for that which may catalyze transgressive response. Narratives revealed that the policy technologies of AchieveNJ create a shrinking space as teachers feel challenged to compromise their ethic of care, to overlook the affective domains of their practice, and to forego the time it takes to forge meaningful relationships with students, peers, and administrators. Participants expose that the policy technologies are all-consuming, leaving little time for professional dialogue, autonomy in planning or evaluation, or the development of authentic pedagogical practices that fall outside of a district’s chosen rubric of evaluation. In this way, the policy technologies encapsulated by AchieveNJ have functioned to reorient the work
of teachers causing them to reorganize themselves, almost exclusively, as subjects for
evaluation (Ball, 2003). Narratives reveal that professional relationships are challenged
by the shrinking space as teachers no longer have the autonomy to guide collaborative
time and collegial discourse outside of the all-consuming need for policy compliance.
Manifesting an importance for autonomy, teachers described various acts of transgression
ranging from superficial compliance, while under the scrutiny of inspectors, to, open acts
of defiance.

Alienation. This study sought to illuminate how teachers are experiencing the
policy technologies of AchieveNJ. Participants expressed an overall feeling of alienation
over the climate of education in New Jersey at the time that the fieldwork was performed.
Implicitly they shared the belief that all eyes were solely on them to raise the
performance level of students. While it is difficult to determine if this was due entirely to
the policy technologies of AchieveNJ, participants clearly conveyed a level of
hopelessness that they would bear the full responsibility for student under achievement
on standardized tests as a direct consequence of the policy mechanisms included in
AchieveNJ.

Transgressive acts. This study focused on unearthing the transgressive responses
that emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the
policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ. Transgressive responses transpired from
multiple spaces in response to; standardized testing, district adopted teacher evaluation
instruments, SGOs, professional development centering upon AchieveNJ, and summative
conferences with educational managers. Transgressors included teachers, administrators
who attempted to shield staff, and students who would often “play along”, or, even,
openly defy, the policy technologies. Transgressive acts included the creation of performances, avoidance, fabrication of documents, opting–out, open refusal, and escape.

**Questions of validity.** Participants were critical of the claimed validity of AchieveNJ, which served as a catalyst for transgressive responses. They largely devalued the quantitative scores created through the policy technologies. This often centered upon perceived issues associated with, both the teacher evaluation, and student standardized testing instruments. Many implied that district adopted teacher evaluation instruments were too “checklist” like focusing on only a small array of observable teaching behaviors. Additionally, participants communicated dissatisfaction with the use of quantitative numbers to relay the quality of practice, or the value of the relationships that they forge with students. They described that the teacher evaluation instruments failed to take into consideration the less tangible aspects of practice that many perceived to be at the core of quality teaching. Furthermore, some participants described that they had, or had peers with, AchieveNJ effectiveness scores that were incongruent with other measures of performance. In this way, these teachers indicated that they valued a broad array of performance indicators such as the respect afforded by peers, students, parents, and community members. Finally, with respect to the validity of the teacher evaluation instrument, participants conveyed that the educational managers responsible for scoring them were often inconsistent or lacked knowledge about the technical use of the district’s adopted model. Teachers were often assigned numbers aligning them as mediocre in areas that they perceived to be exemplary and, in numerous instances, they were told not to expect scores above the range of mediocre. Teachers in this study also challenged the validity of SGOs and standardized tests. They devalued the use of SGOs to arrive at a
teacher’s overall performance rating, as they perceived them to be too easy to skew in favor of performance. Questioning the validity of both SGOs and standardized tests, such as the PARCC assessment, teachers expressed the belief that not all students are equally ready, or willing to, take such assessments for reasons that may fall outside the teacher’s locus of control. Questions of validity motivated multiple transgressions. Most of these were centered upon the fabrication and/or pseudo-interpretation of SGOs, or, in the case of students, the choice to opt-out of state mandated standardized tests.

**Proffiting through the failure of schools.** Participants communicated the belief that New Jersey’s public schools have become a playground for profiteering. Some express that the packaged evaluation instruments purchased by school districts do little more than assign a new label to a limited range of practices and philosophies that have long been valued in education. They question the motives behind the images promulgated to the masses that New Jersey’s public schools are failing, and were critical of the concept that companies and individuals are poised to profit from creating panic through the fear of failure on standardized tests. A synergism existed between this critical view and the questions of validity raised in the preceding section of this chapter. As such, both addressed a guiding research question in this study that attempted to reveal those conditions, attitudes, or beliefs that motivate transgressive response.

**Authenticity.** In direct conflict with the shrinking space, participants in this study displayed a need for authenticity in the classroom. Consequently, this finding serves to address the study’s research questions by providing, yet another condition leading to transgressive response. Through narrative interview and graphic elicitation, participants shared unique strategies that they found to be useful in connecting with students on an
individual level. They described a diverse array of pedagogical techniques designed to inspire and motivate students at both an instructional and emotional level. A strong ethic of care permeated their stories. Conveying feelings of pride, they disclosed a broad variety of pedagogical tools that they had amassed throughout their careers. These practitioners punctuated the need to have autonomy in making instructional decisions. Under AchieveNJ, participants conveyed the belief that they are being forced to use a limited number of tools, only those purchased by their respective district, to conduct their craft. For them, this resulted in pressures to emulate practices and performances that seem unnatural, superficial, and somewhat contrived. Transgressive acts emerged from the teacher’s need for authenticity.

**Administrator as compliance manager.** This research sought to understand the means through which AchieveNJ has altered professional relationships. The transformation of the role of the principal as instructional leader, to that of educational manager or inspector, was made explicit through participant words. Teachers indicated that the new educational manager, sculpted through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ, offers little in the area of instructional leadership. Conveying empathy for their inspectors, participants illuminated the transformational forces currently levied upon them as a consequence of the burdens of AchieveNJ. The inspector is involuntarily consumed with the technical intricacies of AchieveNJ and may be paradoxically incapable of, and/or, impartial to, seeing beyond its prescriptive boundaries. Teachers involved in this study exposed a feeling of going unnoticed when exhibiting, what they perceived to be, quality practices and behaviors outside the boundary of their district’s packaged evaluation instrument. They longed for meaningful feedback and
instructional leadership. They expressed the feeling that their administrators are less approachable and less committed to their professional growth. This had a marginalizing effect on the relationships forged with school leaders.
# Table 2: Code Mapping for Research Questions One and Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RQ #1</th>
<th>RQ #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?</td>
<td>How have teacher’s professional relationships changed as a result of AchieveNJ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Fourth Iteration: Data Application

Teachers have little time or space to exercise autonomous planning, collaboration, or classroom practice due to the prescriptive nature of AchieveNJ. Teachers experience alienation from the policy technologies. Relationships among teaching colleagues, school leaders, and students are marginalized as a consequence of the shrinking space. The new educational manager is involuntarily consumed with the technical intricacies of AchieveNJ and may be paradoxically incapable of, and/or, impartial to, seeing beyond its prescriptive boundaries.

### Third Iteration: Findings

| 3A,3B. Shrinking Space | 4A,4B. Administrators as Compliance Manager | 4A,4D. Shrinking Space |

### Second Iteration: Codes

| 3A. One Size Fits All-Robotic Teaching | 4A. Consumes Administrative Time and Focus |
| 3B. Good on Paper, Bad in Practice | 4B. Administrator as Manager |
| 3C. Blaming Teachers | 4D. Teachers Grow Through Prof. Collaboration |

### First Iteration: Codes (Code Type: D=Descriptive, E=Evaluative, V=Values)

| 3A. (D) Narrowing of Curriculum | 4A. (D) Ambiguous to Administrators |
| 3A. (D) Prescriptive | 4A. (V) AchieveNJ=High Burden to Adm. |
| 3A. (D) One Size Fits All | 4B. (D) Admin as Managers |
| 3A. (D) Everything has Become a Checklist | 4B. (V) Not Feeling Respected by Administrators |
| 3A. (V) Good Lesson Plans ≠ Good Teaching | 4B. (V) Administration is not Committed |
| 3B. (D) Congruence With AchieveNJ | 4B. (V) Administration is Less Approachable |
| 3B. (E) Espoused ≠ Practice | 4D. (V) Staff Collaboration is Important |
| 3B. (D) Shrinking Space |
| 3C. (D) Teachers are the Problem |
| 3C. (D) Teachers are a Target |
Table 3

**Code Mapping for Research Questions Three and Four**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RQ #3</th>
<th>RQ #4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies?</td>
<td>What motivates transgressive responses?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fourth Iteration: Data Application**

Transgressive responses included the creation of performances, avoidance, fabrication of documents, opting–out, open refusal, and escape. Teachers place little value on the validity of the scores they receive through AchieveNJ and question the genuine purpose for all of the data that is collected. Manifesting an importance for the intangibles, teachers refuse to submit to the absolutes of prescription, or to an imposed rubric of pedagogical practice.

**Third Iteration: Findings**

1A,1B. Transgressive Acts

1A. Subversive Acts
1B. Avoidance

2A. Questions of Validity
2B. Profiting Through The Failure of Schools
2C. Challenges to Making Authentic Connections

**Second Iteration: Codes**

| 1A. Subversive Acts | 2A. Score ≠ Effectiveness or Learning |
| 1B. Avoidance | 2B. Exploitation for Profit |
| 2C. Overlooks the Needs of Students |

**First Iteration: Codes (Code Type: D=Descriptive, E=Evaluative,V=Values)**

| 1A.(D) Superficial Compliance | 2A.(V) My Teacher Score Has Little Value |
| 1A.(D) Open Resistance | 2A.(E) Efficacy of Testing Regime |
| 1A.(D) Gaming | 2A.(E) Efficacy of Teacher Evaluation |
| 1B.(D) Escape | Instrument |
| | 2A.(E) Worthless |
| | 2A.(D) Problem With Quantitative Measure |
| | 2A.(D) Gauging Success |
| | 2B.(V) Schools as Corporations |
| | 2B.(D) Companies Profiting From Education |
| | 2C.(V) The State Does Not Know Student Needs |
| | 2C.(V) Student Input is Important |
| | 2C.(V) Authentic Connections Important |
| | 2C.(V) Thematic Instruction Important |
A Look Ahead

This dissertation was written using a manuscript style. Therefore, this chapter brings closure to the overall hierarchal structure and format of this dissertation and research endeavor. The remaining two chapters will be in the form of journal articles that will be submitted for publication. Each article focuses on the key findings summarized above, however, each is more thoroughly discussed along with supporting literature.

The first article, comprising chapter five, will focus on the overarching themes of the “shrinking space” (Crocco & Costigan, 2007, p. 520) in combination with the “teacher’s need for authenticity.” This manuscript will be submitted to The Journal of Education Policy, a Taylor and Francis Publication. The article will frame the policy technologies of AchieveNJ within the larger discourse of performativity and will revisit the narrative of the transgressor to expose the simultaneity of resistance and acquiescence that, together, may give birth to a new construct for understanding what it means to be both teacher and learner during neoliberal times. The policy technologies investigated in this study emerged at a time of expanding global neoliberal influence. In this way, similar policies already have, and will continue to, play out in other educational contexts globally. The choice to pursue publication in a journal of multinational interest such as The Journal of Educational Policy, arises from a need to critically engage the dominant narrative of global neoliberalism and the increasingly performative contexts that are emerging within education worldwide (Lincoln, Gonzalez & Gonzalez, 2008).

The second article, comprising chapter six, will focus on the theme of “administrator as compliance manager” and will be submitted to Educational Leadership, a publication of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
(ASCD). The focus of this article will be on enhancing practice by illuminating the findings of this research and offering practical suggestions to school leaders to avoid the pitfalls associated with the use of teacher evaluation rubrics.

I will present the findings of this research at two conference venues. The first, in November of 2015, at the Critical Theories of the 21st Century conference at West Chester University. The second presentation will be at the Critical Questions in Education conference in San Antonio Texas, in March of 2016.
Chapter 5

Transgressive Acts in an Era of Accountability: Education Within the Context of Performativity

Abstract

**Purpose:** The purpose of our study was to investigate the transgressive responses that have emerged in the wake of AchieveNJ, New Jersey’s new teacher evaluation system. Through this research, we retell the story of New Jersey’s public school teachers as they practice within an environment rife with calculation. **Methods:** Using qualitative methods, we conduct graphic elicitations and narrative interviews of ten veteran New Jersey educators. **Findings:** Participants in the study created superficial performances or exhibited pseudo-compliance while under inspection in an effort to retain autonomy in practice. As an alternative explanation to understanding performances, we embrace the notion that the acculturating forces that transcend the performative contexts from which these teachers must practice, exert profound influence on transforming them into entrepreneurial and enterprising individuals. In this way, we suggest that teachers may use the instruments of calculation, found within AchieveNJ, in concert with performances, as a means toward self-advancement. We create a hybridized view of education within the performative context that permits the coexistence of both explanations. **Implications:** The recommendations we make for researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners call upon the need to expand the focus of analysis when viewing the consequences of the performativity agenda in public schools.
Market priorities perpetuate the need for managers and managerial processes within worldwide educational contexts. These forces, motivated by competition and governmental target-setting, have the consequence of reorienting the work of teachers toward the needs of international competition. A flood of educational policy mandates permeate the globe with inter-related ideas that serve to re-orient education and align it with these tenets (Apple, 2014; Ball, 2003; Giroux, 2011; Lakes & Carter, 2011). The public finds these new educational mandates attractive as they serve to align, ostensibly, public sector norms with private sector norms (Giroux, 2011), like those of standardization and accountability, and represent the educational imperative for the 21st Century in America’s public schools. Market values masquerading as test performances, quantitative teacher performance ratings, and prescriptive content standards have become the gold standard for gauging the quality of students, teachers, and schools throughout many states in the nation. Consequently, we find these values and rhetoric throughout policy initiatives. Within the United States, educational policies such as NCLB, Race to the Top, and various STEM initiatives perpetuate the myth that market solutions represent the most appropriate means to ameliorate problems within the larger educational system (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011).

Our research will illuminate how one such policy, AchieveNJ, is reshaping the work of New Jersey’s teachers as they prepare themselves to be measured against this new pedagogical yardstick. Explicating the contestations that emerge when teachers are forced to negotiate a new professional existence rife with prescription and measurement, the narratives of New Jersey’s veteran educators will be made explicit, revealing how they are overwhelmingly driven by a commitment to authentic educational practices.
Manifesting an importance for the intangibles, the transgressor refuses to submit to the absolutes of prescription, or to a universally imposed rubric of pedagogical practice. Creating illusions of compliance to satiate checklist-wielding inspectors, the transgressor has evolved into a master of fabrication. The act of creating fabrications, as we will discuss later, may contest the binary terms of compliance or resistance, as, from one point of view, this action serves to create a sense of teacher agency within a prescriptive context; however, from an alternate point of view, such fabrications may serve to simultaneously advance the self-interest of the teacher through the somewhat enterprising use of the instruments of performativity.

Focusing upon the dialogical view of identity which includes both modern and postmodern views, our research will investigate the spaces that teachers create between the identity of self and the “multiplicity” of identity (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, p. 308) which must be negotiated through social context. We will offer a view of the teacher as someone who is free to police the borders of the self, and to partake, or not, in a variety of identities. We will visit a hybrid space where the need for meaningful relationships is met by the need for performance, collegiality meets compliance, and authenticity meets scripted practice, and suggest that the new forms that emerge from this space require a new rendering of thought and different approaches for sense-making.

**Policy Reform in New Jersey**

Property taxes in New Jersey are among some of the highest in the nation (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The private sector has experienced pay cuts, lay-offs, and job loss. At a time when New Jersey citizens need economic relief, gubernatorial candidate Chris Christie emerged and advanced his political platform through his plans to cut back
spending, a stance that edged his victory at his election into office in 2009. Encapsulating
the governor’s common-sense approach to the economic conditions experienced by New
Jersey residents was an emphasis on using private sector values in the public sector.
Espousing his ideals that educational reform is the key to repairing a broken economy,
Christie asserts that New Jersey’s schools are failing and signed into action multiple
pieces of legislation that attempted to overhaul the educational system. In challenging
economic times the private sector has little sympathy for enhancing public employee pay
raises, preserving pension systems, or layoffs (Spina, 2011). Fueled by a news media that
commonly perpetuated false equivalencies through framing reform initiatives through the
threat of dramatic economic consequences (Goldstein & Chesky, 2011), Christie was able
to dramatically alter the educational landscape in New Jersey. In a very short time,
Christie was successful in freezing school aid, cutting back the school funding formula,
pushing charter schools, and challenging the state’s teacher unions. He used multiple
media sources to perpetuate the crisis of New Jersey’s schools as he enacted, what
appeared to be, a common sense approach to granting New Jersey residents tax relief
(Spina, 2011).

TEACHNJ was signed into action in 2012, under Christie’s regime (NJDOE, 2014d). The core of the legislation was focused upon reforming the process of teaching,
and maintaining tenure for all of New Jersey’s public school teachers. Tenure decisions
in New Jersey are now based upon measures of student achievement in combination with
the use of new observation protocols designed to quantify effective teacher behaviors in
the classroom. “AchieveNJ” represents the teacher evaluation element of the tenure
reform legislation found in the enactment of TEACHNJ (NJDOE, 2014c). It was
proposed to the State Board of Education on March 6, 2013 for implementation throughout New Jersey’s public schools beginning in 2013-14 (NJDOE, 2014c). The first component of AchieveNJ, the teacher practice component, is based upon a regimen of systematic classroom observations that culminate in a measurement that is designed to numerically encapsulate a teacher’s pedagogical practice. The second component, the student achievement component, is measured through SGOs for all teachers, and SGPs as an additional measure for less than 20% of New Jersey’s teachers. SGPs are correlated to state standardized testing results and SGOs are correlated with locally created assessments. Cumulatively, both the teacher practice and student achievement components function to create a teacher’s calculated “effectiveness” rating. This value is used to inform decisions of teacher retention or termination in New Jersey’s public schools (NJDOE, 2014c).

Confounded by the burden to show proof, New Jersey’s public school teachers have become subjects of calculation under the regulation of AchieveNJ. The increased emphasis on surveillance in concert with a new institutionally accepted “checklist” for what constitutes effective practice has created perturbations throughout New Jersey’s public schools. Lyotard (1984) reveals the “realm of terror” (p. 46) that is created when outside forces impose a “threat to eliminate” (p. 46) through the deployment of technical performance criterion. This threat to eliminate, produced through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ, has (re)formed what it means to teach and learn in New Jersey’s public schools. Today in New Jersey, the performative worth of a teacher is largely determined by their ability to create classroom performances that align with their district’s evaluation rubric and to output students who are skilled test takers.
Policy Technologies

AchieveNJ represents an amalgamation of measures that collectively function to encapsulate the performative worth of a teacher. Ball (2013) describes policy technologies as involving “the calculated deployment of forms of organization and procedures, and disciplines or bodies of knowledge, to organize human forces and capabilities into functioning systems.” (p. 48). The technologies include elements that involve relationships, procedures for motivation, change mechanisms, and responsibilities. Ball (2013) identifies three primary policy technologies: “the market” (p. 52), “managerialism” (p. 55), and “performativity” (p. 57). Based on the work of Lyotard (1984), these policy technologies are situated as the reformation of identity, a shift in relationships, and new values for what it means to teach and be a teacher.

The market introduces competition into the public sector (Ball, 2013). Testing, which is promoted as a means to assess the quality of students, teachers, and schools, provides objective information regarding student learning that parents may use to inform choices about the schools where they will send their children (Hursh, 2007). The market is created, sustained, and nurtured through governmental legislation in concert with school policies that provide such choices. This commodification of education perpetuates a paradigm shift from education as a public service, to education as a choice commodity (Giroux, 2011).

With its roots embedded in corporate culture, managerialism transforms the role of school leader as instructional leader, to school leader as compliance manager. There is a shift from professional values to entrepreneurial competitive values (Ball, 2013). Emphasis is placed on creating mechanisms of surveillance to closely monitor the
production of teachers. The new school manager is consumed with measuring the behavior of teachers and comparing it to an institutionally accepted norm (Ball, 2013).

An abundance of surveillance mechanisms exist for monitoring teacher productivity. Educational managers are able to oversee and ensure that teachers are planning lessons that are in alignment with prescriptive content and teacher performance standards through carefully reviewing lesson plans. This process has become perfected in an era of computer technology and further supported by private entities that profit from the development of products that map teacher lessons with prescribed curriculum standards (Burch, 2009). Additionally, teachers’ classroom practices and behaviors are closely monitored through a variety of technologies, again made possible by an expanding presence of private entrepreneurs who market teacher observation tools, trainings, and supportive technologies (Burch, 2009). With managerialism, of key importance to the prosperity of the school is the educational manager’s ability to create a culture where teachers feel accountable and personally invested in the norms and values of the school. The emphasis is on efficiency and effectiveness. Of value is that which works best to create higher production (Ball, 2003). Within the educational realm, production myopically masquerades as test scores on standardized exams (Giroux, 2009).

Lyotard (1984) provides a glimpse of the implications of “performativity” (p. 47) within the educational context. When the wider social system imposes the demands of efficiency above all else, it may be at the expense of the educational ideals of personal autonomy and emancipation. Ultimately, under such impositions, that which is most highly valued, is that which produces the skills necessary to perform efficiently in the wider social system (Lyotard, 1984). The ideal that education exists for the greater
good of society is philosophically challenged as the tenants of performativity function to reshape the purpose of education for producing workers that efficiently participate in global markets (Giroux, 2009; Marshall, 1999). Ball describes performativity as “a regime of accountability that employs judgments, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition, and change” (2013, p. 57). The performative worth of the teacher may, therefore, be gauged by their ability to raise standardized test scores which are strategically aligned to a model curriculum (Kumashiro et al., 2012).

In the practice of teaching in New Jersey, the call for accountability is expressed through a variety of activities such as pre-observations, post-observations, annual reviews, and data conferences. For teachers, databases are maintained that house student test data, evaluations, and anecdotal comments made by educational managers past and present. The data, ultimately used as a basis of comparison for the value or worth of the teacher, may be used to inform decisions of retention or termination (NJDOE, 2014d).

The regimen of performativity and accountability represents an enormous commitment of resources for all involved. Principals and supervisors, under increased demands of compliance, perform more classroom observations, pre-conferences, post-conferences, data conferences, and annual evaluations. Similarly, teachers and students devote increasing amounts of instructional time to performance benchmarks such as standardized tests and pre-test activities designed to enhance their performance on these benchmarks (Hursh, 2007). Additional personnel and financial resources are called into play to manage the ever-growing body of data that is generated under the pressures of compliance. Students become transformed into highly skilled test takers; what Giroux (2011) describes as “cheerful robots” (p. 3) as they function as a cog in the wheel of
the accountability continuum for teachers and schools. Ultimately, the pressures of
performativity (re)form the day-to-day practice of what it means to be a teacher, as well
as the role of the learner (Ball, 2003).

**Policy Technologies in Research and Practice**

Within the current socio-political context of school reform is a vigorous
commitment to teacher evaluation. New standards based evaluation systems, that
incorporate value added measures based upon student achievement data, seek to
reengineer teacher evaluation along the overarching policy logic that such measures will
ultimately improve schools (Hallinger et al., 2014). With more than a decade underway
of implementing the new evaluation models, Hallinger, Heck, and Murphy (2014) sought
to examine the extant literature in search of empirical evidence for their effectiveness in
enhancing teaching and learning in schools. They concluded that “the policy logic driving
teacher evaluation remains considerably stronger than empirical evidence of positive
results” (Hallinger et al., 2014, p. 21). In particular, they found that the literature
supporting the new generation models was characterized by “overly optimistic
interpretations” of the underlying literature with a tendency to overlook critical
limitations of the research design (Hallinger et al., 2014, p. 22). They unearthed little
evidence that associated the new generation of models with capacity development in
teachers, or consistent growth in the learning outcomes of students. Moreover, they
reveal that the related literature fails to support the espoused policy logic that teacher
evaluation represents a high impact school improvement strategy and found numerous
reasons for why administrators responsible for performing evaluations find it difficult,
even counter productive, to intensify their efforts at teacher evaluation. They conclude:
“we assert that stronger evidence of impact should be obtained prior to undertaking a major reinvestment of staff time and money into this strategy of school improvement” (Hallinger et al., 2014, p. 23). As will later be revealed in our findings, teachers functioning under the burden of AchieveNJ, do in fact, express their consternation with the enormous commitment of time and resources invested in policy compliance. The following sections will examine the literature related to resistance, professionalism, and identity as these attributes of professional practice collectively provide a foundation for understanding our findings.

**Resistance, Professionalism, and Identity**

In an effort to approach an understanding of transgression, it is necessary to, first, make explicit both the definition of transgression as well as how this definition was adapted for our study. We will then examine extant literature in the area of teacher resistance in order to unearth the psychological, social, and emotional contestations that may catalyze transgressive acts.

Transgression may be defined as, an act, or instance of transgressing as infringement or violation of a law, command, or duty. In essence, it constitutes crossing a line (Foucault, 1977). However, for the purpose of this research the basic definition was broadened to fit the context of the study. Subsequently, transgression was defined as an act against a code of conduct for the purpose of avoidance, subversion, or modification; rituals and performances enacted for the purpose of gaming the system thereby creating illusions of compliance. Transgression, although broadly defined here, may be considered a form of resistance.
Resistance. Just as change is an omnipresent part of organizational life, so too is resistance. Manifestations of resistance pervade every organization (Smith, 2005). Gersick (1991) describes organizations as being inertial due to the fact that members are commonly resistant to change. Inertia is a manifestation of an organization’s “deep structure” (Burke, 2011, p. 98) which safely shields the organization from creating new alternatives outside of the comfort zone. Lewin (1951) posits that an essential element of creating organizational change is a focus upon unfreezing an organization’s deep structure. This is often accomplished through creating perturbations within the organization that give way to new structures when the existing order, or “deep structure” (p. 98), is being challenged (Burke, 2011). Within the context of public education, perturbations come in many forms, including that of public policy; in the case of New Jersey these perturbations were created through AchieveNJ.

Resistance may be both/either covert or overt. Sonu (2012) revisits the notion of resistance as a visible protest and attempts to expand its parameters. Using a new view of agency that includes teachers and students, who behind the backs of school managers interrogate and criticize their institution’s agenda, she describes how urban teachers transgress prescriptive mandates in an effort to disempower the otherwise subordinating influence of neoliberal policies in an urban school. Borrowing the notion of “hidden transcripts” from Scott (1992, p. 4), Sonu contends that teachers are forced to hide behind a degree of performative stealth when subjected to an evaluative environment permeated with surveillance technologies (2012).

The literature is robust with examples of teacher resistance to mandated reform initiatives (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Bushnell, 2003; Crocco & Costigan, 2007;
Kelchtermans, 2005) These studies often seek to understand the complex interplay among participants, setting, and context of reform in an effort to articulate the cause of resistance. When instructional programs become increasingly prescriptive as a consequence of controlling educational policies, teachers have a limited ability to implement professional principles. Principles serve as personal guides for educators and reside in the domains of diversified instruction, high expectations, and creativity (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006). Therefore, resistance may be rooted in professional principles rather than psychological deficits or a broad overarching reluctance to change. Teachers manifest an understanding of teacher professionalism that includes the ability to adjust instruction to the needs of individual learners, high expectations, an emphasis on learning communities, and the ability to partake in self-critical dialogue about their practices with colleagues. These attributes, all of which characterize highly effective teaching practice, may come into conflict with prescriptive policies, which often, ironically, espouse to enhance teacher professionalism (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006).

Resistance may not always uncover itself as an open act of defiance. “Water-cooler-discourse” often conjures strong emotions as teachers complain about loss of autonomy in decision-making and practice (Bushnell, 2003, p. 266). Often it is only veteran teachers, protected by tenure and social prestige, that express their dissatisfaction through open acts of defiance (Bushnell, 2003). There is more of a tendency to maintain a “this too shall pass” attitude as teachers struggle to maintain agency when they perceive their professionalism is under attack. In this way, accountability contexts serve as a force of oppression that may catalyze a deprofessionalizing of teacher practice. Bushnell (2003) posits that teachers should be included in crafting decisions that reform
education rather than being monitored as though they are a part of the larger problem. This attack on teacher professionalism greatly marginalizes commitment. When teachers attempt to grow professionally and personally it requires autonomy in exercising judgments and making mistakes. Without such an arena, a teacher is challenged in developing a personal and professional identity (Crocco & Costigan, 2007).

In the context of scripted lessons and curriculum, a teacher’s identity is often called into question. This may catalyze resistance as teachers resist their transformation into automatons (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Teachers may refuse to be subordinated into accepting that their new identity is to be one of faithful devotion to prescribed curricular mandates or mindless replication of scripted lessons. As Crocco and Costigan (2007) reveal in narrative study of urban educators, the “shrinking space” created by prescriptive teaching contexts has a very subordinating effect on teachers often compromising their commitment to the profession, the relationships they forge with students, and their own personal and professional growth (p. 520). Teachers may resist such forces both overtly and covertly.

Resistance may arise when emotions, mediated by professional context, are in conflict with reform initiatives (Kelchtermans, 2005). Teachers experience emotions relative to the relationships that they forge with students, about their working relationships with colleagues, and about their professional skills. The actions that may arise as a consequence of emotions are linked to the view that teachers have of themselves and others. In this way, emotions may effect a teacher’s actions or moral judgments (Kelchtermans, 2005).
**Professionalism.** A teacher’s enduring concept of professionalism is seen to greatly influence their practice in the classroom (Day, 2002; Day et al., 2005, 2007; Day & Smethem, 2009). Day (2002) identifies that reform agendas often expect teachers to adhere to standards of performativity before they have had an opportunity to engage in sustained critical discourse regarding the tenets of the reform, or gain the necessary trust and respect for their inspectors. Consequently, reform initiatives fail when teachers invest little of their cognitive or emotional self. Day (2002) posits that reform initiatives need to nurture a teacher’s emotional and intellectual identities before their can be a reshaping of professionalism.

When traditional notions of professionalism are challenged, teachers may sustain a condition of confusion whereby they question their capacity to adhere to the new parameters of performativity. Ultimately, teachers may no longer be able to exercise discretionary judgments, which are centered upon traditional notions of purpose and practice. A teacher’s commitment becomes marginalized when their professional identities become clouded (Day et al., 2005). In these circumstances teachers may mobilize “occasional identities” in response to the new challenges imposed through reform initiatives (Day et al., 2005, p. 575). Such identities may be viewed as somewhat shallow and superficial in comparison to a teacher’s strongly held purposes of care to student learning and achievement. These core purposes ultimately define a teacher’s sense of professionalism and transcend any transitional agenda of imposed change (Day et al., 2005). Teachers express that professionalism under the performativity regime is clouded with ambivalence and conflict. Teachers lack clear direction (Day et al., 2007). There is much to be learned by focusing on these reform initiatives as they have played
out over time in similar contexts.

**Identity.** The central role of identity in understanding teachers’ actions has been the subject of numerous studies (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Day, 2002; Kelchtermans, 2005; Lasky, 2005; Reio, 2005; Sloan, 2006). Unlike other occupations where a person may be separated from their actions, teaching involves meaningful connections with others. Subsequently, a teacher’s self-image is very important to them as they carry out day-to-day processes. Ball and Goodson (2002) have suggested that the ways that teachers acquire, maintain, and develop their sense of identity and self throughout the term of their career is of key importance in understanding their actions and commitment toward the craft of teaching.

Identity may be approached from varied perspectives. A postmodern lens to understanding identity reveals repetitive themes: identity is multiple, identity is discontinuous, and identity is social in nature (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Such a perspective allows us to recognize that identity is consistently shifting relative to time and context (2011). In opposition to multiplicity, discontinuity, and the social nature of identity, is unity, continuity, and individual description. It is here, in consideration of the counterpart to postmodern description, that Akkerman and Meijer (2011) re-introduce a modern perspective to understanding identity. The modern perspective asserts that identity is found within oneself and is therefore unique to the individual. Moreover, the authors state that it is necessary to embrace both modern and postmodern perspectives in order to adequately understand teacher identity. A postmodern decentered approach, alone, would not account for those who maintain individuality and uniqueness independent of their context. Additionally, such a uniparadigmatic stance would fail to
develop an explanation for how individuals can maintain a sense of self through the passage of time (2011). A dialogical approach to identity can be especially valuable because it characterizes identity as both unitary and multiple, individual and social, and both continuous and discontinuous. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) define teacher identity in the following way:

Being someone who teaches is an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple I-positions is such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one’s working life. (p. 315)

This dialogical concept of identity provided us a lens to understand transgressive responses throughout the course of this research.

Methods

The purpose of this qualitative narrative research was to capture the experience of professional practice of New Jersey public school teachers as they shared stories of their teaching practice in the immediate wake of AchieveNJ. Through the analysis of teachers’ narratives this study sought to elucidate the contestations that emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the parameters of performativity prescribed through AchieveNJ. The emphasis of our research was on transgression, therefore, we focused our attention on the dialogical space between a teacher’s personal self-enduring concept of identity and that which is imposed through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ. The research questions that guided this study were: (1) How are New Jersey teachers experiencing the policy technologies of AchieveNJ?; (2) How have teacher’s professional relationships changed as a result of AchieveNJ?; (3) What
transgressive responses emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ?; (4) What motivates transgressive responses?

This research had an emphasis on lived experience as well as unearthing the meaning that teachers are finding in the reform landscape of AchieveNJ. Subsequently we chose to pursue a qualitative methodology due to its inductive, interpretive, and reflexive focus (Creswell, 2012). Our strategy of inquiry was narrative analysis. A key feature of narrative is an intense focus on identity as individuals, or groups, attempt to distinguish themselves (Riessman, 2007). Identities may be critically evaluated through the deconstruction of individual narratives (Riessman, 2007). Ultimately, narrative analysis, whether produced by an individual, group, or nation, may function to give us an in depth view of the identity of the creator. State and institutional narratives along with individual participant words and graphic elicitations functioned to create the larger story of what is currently occurring in New Jersey’s public schools. As researchers, we embrace the value in the discourses created by the citizenry and believe that they have a place alongside scientific rationality (Fisher, 1984).

Participants. Participants for this study were selectively chosen based upon their response to a short 12 item online survey or through the opportunistic method of snowball sampling (Patton, 2001). To meet the categorical requirement for participation in the study participants had to currently be teachers in New Jersey’s public school system with five or more years of experience and exhibit manifestations of transgression for AchieveNJ. The survey employed the use of an ordinal scale that allowed the rater to choose from a limited number of categories that have an ordered arrangement (Fink,
2013). The scale ranged from “deeply committed,” a condition where the participant displays full emotional adoption and a tendency for full technical implementation, to “attempt to dismantle”, a condition where the participant displays open acts of resistance and varying levels of technical implementation. At the center of this seven item scale is “superficially comply” which identifies the condition where there is little to no emotional commitment, possibly opposition, and the tendency to only comply to those aspects of the standard that are under surveillance. Each of the twelve items aligned to various policy technologies either directly associated with AchieveNJ or a consequential product of its implementation. A response within the range of “superficially comply” to “attempt to dismantle” represented the threshold for transgression and, subsequently, qualified a participant for the first level of data collection. Ten teachers, throughout the state from North to South, whom teach a variety of grade levels and subjects, were chosen for our research. Once chosen, an individual meeting was arranged for the purpose of completing a relational map activity and narrative interview.

**Data collection.** Relational maps, designed around the metaphor of the solar system, represent a graphical means by which participants can represent themselves at the center and place other elements around them as they assign each a given value of meaning in their lives (Bagnoli, 2009). When using such an instrument, closeness to center is congruent with meaning. By using non-linguistic dimensions to supplement language we allowed for different levels of expression that may give-way to new and different meanings for participant experience (Bagnoli, 2009). Relational maps belong to an art based form of qualitative data collection known as graphic elicitation (Bagnoli, 2009). For our research, we adapted the use of the solar system metaphor by creating
an activity that required participants to evaluate how they perceive their most closely held beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies are valued by the institutional contexts through which they function. It was presumed that the separation that participants created between their personal values and the “center of the schoolhouse”, used as a contextual metaphor, is related to the dialogical spaces that teachers create between their identity of self and the new identities created through the current reform context.

Immediately following the relational map activity, we engaged participants in the activity of narrative interviewing. This form of interviewing, designed to be a discursive event which gives way to conversations between interviewer and interviewee, was used to elicit storied responses (Riessman, 2007). Relying upon the results of the relational map activity, participants were asked questions designed to elucidate practices, beliefs, and relationships. Emphasis was placed on “teasing out” the stories that have helped to shape practice, beliefs, and values. When conversations revealed a great dialogical divide between that of self and social context, we attempted to unearth the mechanisms that participants used to cope. It was from this space that participants revealed transgressive acts through storied response.

**Data analysis.** Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2013) suggest common features that are inherent in analytical strategies across the various qualitative research genres. Interview transcripts, graphic elicitations, and researcher notes were collected from each participant in this study and coded using multiple methods in an effort to distill the vast amount of data into meaningful findings.

There are often multiple issues at work within a participant’s story. Storied responses may convey emotions, values, and contestations, evaluative judgments, as
well as description (Riessman, 2007). Saldaña (2013) advocates for the use of simultaneous coding when a single type of coding simply cannot summarize the complexity of a transcript. Consequently, simultaneous coding of affective methods was employed in this study. They include, emotion coding, values coding, verses coding, and evaluation coding (Saldaña, 2013). Included among the affective codes are descriptive codes that seek to identify actions that may be unearthed in participant response. Narrative transcripts as well as graphic elicitations and field notes were coded using this method. Simultaneous coding occurred in a single cycle before moving on to the process of generating findings. In the narrative tradition, a great deal of care was taken to keep the transcripts of participant episodes as complete as possible throughout all aspects of the analysis phase.

Findings

Throughout the data collection process teachers described their experiences with, and their perceptions of, a rapidly shifting educational context created through AchieveNJ. Through the graphic elicitations they created and the stories they told, they revealed exhortations that could serve as precursors for transgression. In this section, we will first focus upon a variety of themes that challenge the teacher’s notion of autonomy, professional practice, and ethic of care. We will then consider the teacher’s perception of the surveillance technologies currently employed to evaluate their practice. Finally, we will address the transgressive acts that have emerged from the new landscape of performativity.

Shrinking space. The “shrinking space” (Crocco & Costigan, 2007, p.520) is a metaphor used to describe the conditions through which teachers are challenged to
maintain autonomy in an educational landscape confined by intense prescription. Narratives revealed that the policy technologies of AchieveNJ create a shrinking space as teachers feel challenged to compromise their ethic of care, to overlook the affective domains of their practice, and to forego the time it takes to forge meaningful relationships with students, peers, and administrators.

The increased emphasis on performance, inherent in the policy technologies, creates an urgent condition for schools to focus intensely on curriculum standards that are aligned to standardized tests. Tim, a teacher of elementary health and physical education, shared his consternation with being forced to compromise his ethic of care for the strict adherence to a prescribed curriculum:

I had just signed a paper today that said while I was teaching I would not discuss anything outside of my curriculum with my students, I would not touch them, even a pat on the back...I was reading this paper and it just seemed, this is a document coming from our Chief School Administrator.... If it’s just not a further indictment as to how insensitive certain factions want you to become.

New Jersey’s teachers are experiencing challenges as compliance requirements compete for their time. Donna, a high school social studies teacher, described, “So much is being pushed down to teachers and there is not time to do it. It affects student-teacher relationships because I am stressed out about not getting everything done.” She added:

Being forced this exam and [to] write a reflection log every marking period, month or whatever is not translating to student success. What it translates into is I don’t have time to figure out why my students are not successful because I’ve got to do this ridiculous paperwork.
These teachers illuminate how the impositions created by the need to comply and be measured are all consuming, leaving little space, a “shrinking space”, to exercise autonomy in practice.

Teachers reveal that peer-to-peer collaboration is challenged when compliance permeates the context of department meetings, team meetings, and after school time where teachers would, otherwise, have the autonomy to guide. Steve, a high school language teacher, described what is occurring at his department meetings. “The conversations are all about how we are going to comply with this new law instead of how are we going to reach our students.” Donna speaks to how a portion of her lunch period, once used for collaboration, has been consumed by the need for compliance.

Once a week for half of one of those lunch periods I meet with all social studies teachers and it’s supposed to be for collaboration…but then they give us these unit plans that we need to do on reflection, that we need to [do] on developing our SGOs.

Donna is referring to SGOs. These are specific and measurable goals that are aligned to state academic standards and based upon student growth or achievement (NJDOE, 2015). Under AchieveNJ, districts have the freedom to use a variety of data sources to assess student growth. After developing an assessment instrument, the SGO process involves multiple steps at strategic points throughout the school year as teachers track student progress toward goals, and share student progress with supervisors. SGOs account for 20% of a teacher’s summative rating (NJDOE, 2015).

A view of Tim’s concept map (see Figure 4), a graphic elicitation activity performed prior to narrative interviewing, serves to encapsulate the shrinking space...
theme in a concise manner. Tim’s choice to craft terms such as “student/teacher data”, “accountability”, and “test”, and place them, alone at the center of the schoolhouse, a metaphor for the public institution of education in New Jersey, may serve to illustrate his perception that New Jersey’s schools prioritize this above all else. Because of the “space” occupied by accountability measures, there is a “shrinking space” remaining for other domains of practice. Consequently, his choice to include terms such as “creativity”, “passion”, “caring”, “co-worker interaction” and the “whole child” on the outer fringe, most distant from the center of the schoolhouse, is a verification of the challenges he is experiencing as his own values, beliefs, and identities as a teacher are in direct conflict with his institution’s narrative.

Figure 4. Tim’s Concept Map
Teachers, impacted by the demands of the curriculum and the burden to show proof under their district’s imposed accountability standards, are experiencing a shrinking space that challenges their autonomy.

**Untenable use of surveillance technologies.** Teachers share their suspicion that they are being forced to use a limited number of tools, only those purchased by their respective district, to conduct their craft. For them, this resulted in pressures to emulate practices and performances that seem unnatural, superficial, and somewhat contrived. Steve questioned his ability to maintain rigor in a setting confined by prescription and maintained through surveillance.

There’s a tension that wasn’t there before…how am I going to do this and still maintain a rigorous curriculum? How am I going to make what we do fit into these little boxes? That tension is largely between administrators and teachers.

The “little boxes” that Steve is referring to represent those found in his district’s teacher evaluation rubric. Under AchieveNJ districts were given the option to create their own teacher evaluation rubrics and get them approved by the state. Conversely, they could use pre-packaged and approved evaluation instruments (NJDOE, 2014c). In practice, the use of five pre-approved models accounted for over 90% of the statewide districts reporting as of February of 2013 (Mooney, 2013).

Cumulatively, these models, often referred to as the “checklist” among teachers in this study, guide administrators as they perform pre-observation conferences, review lesson plans, conduct observations, and conduct post-conferences. The models attempt to isolate discreet teaching standards that are purportedly aligned to effective practice. Administrators are expected to quantitatively rate a teacher’s level of adherence to
these standards.

The veteran New Jersey teachers in this study exposed great discord in the use of the “checklist” in concert with the state’s accompanying metric to encapsulate their pedagogical practice. Kate, a teacher of over 30 years, described the pressure she feels while under the influence of her district’s teacher evaluation instrument.

I want this to go this way; I want you to teach this way; I want you to have such questions in every single lesson, even if it doesn’t fit. I want you to [show it] in my lesson plan, in this format, and all of these things are inherent in these evaluative models.

Tom, a high school science teacher, questioned the merit of the prescriptive behaviors that his district expects him to emulate.

[A] central questions should be posted, but that philosophically goes against the idea of allowing the students to wonder…if you told them what to wonder about they can’t figure out why they are learning what they are learning…then an evaluator walks around and asks them to point to what they are learning.

Steve shared his suspicion that entrepreneurial interests are placing demands on what teachers can and cannot do in the classroom when he stated, “We are only being evaluated on the tools they sell.” Indeed, the policy technologies of AchieveNJ have opened the door to entrepreneurial profiteering through the marketing and sales of teacher evaluation instruments, as well as the products, services/training, and technologies that support them.

Teachers expressed concern that the policy technologies were exerting profound forces to transform them into one-size fits all, automatons of scripted practice. They
expressed discord with becoming, what some called, “cookie-cutter” teachers. Sara, a special education teacher, feared that the state, in its effort to quantify teacher practice, may be compromising the quality of teacher practice.

What’s more important a quantity or quality? Do you want quality teachers on your staff? I certainly hope so. Or, do you want the quantity, these, you know, robotic cookie cutter teachers who are able to down through the checklist?

Sam, a middle school science teacher, was critical of the means through which the policy technologies of AchieveNJ have attempted to disaggregate the practice of teaching into discrete measurable behaviors. He found value in those aspects of practice that are difficult to measure and suggested that the instruments that his district had purchased to measure teacher practice fall short of encapsulating the larger meaning of the learning experience.

There are many who say they know the…formula for good instruction…. If you brought any of those equations to the table in science we would laugh. We wrote off the thing because there are too many variables. You want to run a science experiment with as many variables as we run in a classroom, it would never be a successful experiment…. I think so many of the things we focus on are not the things that make a quality teacher. You can’t measure the fact that a kid screams your name across the beach in the summer, comes running over to you just to say hi, and then runs away. How do you rate that? Was that thumbs up, thumbs down, or thumbs sideways?

New Jersey’s public school teachers, manifesting the importance for authentic classroom practices and the use of a broad variety of instructional tools, have become discordant
with assuming an identity as automatons of scripted practice. As they question the validity of their district’s chosen evaluation rubric they are confounded with challenges to their own identity, beliefs, and values.

Ball (2003) creates a vivid description of the challenges that teachers may face when confounded with an intensely performative context:

Increasingly, the day-to-day practice is flooded with a baffling array of figures, indicators, comparisons and forms of competition. Within all this, the contentments of stability are increasingly elusive, purposes are made contradictory, motivations become blurred and self worth is uncertain. We are unsure what aspects of work are valued and how to prioritize efforts. We become uncertain about the reasons for actions. Are we doing this because it is important, because we believe in it, because it is worthwhile? Or is it being done ultimately because it will be measured or compared? It will make us look good! Do we know we are good at what we do, even if performance indicators tell a different story? Do we value who we are able to be, who we are becoming in the labyrinth of performativity? (p. 6)

As Ball (2003) ascertains, the pressures of performativity create a setting where teachers must continuously evaluate their identity, what they value, and that which they are becoming. Tensions centered upon identity were revealed throughout our data collection phase and will form the foundation of our discussion.

Transgressive responses. Our research focused on unearthing the transgressive responses that emerge when a teacher’s professional identity, beliefs, and values intersect with the policy technologies encapsulated in AchieveNJ. Transgressive responses
transpired in response to district adopted teacher evaluation instruments, and the development of SGOs. Transgressors included teachers and students who would often “play along” in the creation of performances. Transgressive acts included the creation of performances, and pseudo-compliance.

**Performances.** In the classroom both teachers and students may enact performances that occur, on the spot, when the need arises. Of this, Donna stated, “My students are aware of what is going on [referring to observation] and they think it’s hilarious. They play along, they play along.” Steve describes his own actions when he is aware that he will be observed.

If I knew he was going to come in [referring to evaluator], I would make sure that I did something that was textbook. I know how to put on a dog and pony show. I don’t like it. I don’t even necessarily agree with doing that and my kids know what is going on too.

Janet, an algebra teacher, describes how she is prepared for an inspection at all times.

You pretend that you are doing exactly what they say by the papers you hang-up that comply. Your little objective is on the board every day…you have your little rescue kids…if someone comes in… you will have all your pairs all set ahead of time.

Examples of performances, some of which were difficult to classify as either compliance or resistance, often permeated participant discussions.

**Pseudo-compliance.** Testing, used as a means to evaluate the performance of students, teachers, and schools catalyzed transgressive responses. Steve described the minimal level of commitment he has for the practice of developing SGOs.
You almost set it up like this is the lowest common denominator [referring to SGO]…okay… so let’s get it over with. You’ll spend 3 minutes out of 100 minutes doing that. Check that box…we were able to preserve what we thought of as important and still give administration what they needed to do their evaluation or whatever.

Some teachers lamented that SGOs are far too variable, interpretive, and subsequently subject to ambiguous calculation schemes on the part of individual teachers. Tom described the dilemma he faces when confronted with student scores that are below a tolerable threshold.

I mean you get tempted…‘oh my finger slipped and I put seven instead of a one or something [referring to scoring SGOs].’ I mean the temptation is there. It’s creating temptations too. I can shoot myself in the face with my ethics…stand by my principles, but here I am, I have to prove I am a good teacher with this stupid fallacious system.

These examples of performances and pseudo-compliance, enacted by both teachers and students functioning within the context of performativity, create a “space of ambiguity” when we, as researchers, attempt to classify them using binary terms such as compliance or resistance, transgression or conformity. Do teachers create performances in an effort to retain agency within those contexts bound by intense prescription? Or, as an alternate explanation, have the acculturating forces that transcend the performative contexts from which these teachers practice, exerted profound influence on transforming them into entrepreneurial and enterprising individuals who use the instruments of performativity for self-advancement? Later, will we create a hybridized view of teaching within the
context of performativity that dismisses binary logic and permits the coexistence of both explanations.

A struggle is imbued in the words and graphic elicitations of these teachers. A view of Donna’s concept map (see Figure 5) reveals her perception that the personal beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies that she identifies with most as a teacher have taken on a peripheral existence within the reform context of New Jersey’s public schools. She chooses to symbolically place a “dollar sign” along with “increase test scores” at the center of the schoolhouse. As she was writing in the center of the schoolhouse she said: [while writing increased test scores] “Which is directly tied into the money. They reinvent the wheel and then they say that this is how you have to do it. Companies are making a lot of money off of all of these different approaches.”

Figure 5. Donna’s Concept Map
Confounded with a landscape of performativity these practitioners are left to grapple with questions of who they are, who they are becoming, what they are doing, and why they are doing it. Performances and acts of pseudo-compliance, whether enacted for the purpose of self-advancement, or as a means to preserve autonomy, have become rife in New Jersey’s public schools under the weight of AchieveNJ.

**Discussion and Implications**

Within the context of this research, the transgressive responses that emerged were often characterized through a voiced position that teachers took in response to a rapidly changing working environment created through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ. When a teacher’s individual views, beliefs, and values collide with the cultural ideal for the teacher, tensions are created (Alsup, 2006). The rapidly shifting educational landscape in New Jersey’s public schools brings forth new ideals for what constitutes learning, what it means to teach, and what it means to be effective. We will frame our discussion by first looking at the dynamics of identity. Following this we will aver that the spaces that teachers are creating between their unified sense of self and the multiplicity of identities cast upon them through the performative contexts where they practice, resemble spaces of intercultural difference. As a final endeavor, we will permit the superposition of these spaces/cultures/identities to form a new and hybridized third space (Bhabha, 2004).

**Competing “I” positions.** A dialogical lens to understanding identity guided this study. This approach embraces the notion that “the multiplicity of a person is held together in a unitary self” (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, p. 315). This melding together of modern and postmodern perspectives gives way to a view of identity that
acknowledges difference while embracing the simultaneity of both (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Salgado & Hermans, 2005). Through shared stories of practice, participants in our research exhibited a variety of “I” positions. Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995) suggested that the “I” position may be shifted and continuously reconstructed in such a way that it may assume an existence all of its own to agree, disagree, oppose, and even challenge the “I” in another position.

Teachers are forced to negotiate between their unified sense of identity, the “I” that constitutes the self, and the multiple “I” positions created through the policy technologies of AchieveNJ. As teachers described their refusal to become “cookie-cutter” teachers, automatons of scripted lessons, and to use one size-fits-all approaches, they are, in essence, proclaiming, “I refuse to become ‘that’ teacher.” Both the teacher’s refusal to negotiate various “I” positions in concert with their submission to others gives way to the view that teacher identity is multiple. However, the act of distancing those “I” positions that create the most discord is a manifestation of a teacher’s need to maintain a unitary self. The notion of self is constantly challenged as an individual is forced to negotiate among contributing identities, all of which may be trying to increase their autonomy (Hubert, Hermans & Kempen, 1993). In this way, the self may be thought of as a space that will only accommodate those identities that the individual willingly accepts.

Individuals desire to maintain a consistent and coherent sense of self (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). In this never ending quest they create a distance between the various “I” positions. It is this self-regulated distance, created by the teacher, that constitutes the “dialogical space” (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011, p. 312). In the next section, we will describe how the dialogical space resembles a space of intercultural difference as the
veteran teachers in this study struggle with the new culture of performativity created by the forces of globalization and the liberalizing of markets.

**Spaces of intercultural difference.** To use the term space as a “marker of difference” (p. 69) is to suggest that space may be thought of as an ordering tool which enables us to locate identities by spatializing the difference between them (Lossau, 2009). We have maintained that the policy technologies inherent in AchieveNJ create new roles and subsequent new identities that the teacher must negotiate. They represent the newly imposed culture shaped by the forces of globalization and the liberalizing of markets. As such, they compete for autonomy with the teacher’s essence of self. The transgressive acts identified through this research identified the struggle imbued in the dialogic of “who I am” as a teacher with “whom they want me to become.” Subsequently, such polices and their accompanying narratives, when pitted against that of the teacher, create spaces that resemble those of intercultural difference.

Discourses focusing upon enhancing pedagogical practice, alone, provide limited utility in understanding what New Jersey’s teachers are experiencing under the policy technologies of AchieveNJ. While standards, rubrics, prescriptive practice solutions, and observation instruments have been a part of the teaching practice for decades, the strategic deployment of these instruments in concert with enhanced mechanisms of surveillance have completely redefined what it means to be a teacher, a learner, and a school leader in New Jersey’s public schools. Teachers, unwilling to negotiate the new identities imposed through AchieveNJ, are creating markers of difference through isolating and distancing these identities from the self to create spaces of intercultural difference.
The third space teacher. Viewing the transgressive responses unearthed in this research as emanating from a space of intercultural difference advances new perspectives in understanding teacher resistance within the context of intense reform. The use of spatial semantics to describe a place in between, a hybrid space, or a “third space,” is a part of a broader intellectual movement comprising the “spatial turn of social and cultural theory” (Lossau, 2009, p. 62). As discussed previously, we are active participants in developing our own spatiality. Consequently, such an awareness can be a vital tool in understanding our world at all levels, from the most intimate to the global (Soja, 2009). Given the conflict exposed through our research, it is, perhaps, best to look beyond reductionist philosophies and binary logic, such as; resistance, and compliance, and embrace the coexistence of distinct narratives and their influence on creating a hybrid third space (Bhabha, 2004).

The superposition of these distinct narratives/cultures/identities may create a new story, all of its own. Expanding the geographic limits of the mind into the third space invites us to celebrate a multiplicity of perspectives and opens up pathways for critical exchange (Soja, 2009). In this way we dismiss the practice of viewing the teachers in this study as transgressors and begin to embrace the idea that “superficial compliance” or “pseudo-compliance” is not a form of transgression within the new cultural landscapes carved by performativity. Instead, such acts may have become the new way of doing things, the new cultural norm. Such a perspective invites a critical look at the implications of the performative agenda on the nature of public schooling.

A view of teaching within the realm of the third space places the teacher in the position of power. The third space teacher may be an enterprising individual, whom,
through use of the instruments of performativity, is able to advance in career status essentially by becoming an “entrepreneur of the self” (Foucault, 1979, p. 198). Simultaneously, they may choose to create superficial performances, fabrications, and illusions of compliance in an effort to cling to an autonomous self as they capture the time required to practice in an authentic manner. In this hybrid space the need for meaningful relationships coincides with the need for performance, collegiality coincides with compliance, and authenticity coincides with scripted practice. The third space gives complete autonomy to the teacher to act, and negotiate these relationships in any way deemed necessary. We cautiously present this glimpse of teaching in the third space, be it contemporaneously real and imagined, and posit that embracing an understanding inclusive of “both” is of greater epistemological value than assuming an “either/or” path toward understanding the practice of teaching within the context of performativity.

**Conclusion**

We conclude that the policy technologies encapsulated by AchieveNJ have exerted profound forces in reshaping New Jersey’s public schools. As teachers navigate among the new identities imbued in the policy technologies, they selectively procure some, while distancing and isolating others. Transgressions emanate from the dialogical spaces of those most distant while the simultaneity of both, a hybridity of practice that contests the binary terms of resistance or compliance, follows from the superposition of new identities with the teacher’s coherent sense of self. In this landscape of hybridity, teachers are left to police the perimeter of their own sense of self and partake, or not, in a multiplicity of identity. Dismissing binary logic gives teachers, researchers, and policymakers a new arena to contemplate, a new view, one that, we feel, more
adequately represents the consequence of what has been created through the acculturating forces of a performative society.
Chapter 6

Standards Based Teacher Evaluation Rubrics: Avoiding the Pitfalls

Abstract

This article will suggest that principals and supervisors, while performing observations using the new generation of standards based evaluation rubrics, have enhanced opportunities to exercise their skills as instructional leaders. We will, on the other hand, caution that the misuse of these instruments can lower the teacher’s perception of the quality of the feedback that they receive. By providing narrative data that we have obtained from interviews with New Jersey teachers from across the state in the wake of AchieveNJ, the state’s new teacher evaluation system, we elucidate the teacher’s desire for meaningful instructional feedback that goes beyond merely “checking the boxes” of their district’s evaluation instrument. We will provide principals and supervisors with practical strategies and understandings, which we have amassed through experience, to avoid the pitfalls associated with the use of evaluation rubrics as the exclusive blueprint for driving observation feedback. Finally, we will suggest that the standards identified in these instruments, when broadly used as a lens to view, discuss, and articulate quality instruction, may serve as a platform for capacity building, not only for teachers, but also for instructional leaders.
For more than 30 years research has described the role of the principal as that of an instructional leader (DuFour, 2002). Contemporary leadership programs are developed to nurture transformational, visionary, and collaborative leaders that are able to rise above the, all too common, managerial impositions inherent in the day-to-day encounters of leading schools (NPBEA, 2015). This, somewhat iconic, view of the principal creates an image of someone who is deeply engaged in coaching and inspiring teachers toward pedagogical mastery. In this capacity, principals and supervisors functioning as instructional leaders, wield an enormous bag of tools that they have amassed through experience, education, and training that enable them to provide meaningful feedback to practitioners as they guide them along a developmental path toward excellence.

We contend that principals and supervisors, while practicing under the new generation of standards based evaluation rubrics, have enhanced opportunities to exercise their skills as instructional leaders. However, on the other hand, we will caution that the misuse of these instruments can prove to be damaging to the teacher’s perception of a leader’s ability to provide meaningful feedback. A glimpse of the data that we have obtained from select interviews with New Jersey teachers from across the state in the wake of AchieveNJ, the state’s new teacher evaluation system, supports our conclusion that teachers desire meaningful instructional feedback that goes beyond merely “checking the boxes” of their district’s local evaluation instrument. We will suggest strategies to avoid the pitfalls associated with the use of evaluation rubrics as an exclusive blueprint for driving teacher feedback after an observation and will suggest that the standards identified in these instruments, when broadly used as a lens to view, discuss, and articulate quality instruction, may serve as a platform for capacity building, not only
for teachers, but also for instructional leaders.

Reinventing Teacher Evaluation

Throughout the country, state legislatures and school districts are adopting policies focused upon the use of highly structured and systematic teacher evaluation systems. Motivated by Race to the Top and school improvement grants, these initiatives impose the need for multiple annual teacher evaluations which work in concert with value-added measures (VAMs), such as student performance on standardized tests, to encapsulate a teacher’s pedagogical effectiveness (Hallinger et al., 2014). The systems, which vary from state to state, typically include teacher evaluation rubrics that are strategically aligned to a variety of teaching standards and indicators proposed to correlate with effective practice. These evaluation systems play a key role in personnel decisions throughout many of America’s public schools.

With a new emphasis on a broad array of standards and attainment indicators, the new rubrics impose a technical burden on leaders who are expected to use them consistently from one class to the next, one subject to another, and across multiple grade levels. Principals and supervisors must contend with the need for inter-rater reliability in evaluating teachers, which further promulgates the technical aspects of using these instruments and catalyzes the need for intensive training. This, in concert with legislation that calls for a greater number of evaluations, pre/post observation conferences, and data conferences, places a significant burden on school leaders (Hallinger et al., 2014). Today, many school leaders spend more time than ever before on teacher evaluation initiatives. On the surface, it would seem that this would enhance both the image and quality of the principal or supervisor as instructional leader. Yet, data gathered from New Jersey
veteran educators may point to the misuse of standards based evaluation rubrics, and the subsequent perception by some teachers, that post-observation conferences are of limited utility in informing quality practice.

**New Jersey’s Teachers Speak**

TEACHNJ was signed into action in 2012 (NJDOE, 2014d). The core of the legislation was focused upon reforming the process of teaching, and maintaining tenure for all of New Jersey’s public school teachers. Tenure decisions in New Jersey are now based upon multiple measures of student achievement in combination with new evaluation procedures. “AchieveNJ” represents the teacher evaluation element of the tenure reform legislation found in the enactment of TEACHNJ (NJDOE, 2014c). Similar to legislation adopted by other states, it imposes the need for districts to create new, or adopt pre-approved, teacher evaluation rubrics that help guide school leaders as they identify teacher behaviors and align them with proposed standards of effective practice.

In the summer of 2015 we conducted a qualitative study as part of an ongoing inquiry into the experiences of veteran educators in the wake of AchieveNJ. Acquiring teacher narratives, a few of which describe the challenges that practitioners face with the misuse of observational tools, we discovered that some teachers place a low value on the quality of feedback that they receive from their principals and supervisors. In particular, teachers convey discontent when evaluators perform evaluations as though they were going down through a “checklist” focusing only upon specific and perhaps shallow performances. Others express a longing for general classroom discussion that may fall outside of their district’s evaluation rubric. Finally, some teachers convey the need for evaluators to provide more feedback in reference to particular scores. We present a few
clips of narrative from our research in hope that the words of these practitioners may serve to steer instructional leaders clear of the pitfalls associated with the misuse of standards based evaluation rubrics in driving teacher feedback. In all cases, aliases were created to mask the true identity of participants.

Trisha, an experienced inclusion teacher, compares more open-ended evaluation processes of the past with the new standards based system of observation that is currently in place at her district. “I think it’s a lot more now [referring to conversations with supervisors], the checklist. I think we would have a lot more general conversation about what’s going on in our classroom. But now it’s more [of] a checklist.” Imbued in Trisha’s words is the desire to have conversations that go beyond the evaluation rubric, what she refers to as “the checklist” in her narrative. While we acknowledge the use of the rubrics to drive discussions of quality practice, clearly, discussions surrounding their use should not completely take the place of other discussion that might be had between teachers and supervisors relevant to classroom dynamics and student learning.

Sara, an experienced teacher of special education shares her experiences from a post conference.

I’ll read the generic checklist [referring to an evaluation] and I’ll go ask deeper questions. I’ll be like-what did you mean by this? Can you give me an example? There have been times that I’ve noticed that they don’t have an example to give. They were just like kinda checking the box…well, that won’t help me much.

Again we see a reference to a checklist. In this case, Sara is explicitly asking for instructional leadership but expresses that she is not receiving it. Does her supervisor/principal lack the capacity to provide this? Or, perhaps, they didn’t provide
enough information in the evaluation to account for the score they provided. In our own practice, we contend with the need to perform many evaluations over a short period of time and understand how this may function as a detriment to the thoroughness of reporting. Later we will describe the importance of being thorough, and not just checking the boxes, to avoid pitfalls such as this.

Sam, an experienced middle school science teacher, implies that the instruments used to evaluate teachers in his district are only being used to capture specific performances or indicators, which he feels, are more easily noticed by administrators toting the evaluation rubric. His narrative creates an image of the principal or supervisor as more of a technical inspector than that of an instructional leader. Imbued in his narrative is his longing for observers to stray away from looking at only those indicators aligned to the rubric and to take a more holistic view of instruction that takes into account the teacher’s authentic approach.

I just feel like all this stuff is there [referring to standards and indicators on evaluation rubric] so it’s easier for the administrator to walk in and go, ‘alright, I see this, I see that...move on.’ Instead of sitting there and trying to figure out: ‘Wow, what is this guy really trying to do? How is he really operating with these kids? This is different from other people, but the kids are buying into it. The kids are really into this right now.’ Versus, ‘I don’t see a learning goal. I don’t know if this is a good class.’

In the next section we will describe an imposed paradigm shift that has followed in the wake of reinventing teacher evaluation and aligning it with measurable standards. We will attempt to provide an explanation of the tensions that may arise as teachers
attempt to measure their own notion of quality of practice against this new pedagogical yardstick.

Discussion

We will outline some suggestions and larger understandings that we, as practitioners, use in our own practice to enhance our instructional leadership and steer clear of the problems identified in the previous section. We feel that these suggestions have greatly enhanced our practice as instructional leaders, as we are not only honoring the standards and indicators prescribed in the instruments, but we are simultaneously acknowledging the unique and authentic means that individual teachers go about attaining them, as well as others that may lie outside the boundaries of the instrument.

**Don’t just check the boxes.** Scripting a lesson, by using low-inference observation strategies, may be key in providing meaningful feedback and may avoid teachers from feeling like the evaluator is going down through a checklist. When an evaluator can directly quote a teacher, or provide evidence that an action that they took, be it as little as an expression or gesture, directly impacted a student at either an emotional or intellectual level, the teacher feels like their authentic practices are acknowledged. Should you choose to enter into a classroom with just a rubric of standards and/or attainment indicators in hand, you will likely spend more time staring at them than noticing the many subtle nuances that constitute quality practice. Leave the rubric behind and later plan to go back to your desk and correlate teacher behaviors, gestures, mannerisms, words, and actions to standards and indicators found in the rubric.

**Be cognizant of the paradigm shift.** For decades teachers have placed value on acquiring a large array of pedagogical strategies from which they may draw upon in
their practice. Using the right tool, at the precise time, in the correct context, was a coveted aspect of the mastery, or art, of teaching. Today, with an emphasis on standardizing and quantifying teacher evaluation, we have shifted toward the adoption of pedagogical absolutes. These absolutes constitute strategies that should be present in every lesson, in every context, and at every grade level. Evaluation instruments typically attempt to isolate a broad range of attainment indicators and often include intensive training sessions that prepare observers for what to look for and how to score teachers in progressing toward the indicators. While these observation technologies, and their accompanying rubrics, provide a solid foundation from which we may begin to gauge quality practice, we fear that they may be creating shortsightedness among educational leaders into only recognizing certain “performances” as indicators of quality practice. Implicitly, such an intense technical focus on a finite array of attainment indicators may function to limit the vision of evaluators.

Many educators still champion the notion of exercising a broad variety of authentic and unscripted strategies in the classroom and have not yet completely submitted to the pedagogical absolutes inherent in some of the new generation evaluation instruments. Instructional leaders must resist the pressure to narrow their focus on scripted behaviors and performances and must be willing to broaden their own view of effective practice through embracing the idea that there are multiple paths that may lead to the same quality outcome.

**Listen as much as you talk.** Post-observation conferences provide an opportune time to broaden your own capabilities as an instructional leader. It is also a time when you define yourself as either an instructional leader or manager. The *manager or*
inspector might say:

“You did not ask your students to make reference to the day’s learning objectives at any point in your lesson. Therefore, I am scoring you in such a manner that reflects that you are not using this much needed strategy.”

Conversely, the instructional leader might approach this situation in another manner.

“Can you describe how you formatively assessed each of your students throughout the period, and how they assessed themselves, as they progressed toward the day’s learning objectives?”

Both approaches imply the need for the teacher to formatively assess a student’s progress toward the learning objective as well as the need for students to be metacognitive. The manager’s approach suggests to the teacher that there is only one acceptable “performance or ritual” worthy of demonstrating this key component of quality practice. Such an approach places no reliance on a deeper understanding of instruction on the part of the evaluator. Instead the evaluator is leading by the script and has been reduced to the status of a technician or inspector in the eyes of the teacher. Conversely, the later approach gives the teacher a platform to describe any authentic means that they used, which may have gone unnoticed by the evaluator, or, may be new to the evaluator.

The instructional leader’s approach embraces the post conference protocol as an opportunity for mutual capacity building. It implies that the teacher’s level of mastery for teaching is respected and that the evaluator is willing to negotiate the acceptance of other strategies that may lead to the same favorable outcomes. Essentially, the instructional leader’s approach is one that requires the ability to acknowledge and articulate quality practice. Should the teacher fail to provide authentic evidence for the teaching
standard, the consequences may the same for both scenarios allowing the evaluator to uphold their district’s commitment to the protocol.

**Conclusion**

Teacher evaluation rubrics, like any other rubric, should serve as a guide to identify key attributes that underpin effective teacher practice and not function as a static checklist that exclusively steers the eyes and ears of observers during a classroom visit. Allowing rubrics to *guide* conversations of quality practice but not *replace* other conversations and acknowledgements centered upon the teacher’s perspective of authentic practice broadens the scope and capability for principals and supervisors to function as instructional leaders rather than managers or inspectors. We are hopeful that our suggestions for practice, in concert with the words of a few of New Jersey’s teachers, will influence the great work that leaders continue to do within their schools.
References


Bourdieu, P. (1998). The essence of neoliberalism; Utopia of endless exploitation. *Le Monde Diplomatique, December*. This seems to be missing something…


Appendix A

Survey Cover Letter

Greetings Teachers,

My name is Gary Scavette and I have been a practicing public educator for nearly 25 years. I am currently a doctoral candidate at Rowan University. My dissertation inquiry focuses upon how veteran New Jersey public school teachers (those with five or more years of experience) are experiencing the changes brought about by AchieveNJ. The data gathered through the study seeks to give New Jersey’s public school teachers a voice that may serve to influence future policy, enhance professional practice, and stimulate additional research.

I am humbly asking that you make a time commitment of less than five minutes to complete a short 12-item survey. The purpose of the survey is to establish a population of New Jersey teachers that may fit the parameters of the study. Should your survey results indicate that you qualify for the study you may be contacted for an interview. All of the information shared through this survey will remain confidential, be viewed solely by me, and used only for the purpose of selecting participants for interview. No information that you provide will be made public at any time.

As a fellow educator I am deeply appreciative of your time and thankful for your consideration in taking this short survey of less than five minutes.

Sincerely

Gary Scavette
Doctoral Candidate
Appendix B

Adoption of AchieveNJ Survey

Directions: Please familiarize yourself with the definitions below prior to starting this survey. Once familiar with the definitions please place a check mark in the appropriate box that best describes your personal (not your district’s) initiative/investment with respect to each of the items on the left.

Definitions:
- Deeply committed: full emotional commitment and technical implementation of the initiative, could serve as a public advocate for its use
- Committed: partial emotional commitment but full technical implementation
- Comply: little to no emotional commitment, possibly opposition, but full technical implementation
- Superficially comply: partial technical implementation adhering only to those aspects under surveillance, little to no emotional commitment, possibly opposition
- Passively resist: covert resistance with varying levels of technical implementation
- Openly resist: open acts of resistance with varying levels of technical implementation
- Attempt to dismantle: open acts of resistance with varying levels of technical implementation, an emphasis is placed on its removal from the broader context of the setting, could serve as a public advocate for its removal

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By placing an “X” in this space:___________ I certify that I am currently a New Jersey public school teacher with at least five years of experience.

By providing a means to contact you (telephone, e-mail, other) in this space:___________________________________________ you agree that I may contact you for further participation in this study, and that I may use the data contained in this survey as a means to access your qualification for participation.

Should you desire to contact me at any time you may do so at: scavet89@students.rowan.edu or 609-221-7358. You may also contact Dr. Ane Johnson, my faculty sponsor at Rowan University, at: johnsona@rowan.edu with questions.

The data that you have provided on this survey will only be used for the purpose of establishing participants for this study. All answers will be kept confidential and will never be subject to publication.
Appendix C

Letter of Informed Consent

College of Education

CONSENT TO TAKE PART IN A RESEARCH STUDY

TITLE OF STUDY: Transgressive Acts in an Era of Accountability
Principal Investigator: Ane Turner Johnson, Ph.D (Faculty Sponsor)
Co-Investigator: Gary Scavette (Student)

This consent form is part of an informed consent process for a research study and it will provide information that will help you to decide whether you wish to volunteer for this research study. It will help you to understand what the study is about and what will happen in the course of the study.

If you have questions at any time during the research study, you should feel free to ask them and should expect to be given answers that you completely understand.

After all of your questions have been answered, if you still wish to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this informed consent form.

Gary Scavette, or another member of the study team, will also be asked to sign this informed consent. You will be given a copy of the signed consent form to keep.

You are not giving up any of your legal rights by volunteering for this research study or by signing this consent form.

Why is this study being done?

This study is being completed for a doctoral dissertation. Additionally, findings from this study may be used in published articles and conference presentations.

Why have you been asked to take part in this study?

You are being asked to participate in this study because you are currently a practicing New Jersey public school teacher with at least five years of cumulative teaching experience. Additionally, you have displayed a level of dissatisfaction, opposition, or resistance in response to one or more of the requirements imposed through AchieveNJ.
Who may take part in this study? And who may not?

Any currently practicing New Jersey public school teacher with five years or greater experience may participate in this study if they display dissatisfaction, opposition, or resistance to one or more of the requirements imposed through AchieveNJ. Teachers employed by private institutions that do not function within the boundaries of AchieveNJ may not participate in this study.

How many subjects will be enrolled in the study?

This study places no boundaries on the number of participants.

How long will my participation in this study take?

This study will occur over a period of several months. Your total participation in this study is expected to be limited to one meeting of approximately 90 to 120 minutes. A second meeting may be arranged only if both you and the Co-investigator, Gary Scavette, desire to do so.

Where will the study take place?

You will be asked to meet with the Co-investigator, Gary Scavette, at a time and place most convenient for you in a setting where you feel secure and comfortable to speak freely. In the event that you cannot determine such a location you may be asked to meet at Rowan University's Herman James Hall, 201 Mullica Hill Road, Glassboro, NJ in a private reserved room. At the meeting you will be asked to complete a short graphic activity and participate in an interview discussion.

What will you be asked to do if you take part in this research study?

At the meeting you will be asked to complete a 20-30 minute graphic elicitation activity that is designed to reveal how your personal beliefs, philosophies, values, attitudes, and practices align with the demands currently placed upon you by the broader context of education in the State of New Jersey. Immediately following this activity, at the same meeting, you will participate in an interview discussion that is prompted by the results of the graphic elicitation activity. The interview discussion is expected to occur over a period of 60 to 90 minutes.

What are the risks and/or discomforts you might experience if you take part in this study?

There is minimal risk of physical or psychological harm associated with your participation in this study. There is potential risk for stigmatization in the rare event that your confidentiality is breached. Every effort will be made to reduce this risk.
Are there any benefits for you if you choose to take part in this research study?

The benefits of taking part in this study may provide you an opportunity to enhance social justice in New Jersey's public schools through sharing your voice as an experienced practitioner. However, it is possible that you might receive no direct personal benefit from taking part in this study. Your participation may help us understand what New Jersey teachers are experiencing as a consequence of AchieveNJ which can benefit you directly, and may help other people to enhance future research, policy, and practice.

What are your alternatives if you don’t want to take part in this study?

This study is completely voluntary. You may decide not to participate in this study without penalty.

How will you know if new information is learned that may affect whether you are willing to stay in this research study?

During the course of the study, you will be updated about any new information that may affect whether you are willing to continue taking part in the study. If new information is learned that may affect you, you will be contacted.

Will there be any cost to you to take part in this study?

There is no cost associated with your participation in this study.

Will you be paid to take part in this study?

You will not be paid for your participation in this research study.

How will information about you be kept private or confidential?

All efforts will be made to keep your personal information in your research record confidential, but total confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. Your personal information may be given out, if required by law. All audio recorded sessions, interview transcripts, graphic elicitations, notes, memos, or any other data generated by participants in this research will be kept secure and will only be accessible to the researcher and a transcriptionist, who will sign a confidentiality consent form. Aliases will be used to protect both you and your institution in all published documents and presentations. Your name and/or the name of the institution where you are employed will never be revealed in any report, publication, or conference proceeding. Every effort will be made to masque any data that could permit an audience to narrow in on your personal identity, or that of your institution, in all published documents and presentations.

What will happen if you do not wish to take part in the study or if you later
decide not to stay in the study?

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may change your mind at any time.

If you do not want to enter the study or decide to stop participating, your relationship with the study staff will not change, and you may do so without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

You may also withdraw your consent for the use of data already collected about you, but you must do this in writing to the Co-investigator, Gary Scavette, 1040 Willow Grove Road, Pittsgrove, NJ 08318

If you decide to withdraw from the study for any reason, you may be asked to participate in one meeting with the Principal Investigator.

Who can you call if you have any questions?

If you have any questions about taking part in this study you can call the Co-investigator:

Gary Scavette
Educational Leadership
609-221-7358

Or, you may call the Co-investigator's faculty sponsor and study's Primary Investigator:

Ane Johnson, Ph.D.
Educational Leadership Department
856-256-4500 x3818

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you can call:

Rowan University Office of Research
(856) 256-5150 – Glassboro/CMSRU

What are your rights if you decide to take part in this research study?

You have the right to ask questions about any part of the study at any time. You should not sign this form unless you have had a chance to ask questions and have been given answers to all of your questions.
ROWAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
AUDIO/VIDEOTAPE ADDENDUM TO CONSENT FORM

We are asking for your permission to allow us to audio record as part of that research study. The recording(s) will be used for data collection and analysis purposes only.

The recording(s) will include only those things that you and the researcher verbalize during the meeting as well as any ambient sounds. The researcher will tell you when audio recording begins as well as when the recording ends. There will be no file names assigned to the recording that would serve as an identifier for you or your institution.

The recording(s) will be stored in a digitally encrypted format and maintained on a secure passcode protected computer. The recording will be stored for a period of 6 years after the study has been completed and then erased.

Your signature on this form grants the investigators named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

I have read this entire form, or it has been read to me, and I believe that I understand what has been discussed. All of my questions about this form or this study have been answered.

Subject Name: ____________________________________________________________

Subject Signature: ___________________________ Date: ______________

Signature of Investigator/Individual Obtaining Consent:

To the best of my ability, I have explained and discussed the full contents of the study including all of the information contained in this consent form. All questions of the research subject and those of his/her parent or legal guardian have been accurately answered.

Investigator/Person Obtaining Consent: ________________________________

Signature: ___________________________ Date: ______________
Appendix D

Concept Map

A) Please create a list of personal beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies that could be used to identify you as a teacher. These might represent unique ways that you measure student success, personal beliefs about how students learn best, strategies for connecting with challenging learners, or meaningful relationships necessary for professional practice; just to name a few. Try to limit your description to a single word or short phrase of three or less words. Please list a minimum of ten.

1. ________________________________________________________________
2. ________________________________________________________________
3. ________________________________________________________________
4. ________________________________________________________________
5. ________________________________________________________________
6. ________________________________________________________________
7. ________________________________________________________________
8. ________________________________________________________________
9. ________________________________________________________________
10. ________________________________________________________________
11. ________________________________________________________________
12. ________________________________________________________________
13. ________________________________________________________________
14. ________________________________________________________________
15. ________________________________________________________________
B) The schoolhouse below serves as a metaphor for the institution of public education in New Jersey today.

1. Using the list you generated in part “A”, place each item in or around the schoolhouse. If you feel that the institution of public education in New Jersey highly values an item place it closest to the center of the schoolhouse. Conversely, if you feel that the institution of public education in New Jersey has no value for the item, place it outside of the schoolhouse. Items should radiate away from center from most valued to least.

2. Using your choice of a different colored pen feel free to add some items to the school that you perceive to be beliefs, values, practices, and philosophies most valued by today’s institution of public education in New Jersey but not necessarily valued by you.
Appendix E
Interview Protocol

Main Questions (M)

Probing Questions (P)

Please note: Those questions referring to the graphic elicitation activity may be asked multiple times to elicit participant response to each of the items identified in the activity.

1. (M) *Referring to graphic elicitation:* Tell me how you have come to value this (practice, belief, relationship, value, philosophy) that you have identified on your relational map.

2. (P) I would enjoy hearing the story of how you have arrived at this as a core value that permeates your practice. Please share your story.

3. (M) *Referring to graphic elicitation:* You have identified that you do not feel that your personal (practice, belief, relationship, value, philosophy) is held in high regard by the institution of public education in New Jersey today. Please explain why.

4. (P) Share a story that can help to illustrate your explanation.

5. (M) Describe how you perceive a change in the professional relationships that have formed between yourself and teaching colleagues/administration as a consequence of AchieveNJ.

6. (P) Please provide a story that illustrates your assertion.

7. (M) *Referring to graphic elicitation:* With such a great separation of personal (practice, belief, relationship, value, philosophy) from that which you perceive to be valued by the state, how do you manage to come to work each day?
8. (P) What mechanisms have you developed to cope?

9. (P) Please provide a story of how you apply these mechanisms in an effort to cope.

10. (P) *Pointing to acts of transgression:* What motivates your resistance to AchieveNJ?