Getting Ready for the Test:

The Impact of School Restructuring on High School English Teachers

A Dissertation Presented for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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Dedication

To the teachers, students, administrators in restructuring schools.

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Abstract

As debates about how to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) continue, educational stakeholders need to consider the impact that No Child Left Behind's (NCLB) accountability policies put on teachers working in low performing schools. Specifically, schools that annually struggle to achieve adequate yearly progress based on student test scores are narrowing the curriculum they offer students down to only teaching testable skills (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). As such, students who attended a school that taught them a narrowed curriculum only learned how to take high stakes tests and not how to compete in the 21st century world (Schoen & Fusarelli, 2007). B ecause of the pressure from high stakes tests, I wanted to understand how teachers who taught an NCLB tested subject at a low performing school were impacted by these accountability policies.

In this study, I investigated how high school English teachers working in an urban high school experienced NCLB's school restructuring policies. To conduct my study, I identified a low performing high school that was required to restructure according to NCLB. I then interviewed six of the school's English teachers and the assistant principal, who was selected to lead the school's restructuring. After analyzing my collected interview data, I created experience-based narratives for each of my participants. I temporally presented the narratives because teachers who taught at the school before and during its early stages of restructuring had a different experience than teachers who taught during the later stages of the school's restructuring.

My findings confirmed previously conducted research that detailed how NCLB's accountability policies resulted in the narrowing of the curriculum and English teachers being viewed as solely responsible for students' writing abilities (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2007; Smith & Kovacs, 2011). Moreover, I identified six different ways my participants were impacted by the school's restructuring and created a term for each. The terms I developed include *turnaround, producing results, threats, student behavior, top-down decision making*, and *sustained and unsustained reforms efforts*. I then closed by discussing each term and how it relates back to my participants' experiences.

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Chapter I: Introduction

I am a teacher of No Child Left Behind (NCLB). Although I completed my K-12 education before NCLB was law, all my teacher education courses and experiences as a high school English teacher and teacher educator have come after NCLB was enacted. As such, the only federal education policy I know is NCLB, and I am a practitioner of it. However, I am not comfortable with NCLB's treatment of teachers.

When I began my teaching career in 2004, I taught 10th grade English at a low-income, low-performing Florida high school. At the time, Florida primarily used 10th graders' high stakes test scores to determine a high school's worth, and my school's 10th grade English teachers were largely responsible for our reading and writing scores. As such, I felt tremendous pressure as an early career English teacher to be accountable for my students' reading and writing test scores because they largely determined our school's grade. During my time, our school consistently was ranked as a "D" school – sometimes a "high D" and sometimes a "low D" but always a "D" – by the state.

After receiving our annual ranking, the threats came. The threats were usually made by school district personnel and communicated through newspaper articles or leaked through staff rumors, and we were usually threatened with our school being forced to convert into a charter school if our test scores did not improve. As the years passed and the threats never became a reality, I started to see them as a usual part of the year – in the beginning of the year the threats were used as a motivator and at the end as a consequence. Looking back, it was not until I was a graduate student when that I started to see NCLB as an accountability policy and understand why we were annually threatened. Based on my experiences of teaching English in a low performing high school and my continually growing understanding of NCLB's school restructuring policies,

I wanted to study what happens to high school English teachers (HSETs) when accountability threats become a reality.

The Pressures of No Child Left Behind

When the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2002 was signed into law, it was supposed to bring accountability to public education by promising all students would be "proficient" in reading/language arts, math, and science by 2014. To ensure its promise was kept, NCLB established a test-based accountability system. To create its system, NCLB required each state to develop academic standards in reading/language arts, math, and science. Next, states were to construct standardized tests aligned to their academic standards and annually administer them to students in 3rd through 8th grade and once in high school. NCLB then tasked each state to define proficiency based on its student test scores.

After students took the test and the school received its scores, the school was responsible to disaggregate the test score data by breaking students into subgroups based on their race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), English language proficiency, and special education status. Schools were then to report test data to their state educational agency (SEA). If a school's student test scores met the proficiency mark established by the state, which means that all student subgroups – including English Language Learners (ELLs), special education (SPED) students, students enrolled in the free/reduced lunch program, and students who are a minority because of their race/ethnicity – achieved the state set proficiency test level, the school was said to have achieved adequate yearly progress (AYP). If the school failed to make AYP for two or more consecutive years, NCLB required the school to engage school improvement actions. If the school was still not able to achieve AYP after engaging school improvement actions for two years, the district was then required to choose one of NCLB's school restructuring options and

begin implementing it. Because my school never earned an "F" grade based on our test scores, we were only threatened with the school improvement and restructuring options. As such, I see NCLB's test-based accountability design as putting more pressure on teachers who teach an NCLB tested subject area – English, science, and math – than other teachers, and English teachers face more accountability pressure than other subject-area teachers.

English teachers responding to NCLB's accountability policies.

NCLB's test-based accountability policies place a larger burden on English teachers than other subject area teachers because English teachers are largely viewed as being solely responsible for a student's reading ability. For example, the concept that *all teachers are reading teachers* has existed for decades (Mueller, 1973), but "a frequent assumption is made that English teachers advance the cause of reading and that their efforts will transfer to all other disciplines" (Rosewell, 1973, p. 214). However, this "transfer" does not happen, and high school English teachers – then and now – are viewed as being largely responsible for students' reading abilities. In contemporary education guided by NCLB, Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) found that HSETs are most often connected with a high school's reading and writing scores, and teachers of subjects other than English do not feel they are responsible for students' scores on reading assessments. Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) then indentified that when a low-performing urban high school does offer its staff professional development about how to incorporate generic reading strategies across the high school curriculum, teachers either reject the strategies or implement them in such a way that keeps the reading strategies "distinct from what they considered their 'real work' – teaching a subject-based curriculum" (p. 1289). In response, HSETs are reducing their once rich curriculum to only testable skills, a practice commonly called "teaching to the test" (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). Essentially, teaching to the

test involves shrinking a curriculum to only skills, academic standards, and content that will be assessed on a high stakes test (Anagnostopoulos, 2003; Byrd-Blake, Afolayan, Hunt, Fabunmi, Pryor, & Leander, 2010). By HSETs focusing so much on testable skills and reading strategies, it has cost them quality literature and writing instruction.

Spending time reading and engaging quality literature – whether it is canonical or contemporary – is lost when HSETs teach to the test. For example, engaging Shakespeare's plays and sonnets requires deep, critical thinking to comprehend the plot twists, literary devices, and universal themes woven through his works; however, standardized "multiple choice questions…work as ends against the very consciousness of language and its power to shape human understanding that Shakespeare encourages in us" (Metzger, 2002, p. 24). When standardized tests reduce Shakespeare to a set of multiple choice questions, students are not grappling with the content of his writing; instead, they are being taught how to answer lower order thinking questions on a test (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Shepard, 2003). If we want our students to use higher order thinking skills to engage quality pieces of literature, the assessment methods used to evaluate their knowledge must match these skills, which standardized reading tests fail to do. This mismatch between the skills taught versus the skills assessed carries over to writing instruction.

When preparing students for high stakes writing assessments, a school's socioeconomic status (SES) factors into how teachers instruct writing. In her study comparing teachers working in high and low income schools, McCarthey (2008) found teachers in more affluent schools teach writing skills through writer's workshops, integrating writing into literature study, and offering genre based writing exercises to students. Conversely, teachers in lower income schools mainly use prepackaged writing programs like *America's Choice: Writer's Advantage* as the

basis for their writing instruction. From interviews with teachers, McCarthey (2008) identified that teachers in high income schools believed their students would be successful on writing assessments and, therefore, felt they had more freedom in choosing how they instructed writing. However, teachers in low income schools were mandated by the school district to use prepackaged writing programs to raise students' writing scores. The irony is that as school districts purchased these prepackaged writing programs, researchers have identified that writing workshops and integrating writing as part of literature instruction are more effective methods to meet states' writing standards and have students be successful on writing assessments (Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Higgins, Miller, & Wegmann, 2006). As such, NCLB's accountability demands are actually driving teachers, schools, and school districts to use non-research supported methods to increase students' test scores, and it is affecting the work of HSETs.

In response to NCLB's test-based accountability demands, HSETs are either choosing to narrow the curriculum (Anagnostopoulos, 2003; Byrd-Blake, Afolayan, Hunt, Fabunmi, Pryor, & Leander, 2010; Crocco & Costigan, 2007) or act subversively. Regarding the latter, HSETs take a "good soldier" stance when their principals implement a new policy in hopes of raising students' test scores – meaning HSETs "publicly conform to the wishes and mandates of the administration but privately and carefully say and do what they wanted" (Olsen & Sexton, 2008, p. 31). In other words, HSETs are openly supporting their principals' policies; however, once their classroom doors close, HSETs are doing what they believe is best for their students. McCarthey (2008) draws from Foucault's 1978 and 1979 lectures to explain this action as HSETs exercising technologies of the self to resist dominant practices from leaking into their classroom teaching. When reviewing articles, I was unable to determine whether "good

soldiering" resulted in increased test scores; however, I did find that NCLB's test-based accountability policies are a major factor in why HSETs are leaving the field of education.

Previous to NCLB, Schreff and Hahs-Vaughn (2008) found that only 6% of HSETs felt threatened because of students test scores, and most early career English teachers left the field because of low salaries (Hahs-Vaughn & Scherff, 2008). Yet, in the years after NCLB was enacted, more and more teachers left the teaching field because of low student achievement and the pressures brought on by NCLB's test-based accountability policies (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Dillon, 2007; Smith & Kovacs, 2011). In addition to causing teachers to leave the field of education, NCLB's policies are resulting in more schools annually failing to achieve AYP and subsequently having to restructure (McQuillan & Salomon-Fernandez, 2008). Despite the increase of schools engaging restructuring, only limited research exists about school restructuring and its effects on HSETs.

School restructuring.

The idea that a low-performing entity can be restructured or "fixed" by taking certain actions is not new. The business field adopted this philosophy in the 1970s, and increased profits, reduced overhead costs, improved products and service quality, and increased stock prices were identified as hallmarks of a successfully restructured business (Hirsch & DeSoucey, 2006). President Bush carried this idea of restructuring from business over to education when he signed NCLB into law. In NCLB's restructuring accountability model, it uses student test scores as profit quotas for learning (Mintrop & Sunderman, 2009). The essential disconnect between business and education then is that schools are not factories and test scores are not profits. When a business fails to post profits – before or after engaging restructuring – it will eventually close; however, the same is not true for schools. If a school fails to make AYP for five consecutive

years, it is not required to close; rather, it must begin engaging one of NCLB's five school restructuring options. The options include:

- **Chartering:** Closing the traditional public school and reopening it as a conversion charter;
- **Turnaround:** Replacing all or most of the staff who are deemed relevant to the school's failure to make AYP and that, in turn, creates a new school culture of success;
- **Contracting:** Signing a contract with an educational management organization that has a demonstrated effectiveness in operating a public school;
- **State Takeover:** Turning the day-to-day operation of the school and its restructuring efforts over to the state;
- **Other:** Developing a new arrangement of a school's governance that will result in improved test scores.

In the ten years since NCLB was enacted, researchers have found that none of these strategies are the silver-bullet for school restructuring (Brady, 2003; Hess & Petrilli, 2007; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). However, researchers have identified effective, transformational leadership as an essential commonality between successfully restructured schools (Arkin & Kowal, 2005; Steiner, 2005). In his article about understanding the changes in educational leadership, Robinson (2004) cites Fay (1987) to define leadership as "when someone does something that causes others to think or act in ways they would have not otherwise done, because they accept their right to require it of them (authority), or because they accept the reasonableness…of what has been proposed" (p. 39). Leithwood and Jantzi (2005) then identify *setting direction*, *helping people*, and *redesigning the organization* as three main behaviors of transformative school leaders; however, the methods school leaders use to establish their practices and communicate their

vision for the school varies. As such, this study will contribute to the growing research about school restructuring by investigating the experiences of HSETs teaching in an urban high school while it restructures according to NCLB's policies.

Purpose of Study

As researchers continue to study the most effective school restructuring strategies, the purpose of this study is to shed light on how HSETs are impacted and react to NCLB's mandated school restructuring policies. Currently, researchers have agreed that strong leadership is required for schools to successfully restructure (Hassel, Hassel, Arkin, Kowal, Steiner, Brinson, Rosch, Rhim, Way, Stewart, Maday-Karageorge, Barbour, & Dolby, 2010; Walberg, 2007); however, researchers are yet to explore specifically how HSETs respond to school restructuring, how they change their instruction to help satisfy NCLB's accountability while their school restructures, or how school restructuring affects their career paths. As such, it is the purpose of this study to address these gaps in the school restructuring literature.

Research Question

Since there is a dearth about the affects of school restructuring on HSETs, this study's research question is: What are the experiences of HSETs teaching in an urban high school while it restructures according to NCLB's policies? To answer this question, I interviewed seven HSETs who were working or had worked in the same urban high school during different times during the school's restructuring.

Positionality Statement

Because my positionality is intertwined in my work (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Hatch, 2002), it is necessary I offer my readers information about my own personal background followed by my views on education and NCLB. To be brief, I am a White male who was raised

in a middle-class household, and I graduated high school in 1999. As a child, the only differences between my peers and I was that I am Jewish and my parents divorced when I was three (my mother had custody). Besides that, I mostly fit into mainstream White America. As a child, I knew I wanted to be a teacher. I remember telling my great aunt when I was 10 that I wanted to teach, to which she replied "that isn't very lucrative, dear." For me, there was no one K-12 teacher I had who was "that person" and I remember my high school teachers laughing at me when I told them I wanted to become a teacher. Despite their responses, I started teaching when I was 23.

As stated in my introduction, I came to this study as a teacher of NCLB. Since NCLB was enacted, I have earned a bachelor's degree in English education, a master's degree in secondary English education, completed two semester-long internships as a pre-service teacher, taught high school English and journalism for four years, and am going on my fourth year of instructing pre-service teachers as a graduate teaching assistant. The experiences I have had as a teacher and student taught me that for students to learn, they must have a reason to do so. Furthermore, using high stakes assessments as the reason for students having to learn something does not work. For example, often over the course of my career I have had high school students ask "why do we need to know this?" and pre-service teachers ask "why do we need to teach this?" Invariably the answer always comes back to "because it *may* be on the test," and I felt deflated every time I have said it. I do not agree with high stakes assessments being the only measure of student learning, and my epistemology and ontology will help me elaborate.

Epistemologically speaking, I believe knowledge is gained through experience and social interactions. Knowledge that is acquired in school but does not connect with a student's life outside of school is of little worth, and I see it as part of the teacher's job to ensure their

instruction connects with students' lives outside of school. To me, I see education as preparing individuals with the skill sets they need to compete in a 21st century world; whereas, I see schooling as only ensuring students have the requisite skills needed to pass a standardized test. As such, I am an advocate for Daggett's (2005) Rigor/Relevance framework to be used in K-12 education and university coursework. My epistemological view then relates to my ontology in that there is no fixed reality. As people exist in different contexts, I do not believe in there being one fixed truth or one reality. Instead, I see the world as being made up of multiple views, perspectives, and ideologies. In relation to NCLB, I see the tests it uses for accountability as promoting only one correct answer, one truth. Even if this was true, which I do not believe it is, there are seldom times in life when a person gets to choose from a set of options with only one option being correct. As such, these accountability policies are not preparing students to be successful in the 21st century (Schoen & Fusarelli, 2008). In sum, my epistemological and ontological beliefs do not coincide with the test-based accountability policies NCLB requires of public schools. Furthermore, the strategies NCLB require schools to engage if students perform poorly on tests upsets me too.

When it was enacted, NCLB promised all students would be testing at proficient levels by 2014, but this is not going to happen (Alexander, 2006; Sexton, 2007). Moreover, the content being taught to students to pass these high stakes accountability assessments is not preparing them for success in college. For example, after NCLB had been enacted for four years, the US Department of Education (2006) reported that one-third of all incoming college freshmen enroll in a remedial reading, writing, or math course. By 2011, the US Department of Education (2011) reported that number grew to 38%. These numbers are obviously trending the wrong the way, and I think the goal President Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan set for America

to have the highest proportion of college graduates by 2020 is overly ambitious (US Department of Education, 2010). However, to me, the most upsetting parts of NCLB are its treatment of teachers working in low performing schools and the lack of research supporting NCLB-endorsed school restructuring options.

Because NCLB uses student test scores to determine if a school achieves AYP, passing scores on high stakes assessments are essential for a school to stay in good standing with NCLB's accountability policies. Yet, if a school fails to achieve AYP for two or more consecutive years, it must engage in school improvement and later restructuring mandates. Having worked in a high school that was consistently teetering on the brink of being required to engage these mandates, I find NCLB's policies outrageous! Much of the research literature included in the "English Teachers Responding to NCLB Accountability" section, I have experienced. Teachers do shrink their curriculum, use test preparatory materials instead of research-based strategies, and leave the profession because of NCLB's accountability demands. Furthermore, NCLB's policy of punishing both effective and non-effective teachers working at low performing schools is bothersome. Because NCLB evaluates an entire school based on all its students' test scores, non-effective teachers benefit from effective teachers' instruction whereas effective teachers are harmed by non-effective teachers' instruction. Lastly, the strategies NCLB uses to restructure schools are not supported by strong research (Brady, 2003; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). I find this ironic because of NCLB's requirement that teachers use research-based instructional methods while NCLB school restructuring strategies are not supported by research. Based on my experiences as an educator and my view on NCLB's school evaluation and restructuring policies, my positionality makes me sympathetic to teachers and schools working to increase low student test scores.

Delimitations

The amount of potential research that can be conducted under the topic of school restructuring is enormous. Consequently, I found it necessary to delimit my research. First, since I wanted to study specifically modern school restructuring, I found it necessary to delimit my study to NCLB's school restructuring policies. Secondly, there are numerous stakeholders that are impacted when a school restructures including students, administrators, teachers, guidance counselors, parents, school district personnel, policymakers, state officials from the department of education, and community members. Therefore, I chose to delimit my study to HSETs because I am a former HSET, other teachers view English teachers as being solely responsible for students' reading abilities, and I had created relationships with a local high school's English department. Thirdly, I delimited my study to seven participants. I understand that multiple realities exist and including more participants would have allowed more a deeper understanding of how NCLB's school restructuring policies impact HSETs. However, since I was interested in understanding school restructuring across time, I felt that the seven participants I talked to sufficed because they were involved with the school restructuring at different times. Fourthly, my study was delimited because it only involved the experiences of teachers at one school. This delimitation was necessary because the school I studied was the only school in the local area restructuring at the time of my study.

Limitations

The largest limitation of this study relates to its generalizability. Since this study is a case study of one school's experience with school restructuring, drawing definitive conclusions about other schools' restructuring experiences is limited. For instance, I conducted qualitative interviews with my participants that allowed me to deeply understand their experiences (Glense,

2006). The deep understanding I received allowed me to comprehend the experiences of my participants, but their experiences are not necessarily the same as teachers in other schools that have restructured. The second limitation of my study related to the time I spent in the field (Hatch, 2002). Although I interviewed my participants about the school's restructuring and its impact on their classroom instruction, membership in the school's community, and professionalism, I did not observe them teach or interact with their colleagues. Since I was not a participant-observer (Merriam, 2009), my study is limited to the interviews I conducted.

Organization of the Study

In this chapter I first explained how I became interested in school restructuring and then discussed the impact of NCLB's standards-based accountability on HSETs. I additionally included my positionality statement where I described myself as a researcher and expressed my own critiques of NCLB. In chapter two, I will present a history of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, then give an overview of NCLB's accountability system, and finally detail each of NCLB's defined school restructuring strategies. In chapter three, I present a historical context for the school I studied and introduce my participants. In chapter four, I describe the research methodology I used to conduct this study. My fifth chapter consists of the narratives I created for each participant, which chronicle their experiences teaching English in a restructuring high school. In my final chapter, I will present my research findings that answer my research question by explaining how my participants were impacted by the school restructuring, and I will close by offering my own ideas about new school restructuring strategies.

Additionally, I have included 10 appendices to aide my reader. Appendix A is a list of abbreviations and acronyms used in my study. Appendices B, C, and D all accompany chapter

two. Appendix B is a glossary of key terms used to describe NCLB's school improvement, corrective actions, and school restructuring policies. Appendix C outlines NCLB's accountability mandates that low performing schools must engage when they do not make adequate yearly progress. Appendix D is a document from the Knowledge Is Power Program charter schools. Appendix E is a timeline about significant moments in Tander Douglass High School's restructuring. Tander Douglass High School is the pseudonym I named the school where my participants worked. Appendix F included responses to the question protocol I developed for my interviews. Appendices G, H, and I show the progression of my data coding process discussed in chapter four.

Chapter II: Review of Literature

When the current authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act – referred to as *No Child Left Behind Act*[1] (NCLB) – neared its 10th birthday, the White House released "A Blueprint for Reform: The Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act" that outlined President Obama's and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan's educational agenda. To open their Blueprint, President Obama issued a call to action:

> Today, more than ever, a world-class education is a prerequisite for success. United States was once the best educated nation in the world. A generation ago, we led all nations in college completion, but today, 10 countries have passed us. It is not that their students are smarter than ours. It is that these countries are being smarter about how to educate their students. And the countries that out-educate us today will out-compete us tomorrow (US DOE, 2010, p. 5).

President Obama created a sense of urgency to reform the process The United States used to educate its public students, therefore, enabling its long-term ability to globally compete in the business community. To reform United States' current educational process, the Blueprint recommended (1) raising academic standards so all high school graduates are career or college ready, (2) promoting best practices for teacher education programs and placing effective teachers and leaders where they are most needed, (3) creating equitable *accountability* practices that support all students' needs, (4) offering states additional funding through a grant program and supporting school choice options that promote college-readiness, and (5) making competitive funding available to innovative educational approaches (US DOE, 2010). Since releasing the Blueprint, President Obama and Secretary of Education Duncan have launched Race to the Top,

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[1] Definitions for the italicized terms are located in Appendix A

a formula grant program that rewarded states federal funds if they reformed their state educational plan so it aligned with the Blueprint's recommendations. Additionally, Lamar Alexander – current Senator from Tennessee and former Secretary of Education under President George H. W. Bush – has offered his ideas about how NCLB should be reauthorized. In their proposals, both the Blueprint and Senator Alexander's recommendations address how to restructure *low performing schools* to better serve students. However, both sets of proposed recommendations are reminiscent of NCLB's school restructuring strategies.

At the time of this review, there has been a limited amount of research conducted on NCLB's school restructuring strategies. As such, I am concerned that educational stakeholders – teachers, administrators, parents, educational policymakers, educational researchers, and community members – are not as well informed as they could be about NCLB's school restructuring policies. Therefore, I have reviewed data about school restructuring to help educational stakeholders understand its impact on schools, comprehend NCLB's accountability policies, and improve the strategies used to improve low performing schools.

Why This Review

The purpose of this review is to inform educational stakeholders about the experiences of low-performing schools under NCLB's school restructuring policies. As such, this review arose from two questions related to NCLB's treatment of low-performing schools:

- How did NCLB hold schools accountable for student performance?
- What happened to schools unable to meet NCLB's benchmarks for student achievement?

These two research questions are also of personal interest because of my experience teaching 10th grade English in a low-performing, Florida high school.

While teaching English, I became frustrated with NCLB's negative labeling of my students and me. As I was teaching in a Title I high school, I continually taught low-income, minority students who were often reading on a middle school level and had individualized educational programs (IEPs). Working collaboratively with my school's reading department and literacy coach, our students were able to raise their reading abilities. For example, some students began the school year reading on a 6th grade level and finished reading closer to a 7th grade level, which we considered a significant accomplishment. However, NCLB's accountability measures did not recognize that growth and our students performed poorly on their standardized 10th grade reading test. Later, when the score reports came back to us just before summer break, we would have to inform our students of their failing grades. After seeing our students work so hard to improve their reading abilities only to fail a standardized test and contemplate dropping out of school, I became angry and resentful about how NCLB defined growth and held students and schools accountable for it. Those experiences were what initially catalyzed my interest in studying NCLB's treatment of low-performing schools. As I transitioned from a HSET to a doctoral student, I began to realize the struggles my school and students experienced were not unique. Through reading scholarly and newspaper articles, I began to see how NCLB's accountability policies were not created in a way that supported schools.

The second question thus evolved from the first. As students struggled to meet NCLB's student achievement standards, schools were annually threatened by NCLB's policies. For instance, during my years teaching, local school district officials annually visited our school during pre-planning days and told us they predicted school-wide sanctions if student achievement on standardized tests did not increase. As a faculty, we did not feel as if our school was given support or recognition for the student achievement we produced; instead, we were

only reprimanded for students not achieving NCLB's required performance levels. Additionally, the sanctions predicted by the school district officials were only threatened and never implemented, which resulted in stressful working conditions. As such, this review will first historically outline NCLB's accountability policies, then investigate NCLB's school improvement methods, and finally describe each of NCLB's school restructuring options.

Methods of the Review

This review is divided into three main sections and is accompanied by a glossary of terms included in Appendix A. The review's first section provides readers with an introduction to ESEA and also contains information about its two major reauthorizations. The main sources used to trace the history of ESEA were books and articles that chronicled United States' history with public education.

The review's second section is focused on NCLB's accountability policies. I used the language from NCLB and articles from *Journal of Teacher Education*, *Educational Policy*, *American Educational Research Journal*, *Education and Urban Society*, *Educational Researcher*, *American Journal of Evaluation*, and *Assessment for Effective Evaluation* to outline the inequities of NCLB's policies. I conclude that section by examining the actions low-performing school must engage according to NCLB before being required to restructure.

The final section investigated each of NCLB's five school restructuring options. As NCLB affects all *school stakeholders*, not just scholarly researchers, I wanted to include as many stakeholders' voices as possible in an attempt to create a holistic picture of school restructuring. To develop this vantage point, I used documents produced by fellow researchers, schools going through *school improvement* measures, educational centers and laboratories, state and local educational agencies, state and federal policymakers, educational organizations and committees,

education management organizations, and think tanks. I located these data by conducting searches in Google (www.google.com), Google Scholar (www.scholar.google.com), Educational Research Information Clearinghouse (www.eric.ed.gov), and SAGE Publications (http://online.sagepub.com). To conduct these searches, I used keyword combinations of "NCLB", "school restructuring", "effects of school restructuring", "implications of school restructuring", "school turnaround", "school improvement", "school restructuring strategies", "corrective actions", "teachers", "successful school restructuring" to guide my search. The documents I found span from the 1980s to 2010 and include historical and contemporary instances of school improvement and restructuring. The historical examples are intended to offer a "lessons learned" perspective while the contemporary examples offer a window into current trends. By reviewing documents made in different contexts of school restructuring, I was able to incorporate many perspectives of school improvement and restructuring.

SECTION I
The Elementary and Secondary Education Act: The Forefather of No Child Left Behind

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) changed the way United States does education. ESEA was first passed in 1965 as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" (Easley II, 2005). ESEA is scheduled to be reauthorized every five years and has twice been significantly overhauled, once by President Bill Clinton (1994) and once President George W. Bush (2001).

President Johnson's ESEA was significant because it marked the federal government's first major involvement in national education. "Prior to 1965, not only did the federal government have only the most minimal presence in education, education also had only a minimal presence in the lives of low-income students" (US DOE, 2010, ¶ 4). In response to the

poor education low-income schoolchildren were receiving, President Johnson passed ESEA that targeted funding inequities in public schooling.

Previous to ESEA, public schools mainly received funds for school construction projects or national defense needs, such as investing in science and math (Cross, 2004). However, President Johnson changed that practice by targeting federal money directly to poor schools. According to the first authorization of ESEA, Title I gave schools extra funding if 90% or more of their students qualified for the federal free/reduced lunch program, and schools in the South and Midwest received the bulk of Title I funds. Additionally, to satisfy that the federal funds were being used to further support education and not replace already existing educational funding in Title I schools, ESEA's Title III mandated that "federal funds should not replace any state or local [educational] funds" (Cross, 2004, p. 24). Although Titles I and III have been controversial, they still remain a part of ESEA today.

When it was passed in 1965 (263-153 in the House of Representatives and 83-18 in the Senate), ESEA was favorably viewed by Republicans, Democrats, and special interest groups because "it spread federal dollars around the country with few stipulations and virtually no accountability for student achievement" (DeBray-Pelot & McGuinn, 2009, p. 17). Republicans favored ESEA because it did not expand government into education, only government dollars. Democrats favored the act because it supported minority students and the 1960s Civil Rights movement. Special interest groups such as the National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT) supported ESEA because of the increased amount of federal spending with lack of oversight regarding how the money was spent (DeBray-Pelot & McGuinn, 2009). From 1965 until 1994, ESEA continued to supply federal dollars to schools, even through President Reagan's attempt to eliminate the Department of Education and reduce

the federal government's education budget by 10% (Davies, 2007; Allington, 1999). Subsequently, ESEA was not significantly redesigned until President Clinton's administration.

In 1994, President Clinton made the first significant overhaul of ESEA when he reauthorized it as the *Improving America's School Act* (IASA). This reauthorization changed the focus of ESEA from just supplying schools with federal money to requesting "states to develop challenging academic standards and tests to measure student progress towards attaining those standards... [and] the law also set the 2000 school year as the deadline for complying with the standards and testing requirements" (Allington, 1999, p.5). Specifically, IASA had five central tenets:

(1) Having high standards for all children,

(2) Nationally prioritizing the improvement of teaching and learning,

(3) Respecting local education initiatives while requiring improved student performance,

(4) Including students, parents, and communities in achieving educational goals, and

(5) Supporting educational initiatives in poor communities and schools (US DOE, 1993).

Republicans and Democrats both supported IASA's use of *standards-based education*, which gave states the responsibility of closely tailoring state assessments to state standards (Linn, 2003). As a result, IASA was ultimately passed with bipartisan support (289-128 in the House of Representatives and 94-6 in the Senate); however, differences between the two parties existed.

> Liberal Democrats (and their allies in the teachers unions) feared that the reforms would shift attention away from resources issues, and conservative Republicans lamented the expansion of federal influence into areas of school governance that had historically been the prerogative of the states (DeBray-Pelot & McGuinn, 2009, p. 23).

Regarding funding, the Republicans "supported budgets with more and more funding for education, [but] they opposed many of the standards and testing provisions that provided accountability in return for more funding" (US Department of Education, 2010, ¶ 2). To settle the funding and standards debates, a formula was worked out where "only new money would be concentrated on high-poverty districts" (Cross, 2004, p. 112). As only high-poverty districts received new federal funding – which comprised only 7% of all spending on K-12 education (Cross, 2004) – student achievement and the creation of state academic standards and assessments were not factored into deciding which states received additional ESEA funds. As a result, only 17 states met the Clinton administration's standards and testing requests by the year 2000. However, IASA's concept of states creating standards-based curricula and assessments set the stage for President George W. Bush's educational agenda.

When President Bush reauthorized ESEA as the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001, he aimed to make states, school districts, and schools accountable for student learning (Easley II, 2005). In a speech commemorating NCLB's one year anniversary, President Bush said:

> With the No Child Left Behind Act, we have committed the nation to higher standards for every single public school. And we've committed the resources to help the students achieve those standards. We affirm the right of parents to have better information about the schools, and to make crucial decisions about their children's future. Accountability of results is no longer just a hope of parents. Accountability for results is now the law of the land. (Bush, 2003, ¶ 26)

NCLB originally passed with bipartisan support (384-45 in the House of Representatives and 91-8 in the Senate), but it quickly became mired in political and educational controversy (Whilden, 2010). NCLB's ultimate goal is for all students to be proficient in all reading, math, and science

by the 2013-2014 school year. To make this deadline, NCLB puts a premium on accountability for student achievement. To measure student achievement, NCLB developed the concept of *adequate yearly progress* (AYP). The next section will first define what AYP is and then review researcher's critiques of NCLB's accountability measures.

SECTION II
AYP & Accountability in NCLB

At the heart of NCLB is *adequate yearly progress* (AYP), the requirement that all public school students are annually assessed for quantifiable proof they have learned a year's worth of content in science, math, and reading in 3rd through 8th grade and once in high school. To gauge student's growth and determine if a student made AYP, states use standardized tests to assess students' knowledge of state academic standards. According to NCLB, a state is required to develop the academic standards to be taught, select or create a method for assessing students that is aligned to its academic standards, and hold educational stakeholders – mostly schools and teachers – accountable for students making AYP. To guide states' assessment policies, NCLB requires that states must:

(1) Apply "the same high standards of academic achievement to all public elementary school and secondary school students in the state,"

(2) Control for "statistically valid and reliable" student assessment data,

(3) Make AYP result "in continuous and substantial academic improvement for all students,"

(4) Measure "the progress of public elementary schools, secondary schools and *local educational agencies* and the State based primarily on the academic assessments," and

(5) Include "separate measurable annual objectives for...the achievement of all public elementary school and secondary students" (Section 1111).

States then determine AYP by first having schools administer state tests to its students. After the tests are taken, the school sends the tests to be scored. Upon the scored tests being returned, each school is responsible for disaggregating its students test scores by race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), English language proficiency, and special education status. Next, the school is required to report its test data to the state. Once all the test data has been reported back to the state, the state then determines the scores need for AYP. Additionally, NCLB requires at least 95% of a school "test eligible" population must be assessed for a school to be even eligible for AYP.

Once the state has all the scored tests, it determines if a school made AYP based on *cut scores*. Cut scores are the minimum scores a student must get on an assessment to pass, and it is the cut score that determines if a student made AYP as required by NCLB. To determine if a school made AYP, the state decides what percentage of a school's student body must score "proficient" – meaning the student achieved the required cut score on the assessment – on a test. If a school does not meet the benchmark of proficiency set by the state, the school will not make AYP. Additionally, if a *student subgroup* - by race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), English language proficiency, and special education status – failed to score proficiently on a test, the school also will not make AYP. However, NCLB permits one alternative way schools can get around the AYP requirement:

> There are so-called "safe harbor" provisions that will provide relief for a few schools. A school that falls short of the AYP target for a subgroup of students will avoid being identified for improvement under the safe harbor provision if (a) the percentage of

> students who score below the proficient level [on one assessment] has decreased by at least 10% from the year before, and (b) there is improvement for the subgroup on other indicators [other indicators includes metrics such as graduation and attendance rates] (Linn, 2003, p. 17).

For example, if a state sets its 2007-2008 cut score for the 8th grade reading test at 90% - meaning 90% of a school's students must earn a score of proficiency for the school to satisfy AYP – a school with only 70% of its students scoring proficient on the reading test would not make AYP. However, if that same school had only 58% of its low SES students score proficient in reading during the 2006-2007 school year and had 70% of them score proficient the following year, it would achieve safe harbor. By achieving safe harbor, that school would not have to engage NCLB's policies for low performing schools. As cut scores are determined by states, schools that annually achieve AYP are not affected by NCLB's policies to increase student achievement; however, low-performing schools are subject to *corrective actions* and *school improvements* measures (Section 1117, b). Although NCLB's accountability provisions were made in good faith, researchers are revealing many unintended negative impacts.

Critique of NCLB testing policies.

In the age of NCLB accountability, researchers and test data analysts are finding that not all state standards and assessments are equal (Fuller, Wright, Gesicki, & Kang, 2007). Because NCLB requires states to develop their own academic standards and assessments, states have the power to create more or less rigorous standards and assessments. Currently, states are not required to follow any national standards or assessments – even though politicians and think-tanks have contemplated and some supported nationalized educational agendas in the past (DeBray-Peolot & McGuinn, 2009) – and the rigor of some states standards and assessments

have been questioned. For instance, if a state wants to improve the passing rate on its standardized test, it can manipulate the cut score because the process states use to determine cut scores is ambiguous and clandestine:

> States set cut scores along one of two dimensions: The characteristics of the test items or the characteristics of the test takers. It is essential to understand that either way is an inescapably subjective process. Just as academic standards are ultimately the result of professional judgment rather than absolute truth, there is no "right" way to set cut scores, and different methods have various strengths and weaknesses. The problem is that, though passionate feelings abound, there is no source of agreement about what, for instance, a fifth-grader should know and be able to do in mathematics or what sort of text they should be able to comprehend (Rotherham, 2006, p. 3-4).

Because NCLB allowed states to control their assessment, states have the power to set the cut scores for the benefit of the state's student achievement report. In fact, researchers have documented "that the primary factor explaining improvement in student proficiency rates in many states is a decline in the test's estimated cut score" (Cronin, Dahlin, Adkins, & Kingsbury, 2007, p. 6). Additionally, several states' reports on student proficiencies levels have been questioned.

There is an increasing amount of evidence that some states have more rigorous standards and assessments as compared to other states. To make fair comparisons about the rigors of states' standards and assessments, researchers use the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) because it is "the only nationally representative assessment of what American students know and can do in core subjects such as mathematics, reading, science, U.S. history, and writing" (NAEP, 2010). Researchers can then compare how rigorous each state standards

and student assessment are; however, Linn (2003) does note that NAEP assessments are considerably ambitious and "no country is anywhere close to having all of its students scoring at the proficient level" (p. 11). Nevertheless, United States researchers use NAEP assessment data to compare states' educational levels and student achievement.

In referencing a RAND report, Allington and Cunningham (2007) compared state reported student achievement on reading assessment against NAEP data:

> In Texas, for example, 85 percent of children met the state standard while only 27 percent achieved the proficient reading standard on the NAEP. In South Carolina, on the other hand, 33 percent achieved the state standard and 26 percent achieved the NAEP proficient reading level. With similar percentages of fourth graders in these two states meeting the NAEP proficient standard (26 and 27 percent) one can only conclude that Texas reading standards are less demanding than those of South Carolina. (p. 19)

Fuller, Wright, Gesicki, and Kang (2007) further highlighted this practice. For instance, Alabama "determined that fully 77% of all fourth graders could read proficiently or above in 2003, compared with just 22% as assessed by the NAEP" (p. 271). As such, there is an overwhelming amount of evidence to support the claim that states' proficiency rates are just an "illusion of proficiency" (Cronin, Dahlin, Adkins, & Kingsburgy, 2007, p. 1). The effect of the inaccurate reporting of student achievement by states makes comparisons between what states and NAEP date report as proficient inconsistent. Therefore, issues such as comparing a low-performing school in the 6th best state for education against a high-performing school in the 39th best state for education become murky, and it ultimately represents inequities in NCLB accountability. These issues bleed over into the *achievement gap*.

The achievement gap in the United States is no secret (Barton & Coley, 2010; Anyon, 2005; Kozol, 1991), and NCLB's new accountability measures were originally touted as being the remedy for closing the achievement gap between minority and majority students. NCLB's strategy for closing the achievement gap was based in its requirements to report *disaggregated data* on student achievement by student sub-group (Barton & Coley, 2010). "A disproportionate number of students specifically targeted...have lagged behind on achievement tests for many years. Disaggregated reporting for those categories...provides a mechanism for monitoring [if] the goal of leaving no child behind is being achieved" (Linn, 2003, p. 16), and therein lays the problem. As NCLB adequately monitors students' test scores and does not require "disaggregated" or differentiated instruction of students, it is questionable whether NCLB's monitoring actually closes the achievement gap. Looking at NAEP scores as reported by the National Center for Educational Statistics (www.nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard) in Table1 illustrates this claim.

Table 1. National test data on 8th grade reading test data from 1992-2009 by race/ethnicity.

Year	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian	Unclassified
2009	271	245	248	273	252	265
2007	270	244	246	269	248	262
2005	269	242	245	270	251	261
2003	270	244	244	268	248	261
2002	271	244	245	265	252	260
1998	268	242	241	261	-	-
1994	265	235	239	262	247	-
1992	265	236	238	267	-	249

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics

The data in Table 1 show that 8th grade minorities are making gains in reading, but Whites and Asians are still the highest performing racial/ethnicity groups. For instance, the gap between White and Black students on the 8th grade reading assessment in 1992 was 29 points. However, it only shrunk to 26 points by 2009, meaning the achievement gap between Blacks and Whites in reading only closed three points in 17 years. Comparing 2002 scores of Whites to Blacks a year after NCLB was signed into law, the achievement gap in 8th grade reading was 27 points and by 2009 it only closed by a point. Between Whites and Hispanics from 2002 to 2009, the gap went from 26 points to 23. Slightly different trends are seen in Table 2's data of 8th grade math test data from 1992-2009.

Table 2. National test data on 8th grade math test data from 1992-2009 by race/ethnicity.

Year	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	Native American	Unclassified
2009	292	260	266	300	267	283
2007	290	259	264	296	265	282
2005	288	254	261	294	266	278
2003	287	252	258	289	265	276
2000	283	243	252	287	263	-
1996	279	239	249	-	-	-
1992	276	236	247	290	-	258
1990	269	236	245	275	-	-

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics

These data demonstrate how some minorities are making small gains in math while other minorities are losing ground. The gap between White and Black students on the 1990 math assessment was 33 points and in 2009 it was still 32 points, a closing of one point in almost 20 years. From 2003 – two years after NCLB was signed into law – to 2009, the gap between White and Black student achievement shrunk from 35 points to 32. The gap between White and

Hispanic students on the 1990 assessment was 24 points and that gap grew to 26 points in 2009. From 2003 to 2009, the gap between Hispanic and White students did close from 29 points to 26.

These numbers suggest that NCLB's efforts to significantly close the achievement gap through standardized testing are failing (Hunter & Bartee, 2003), and the 2014 proficiency goal is unrealistic (Linn, 2003). After being law for 10 years, it turns out that NCLB's accountability measures actually only highlight the achievement gap, which was crucial in quantitatively acknowledging the existence of the achievement gap, but it did not close it. Some researchers claim that societal forces – access to jobs, better living conditions, and freedom from the cycle of poverty (Anyon, 2005; Kozol, 1991) – and not educational agendas must be changed for the achievement gap to close (Barton & Coley, 2010; Hunter & Bartee, 2003). While another educational researcher Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006) sees the achievement gap as a manifestation of the education debt, which she said resulted from "historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies" (p. 5). However, since NCLB's aim was on narrowing the achievement gap, I will continue focusing on the achievement gap. In that vein, schools and states with large populations of low-income students take particular issue with NCLB.

NCLB puts states, districts, schools, and teachers with large numbers of low-income and *English Language Learners* (ELLs) at a disadvantage. According to NAEP and the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), low-income students and ELLs score lower on test than affluent students or native English speakers. States and schools with high numbers of low-income students or ELLs have to make much larger academic gains to reach proficiency by 2014 than states and schools with small low-income and ELL student populations (Yeh, 2006; Abedi, 2004). For instance, if 78% of School A's students, who are middle-class and native English

speakers, tested as proficient in reading during the 2010-2011 school year and only 27% of School B's students, who are low-income students or ELLs, tested as proficient, School A has a much better chance of obtaining 100% reading proficiency than School B by 2014 (Linn, 2003). In Yeh's (2006) qualitative study, he critiqued this dynamic in NCLB by arguing for an alternative assessment that emphasizes student growth, not just proficiency level: "Measures of growth would address this issue because schools with predominately low socioeconomic student populations [or high numbers of ELLs] could demonstrate growth in achievement even if many students do not achieve at the same level as more affluent [or English fluent] peers" (p. 509), but NCLB only recognizes proficiency. This inequity is compounded because some scholars contest NCLB holds the non-native English speaking student subgroup unfairly accountable for student achievement (Abedia, 2004; Fusarelli, 2004).

Within the non-native English speaker student subgroup, there is little stability. NCLB makes it each state's responsibility to define which characteristics classify a student as an ELL and what constitutes an ELL as becoming "fluent" in English. This classification is important because as ELLs become fluent in English, they no longer are classified as being an ELL and are relabeled English proficient. Abedia (2004) explains:

> When an ELL student makes significant progress in math and reading (the main subject areas focuses of NCLB), he or she will be reclassified as fluent English proficient (FEP) and will no longer be part of the ELL subgroup. Therefore, members of the ELL subgroup, by definition, will almost always be among the low-performing group of students and will hardly make substantial progress. In addition, new students who continually move into schools at lower levels of language proficiency will contribute to the situation of instability. (p. 6)

This cycle results in states and schools with large populations of ELLs being continually challenged to make AYP with the ELL subgroup. Perhaps more frustrating is that when a teacher experiences success in helping an ELL student become fluent in English, the now fluent ELL's test score will no longer count for the ELL subgroup. The end result is as ELLs become fluent in English, they are moved out of the school's non-native English speaker subgroup and the performance of a school's ELL subgroup on state tests actually sinks (Abedi, 2004). Then, as Fusarelli explains, "Under NCLB, if all the AYP targets are not met, the entire school fails" (2004, p. 78), meaning that if a school makes AYP in the other student subgroups but its non-native English speaking subgroup falls short, the entire schools fails (Linn, 2003). In this way, NCLB unfairly holds schools with large populations of non-native English speaking students accountable for AYP. Because NCLB puts such a large emphasis on accountability through testing and preparing student subgroups for these assessments, it impacts state, district, and school curriculum.

Rich curricula are becoming a relic in the United States' public schools. Large numbers of schools, particularly urban and rural schools struggling to make AYP, are no longer offering a rich variety of courses to students or allowing students to develop higher order thinking skills; instead, schools are narrowing their curricula and course offerings to focus more on reading and math test taking skills (Byrd-Blake, Afolayan, Hunt, Fabunmi, Pryor, & Leander, 2010; The National Center for Fair and Open Testing, 2007; Yeh, 2006; Fusarelli, 2004). In fact, "NCLB has increased the fear level in district offices, which in turn sends districts and administrators on single-minded missions to raise test scores" (Selwyn, 2007, p. 132). The result is that an increasing number of states and school districts are mandating their schools and teachers use

scripted lessons that detail where teachers should be in their lessons down to the minute instead of allowing teachers to design a rigorous curriculum tailor-made to their students' needs.

In their qualitative study of new middle and high school English and social studies teachers in urban New York City who are required to teach these minutely scripted lessons, Crocco and Costigan (2007) found "new teachers find their personal and professional identity development thwarted, creativity, and autonomy undermined, and ability to forge relationships with students diminished" (p. 513). The research asserted that teaching under these conditions contributed to the high levels of new teacher attrition, and these new teachers either leave their urban schools for suburban schools or leave the field of education all together. Additionally, negative experiences with high stakes tests during a person's K-12 education have an enormous impact on that person's decision of if they want to become a teacher.

Students who had a lackluster K-12 educational experience are less likely to continue their education after high school. Furthermore, if they do attend college, it is very unlikely that they will choose education as their major (Selwyn, 2007). This issue becomes more layered when NCLB's "highly qualified teacher" status and socioeconomic levels are considered. To be highly qualified under NCLB and receive a state certified teaching license, a prospective teacher must have a (1) bachelor's degree, (2) passed a basic skills and subject area test, and (3) satisfied any other state requirements such as having an English for Speakers of Other Languages [ESOL] or Reading endorsement. To achieve this highly qualified status, it costs a significant amount of money, and individuals from a low-income background who struggled through their K-12 education are considerably less likely to become a teacher as compared to individuals from affluent backgrounds who had positive K-12 educational experiences. NCLB then uses the

"highly qualified" status as a gatekeeper, and it has resulted in limited numbers of minorities becoming certified to teach (Selwyn, 2007)

The end result is that some of NCLB's accountability mandates are not equitable to all student subgroups, *narrow the curriculum*, add to teacher attrition rates, and reduce the amount of minority teachers. The lasting effect is that standardized tests are creating an "impoverished definition of reading, writing, and mathematics" (Linn, 2003, p. 8). Subsequently, a growing number of high school graduates do not possess the ability to think critically, innovate creatively, collaborate meaningfully, and lack media literacy skills because these areas are not tested by NCLB. These issues with NCLB accountability result in schools not being able to make AYP nor effectively educate students for 21st century success (Schoen and Fusarelli, 2007). However, NCLB accountability does not end here. Instead, NCLB additionally holds schools accountable if they do not make AYP for two consecutive years.

School Improvement and Corrective Actions.

When a school is labeled *low performing* by NCLB, it means the public elementary or secondary school "has failed to make adequate yearly progress... for two or more consecutive years" (Section 5247). This failure results in schools having to make *school improvements* in hopes of increasing student achievement and making AYP. If these school improvements do not work after two years, the school then takes additional, more dramatic actions known as *corrective actions*. If the school still does not make AYP after these new correctives actions are instituted for another year, the school must *restructure*. As of the 2008-2009 school year, there were 5,683 schools nation-wide going through school improvement, 1,899 in corrective actions, and 5,017 being restructured (US Department of Education, 2009). To be released from school improvements, corrective actions, or school restructuring, a school must meet AYP requirements

for two consecutive school years. If a formerly low-performing school makes AYP for two consecutive years, "the local educational agency shall no longer subject the school to the requirements of school improvement, corrective action, or restructuring or identify the school for school improvements for the succeeding school year" (Section 1116, 12). Please see Appendix B for a chart of this process; the next sub-sections will describe each stage.

School fails to make AYP for one year: NCLB requires no actions for the school.

NCLB permits a school to miss making AYP for one year without requiring the school, LEA, or state to take action.

School fails to make AYP for two years: School Improvement Actions I.

After a school fails to make AYP for two consecutive years, the LEA must use "state academic assessments and other indicators described in the State [education] plan" (Section 1116, A) to identify low achieving schools for school improvement. After a low performing school has been identified, the state in conjunction with the LEA is required to send the school's principal notice that the school will be subject to NCLB's school improvement policies. However, NCLB does allow the school's principal 30 days to review the state's identification data and examine it for inaccuracies or counterclaims (Section 1116, 2, b, A-C). If no disputes are made, the identification of the school for corrective actions and the school's grade are made public. Additionally, known as the *transfer option*, the LEA must "provide all students enrolled in the school with the option to transfer to another public school served by the [same] local educational agency, which may include a public charter school, that has not been identified for school improvement" (Section 1116, E, i). Also, the school staff, working with "the local educational agency serving the school, and outside experts" (Section 1116, A, 2, 3), must create

a new school plan, and the plan has to be approved by the LEA. In the plan, NCLB requires the school to:

1. Strengthen core academic subject(s) – reading, math, science – where students fail to make AYP by utilizing scientifically based research in the classroom;
2. Ensure that the school is teaching the core academic subjects to all students. If not, the school must adopt new policies and practices that do so;
3. Spend at least 10% of the school's fund on high quality *professional development* for the school's teachers and administrators;
4. Justify how the school's spending on professional development will help the school improve its grading and student performance;
5. Create measurable objectives and corresponding benchmarks for all students based on the state's standards to ensure all students will meet proficiency requirement by the 2013-2014 school year;
6. Describe how the school and parents communicate regarding each child's achievement in a manner that both the school and parent can understand;
7. Define the exact roles, in regards to technical assistance and fiscal commitments, that the state educational agency and LEA have in the new school plan;
8. Create pathways that allow for parents to become meaningfully involved in the school community;
9. Offer students tutoring before school, after school, during summer, or during any other breaks in the school year;
10. Develop a teacher mentoring program.

When receiving the school plan, the LEA must, within a 45 day period, conduct a peer review process of the school plan, and, if revisions are necessary, work with the school to improve the plan (Section 1116, 3, E, i-ii). Once approved, the school must "implement the school plan… expeditiously, but not later than the beginning of the next full school year" (1116, 3, b, c), meaning if a school creates a new school plan during the 2010-2011 school year, it must be implemented by the start of the 2011-2012 school year.

Additionally, known as technical assistance, the LEA must assist schools in analyzing test data, using test data to inform classroom instruction, increasing communication levels with parents, offering staff high quality professional development, and refocusing budgetary spending on student achievement (Section 1116, 4, b, 4, i-iii). If the school makes AYP as a result of these corrective actions for two consecutive years (Section 1116, 12), it is removed from the watch list. However, if a school fails to make AYP, more corrective actions are required.

School fails to make AYP for three years: School Improvement Actions II.

If a school fails to make AYP after implementing its school plan for one year, the school is moved into Year Two School Improvement, the next tier of school reform. In this tier, the LEA must continue to provide students with the option to transfer to another public school operated by the same LEA, and the LEA must continue to provide the school technical assistance (Section 1116, 5, A & C). Also, the LEA must make additional supplemental education services available (Section 1116, 5, B). These services include funds to transport students if they select to transfer schools. These services can also be used to pay for additional tutoring for a child through "a provider with a demonstrated record of effectiveness that is selected by the parents and approved for that purpose by the State educational agency" (Section 1116, E, 1). NCLB describes providers as non-profit, for-profit, or an LEA with a "demonstrated record of

effectiveness in increasing student academic achievement... [and] is capable of providing supplemental educational services that are consistent with the instructional program of the local educational agency and the academic standards" (Sect. 1116, e, 12). Additionally, to be on a state approved list, the provider must:

1. Give students' parents and LEAs progress information about the students' increasing achievement in a comprehensible form;
2. Ensure that the curriculum being taught is aligned with the curriculum of the state, LEA, and academic achievement standards;
3. "Meet all applicable Federal, State, and local health, safety, and civil rights laws";
4. Ensure all instruction and content is free from any political or religious themes (Section 1116, e, 5).

Additionally, the LEA must contact the parents of students who are enrolled in the failing school. Using a format and language that is comfortable and understandable to all parents, the LEA must explain what it means that their child's school has been identified for school improvement, discuss school improvement actions the state and school are taking to better the education provided to students, offer ways parents can become involved in the school, and clearly outline the *school transfer option* and how to obtain supplemental educational services for their child (Section 1116, 6, A-F). If the school still does not meet AYP standards, low performing schools move out of the school improvement tiers and into the corrective action level.

School fails to make AYP for four years: Corrective Actions.

If a school still fails to make AYP after implementing NCLB's school improvement policies and new school plan, the school and LEA must then take corrective actions. These actions require the LEA to continue offering students the option to transfer schools, providing

technical assistance to the school, and providing supplemental educational services to students (Section 1116, C, i-iii). However, at this point, the LEA must choose and implement at least one of the following additional corrective actions. These options include the following:

1. Replacing the school staff deemed responsible for the school failing to make AYP;
2. Creating and teaching a new curriculum that emphasizes scientifically based research teaching methods designed to improve the achievement of low performing students and enable the school to make AYP. Additionally, all relevant staff members must be provided professional development to ensure their ability to implement the new curriculum;
3. Reorganizing the school's administrative team in way that reduces the "management authority" of administrators and empower teachers in making school decisions;
4. Hiring an educational consultant outside of the LEA that will advise the school in its efforts to make AYP;
5. Extending the "school year or school day for the school" to maximize student learning time;
6. Restructuring the organization of large comprehensive schools. Some strategies may include creating "Schools within Schools" or *Small Learning Communities* (Section 1116, C, I-VI).

Additionally, the LEA must communicate to the parents of students who are attending the low performing school how the corrective actions the school is taking will improve their child's education. Again, the communication must be in a format and language that each parent feels comfortable reading. To deliver the information, the LEA may use internet, radio, television, mail, town hall meetings, or other public agencies (Section 1116, 7, E, i-iii). If the school still

does not make AYP following the implementation of these new corrective actions for one year, NCLB requires the school to restructure.

School fails to make AYP for five years: School Restructuring.

If a school does not make AYP after implementing NCLB's school improvement and corrective actions, the LEA is faced with the task of restructuring the school (Section 1116, 8, A). To restructure, the LEA must first continue to offer the school's students the option to transfer schools and access to *educational supplemental services* (Sections 1116, 8, A, i-iii). Additionally, the LEA must choose and implement one of the school restructuring options offered by NCLB illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. NCLB School Restructuring Options.

Restructuring Options	**Descriptions**
Chartering	Closing the traditional public school and reopening it as a conversion charter school
Turnaround	Replacing all or most of the staff who are deemed relevant to the school's failure to make AYP that, in turn, creates a new school culture of success
Contracting	Signing a contract with an educational management organization that has a demonstrated effectiveness in operating a public school
State Takeover	Turning the day-to-day operation of the school and its restructuring efforts over to the state
Other	"Any other major restructuring of the school's governance arrangement that makes fundamental reforms...to improve student academic achievement in the school and that has substantial promise of enabling the school to make adequate yearly progress"

Source: Section 1116, 8, B, i-v

After selecting a restructuring model, NCLB requires the LEA to give the school's teachers and parents prompt notice regarding the restructuring efforts (Section 1116, 8, C, i). Also, NCLB

calls for teachers and parent to have an "adequate opportunity" to comment before taking any restructuring action, and it encourages parents and teachers to "participate in developing" any restructuring plan (Section 1116, 8, C, ii, I-II). The third section of this review will review NCLB's four defined school restructuring options.

SECTION III
School Restructuring

It is urgent to turnaround failing schools (Arsen, Bell, & Plank, 2003; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). As each school year passes, more and more of United States' youth dropout from failing high schools (Balfranz & Letgers, 2001). In fact, "a relatively small number of chronically underperforming high schools are responsible for more than half of the nation's dropouts" (Alliance for Excellence in Education, 2009, p. 1). These chronically underperforming high schools are typically urban schools that *highly qualified* teachers leave for more affluent schools (Crocco & Costigan, 2007; Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2002) even though it has been found that quality teachers have the largest impact on student learning (Darling-Hammond, 1999). These failing schools typically serve minority students from lower socioeconomic class backgrounds, and their education does not adequately prepare them for success in higher education or the job market (Ensminger & Slusarick, 1992; Phelps, 2009). Because their failing high school did not prepare them for post-high school life, minority dropouts and graduates often find themselves living in an oppressive cycle with limited access to quality jobs, continuing education opportunities, affluence, or an equal chance at pursuing happiness (Kozol, 1991; Anyon, 2005). In response, NCLB attempted to raise student achievement at these chronically low performing high schools by offering schools four specific restructuring options, and a fifth category to create an alternative plan. In this section, NCLB's four defined school restructuring options will be reviewed.

Chartering.

Out of NCLB's restructuring options, *charter schools* are the most popular. The Center for Education Reform (CER) reports there are "more than 5,000 charter schools... [enrolling] more than 1.5 million children in 39 states and the District of Columbia" (CER, 2009). Considering the City Academy in St. Paul, MN was the first charter school, and it opened for the 1992-1993 school year, the charter school movement has rapidly grown in United States in less than 20 years. Now, as President Obama's agenda turns to reauthorizing the ESEA, his plans for education reflect this trend. President Obama wrote "We will support the expansion of high-performing public charter schools and other autonomous public schools, and support local communities as they expand public school choice options for students within and across school districts" (US Department of Education, 2010, p. 6). However, to understand the possible impact of chartering as a school restructuring option, it is first necessary to outline what exactly charter schools are.

Charter schools are "nonsectarian public schools of choice that operate with freedom from many of the regulations that apply to traditional public schools" (US Charter Schools, 2000). However, the US Department of Education still holds charter schools accountable for student learning even though they are freed from some laws. "Charter schools are free from a range of state laws and district policies stipulating what and how they teach, where they can spend their money, and who they can hire and fire. In return, they are held strictly accountable for their academic and financial performance" (US Department of Education, 2004, p.1). Essentially, in return for passing scores on NCLB's mandated accountability tests, charter schools escape NCLB's requirements of only hiring "highly qualified" teachers and its pressures to teach a traditional curriculum while still being funded by taxpayers.

As to how charter schools operate, Arkin and Kowal (2005) explain:

> Charter schools are generally autonomous public schools that receive a contract called a *charter* from a public entity such as a local school board, a public university, or a state board of education. The entity giving the charter is called the *authorizer*. Charter schools are schools of choice, in most cases open to all students, and in all cases tuition free. They are largely operated with public funds, typically based on the number of pupils choosing to enroll. Their founding charter is a legal agreement between the school's governing body and the authorizer, which describes the school's goals, organization, funding, and autonomy. (Arkin & Kowal, 2005, p. 4)

Charter schools tend to enroll "significantly higher percentages of minority or economically disadvantaged students than the traditional public schools" (Chen, 2007, ¶ 22). Regarding their state test requirements, "charter school students take their states' exam under the same regulations as apply to students in regular public school" (Hoxby, 2004). If charter schools are not able to produce AYP or fulfill the accountability criteria listed in their charter, charter schools are closed. However, charter school closings are not stopping other charter schools from opening. In fact, Table 4 demonstrates how some states are more supportive of charter schools than others.

As the table illustrates, the number of charter schools greatly varies. Where some states have relatively low numbers of charter schools, other states are more supportive of them. Two major points of charter school controversies that directly relate to states' deciding to use them or not are funding and student achievement.

In education, each public school student is equivalent to a certain amount of money, known as *cost per pupil*. For instance if a state funds each public school student at $10,000 and a school

enrolls 100 students, that school would be funded $1,000,000 for the school year. However, charter schools have claimed for years that they get less money than public schools. The CER (2008) reports, "Charter schools across the United States are funded at 61 percent of their district counterparts, averaging $6,585 per pupil compared to $10,771 per pupil at conventional district public schools" (¶ 4), but there are arguments about why this disparity exists. In a study conducted by the Independent Budget Office (IBO) located in New York City, Smith (2010) found that charter schools are not equally funded; however, it is only by a small percentage in New York. The IBO researchers divided New York City charter schools into two groups. The first group was given a public space to use for a school free of cost and the other group had to pay for their space. If using a public space, the charter school did not have to pay for the facility, utilities, or safety; however, if the charter school used a private space, the charter school was required to pay for the facility, utilities and safety. Smith found that the publicly housed charter schools received increased rates of funding by not having the same expenditures as privately housed charter schools at a rate of $16,373 per student compared to $13,661. As for why there is a definitive gap between New York City's funding of charter schools versus other areas, Smith (2010) answered, "more than two-thirds of charter schools in New York City are located in public school buildings, a practice that is not common in the rest of the country" (p. 1). This gap is indeed reflected in the rest of the country.

Table 4. Amount of Charter Schools Operating during the 2010-2011 school year by state.

State	**Operating Charter Schools during 2010-20ll**	**Total Charter Enrollment**
Alaska	27	5,489
Arizona	566	132,229
Arkansas	34	7,812
California	860	299,742
Colorado	21	4,298
Delaware	19	8,990
DC	100	30,026
Florida	413	131,183
Georgia	97	47,697
Hawaii	32	7,878
Idaho	35	10,936
Illinois	88	33,400
Indiana	55	17,521
Iowa	9	1,462
Kansas	39	5,001
Louisiana	78	29,078
Maryland	38	9,213
Massachusetts	65	25,579
Michigan	283	99,660
Minnesota	162	28,371
Missouri	44	18,880
Nevada	28	8,559
New Hampshire	11	2.055
New Jersey	72	20,496
New Mexico	72	13,117
New York	154	44,000
North Carolina	102	34,845
Ohio	338	94,171
Oklahoma	17	5,706
Oregon	108	16,809
Pennsylvania	144	61,823
Rhode Island	13	3,106
South Carolina	38	10,815
Tennessee	21	4,301
Texas	387	129,853
Utah	76	30,183
Virginia	4	290
Wisconsin	223	37,432
Wyoming	4	294
TOTAL	**5,043**	**1,536,099**

Source: Center for Education Reform

CER reports differences in public and charter school gap from across the country. On the high end, Tennessee and Minnesota both fund charter schools at 94% of public schools funding (Tennessee $7,512 public/$7,067 charter – Minnesota $11,010 public/ $10,302 charter). On the low end, New Hampshire funds charter schools at 37% of public schools ($11,753 public/$4,300 charter), and Oregon funds charter schools at 48% of public school funding ($9,668 public/$4,600 charter) during the 2005-2006 school year (CER, 2008). Another point of controversy is how effective charter schools are at increasing student achievement.

In a 2004 study, Linda Hoxby (2004) quantitatively compared nearly 100% of all charter school students' state test scores against their peers' score who attended the nearest public school and were racially similar. Because students in charter schools and traditional public schools both had to take state exams, Hoxby was able to compare student achievement based on the same assessment. Additionally, Hoxby controlled her score analysis to only compare charter students' scores against public school students' scores who were of a similar racial profile and attended the public school where the charter school student would have attended, if not attending a charter school. Hoxby found that "over the United States...charter school students are 4 to 5 percent more proficient in reading and 2 to 3 percent more proficient in math" (p. 13). Charter school advocates use these scores to argue charter schools are increasing student learning. However, other studies show that public schools better educate students.

Lubienski and Lubienski (2006) analyzed the 2003 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) math scores of 4th and 8th grade students enrolled in public schools, charter schools, religious private schools, and non-religious affiliated schools. The researchers found that without controlling for student demographics and school locations, charter schools students scored lower than public school students on both the 4th and 8th grade 2003 NAEP test.

Additionally, both religious and non-religious private school students scored roughly two grade levels ahead of their public and charter school peers. However, when accounting for the demographics of students and schools, the results changed. "After demographic differences had been controlled, no charter or private schools [test score] means were higher than public school means...moreover, particularly at Grade 4, public schools actually scored significantly higher than did private and charter schools" (p. 679-680). The fact that charter school students scored the lowest on the 2003 NAEP math assessment challenges the school choice premise that allowing charter schools freedom from the regulations that govern traditional public schools will raise student performance. Currently, there is no definitive research about the effectiveness of charter school as compared to traditional schools (Hill, Angel, & Christensen, 2006). Yet, critics claim charter schools are stealing money and students from public schools.

Charter schools are, in theory, intended to raise the performance of public schools by giving students a choice to attend a charter school in lieu of a public school. If a student leaves his or her public school, the public school loses the cost per pupil funding that comes with that student (CER, 2009). These practices contribute to capitalistic agendas where schools are competing for students and funding (Kohn & Shannon, 2002; Ravitch, 2010). In essence, if a public school wants to keep its funding, it must compete against charter schools for its own students. This competition is thought to increase the quality of education in both public and charter schools. However, critics claim money is not the only resource leaving public schools; majority students are leaving too.

Critics claim that high performing charter schools are not welcoming of poor students. The Chicago based Parents Unified for Education (PURE, 2010) group claims that high performing Chicago area charter schools are catering towards richer parents by requiring parents

to pay for transportation, special enrollment procedures, boundary issues, and other various student fees. PURE failed to elaborate on the specifics of these fees, but they did state "Charter... schools are not required to waive student fees for low-income families. In some schools this can be several hundred dollars. If parents can't pay, their children must leave the school" (p. 2). Because minority students comprise the poor population PURE referred to, they suffer when additional funds are required to attend high performing charter schools, even if it is tuition free (Anyon, 2005). Because minority students cannot afford to attend high performing charter schools, more middle and upper class White students take minority students' place; this trend is known as *skimming* students. Additionally, researchers have known about this dynamic for some time.

In a 2004 quantitative study of Arizona's then growing charter school movement, Dee and Fu (2004) were investigating critics' theory of "skimming students." To investigate, Dee and Fu specifically analyzed racial populations of students in Arizona's public and charter schools; however, they did not look into the reasons why White non-Hispanic students were leaving public schools for charter schools, only that they did. Ultimately, Dee and Fu concluded, "Arizona's early experiences with charter schools led to a robust and statistically significant reduction in the percent of white non-Hispanic students in conventional public schools" (p. 269). Their findings confirm critics' concern of skimming students without determining the reason why the skimming happened. As Dee and Fu suggest, researchers need to conduct more research in this area. The charter school movement becomes even more blurred when looking at the two major types of charter schools, "startup" and "conversion" charter schools.

Startup charter schools are usually founded by a group of concerned teachers, parents, community members, universities, or for-profit and non-profit organizations (CER, 2009).

These startup charter schools may implement alternative educational philosophies, such as curriculum designed around internship learning such as the Minnesota Internship Center Charter High School (www.mnic.org) or community relations like the Network Charter School in Oregon (www.networkcharterschool.org). The National Educator's Association (NEA, 2010) "believes that charter schools... have the potential to facilitate education reforms and develop new and creative teaching methods that can be replicated in traditional public schools for the benefit of all children" (¶ 2).

Conversion charter schools, on the other hand, include formerly regular public schools that were forced to restructure under NCLB. Betts, Rice, Zau, Tang, and Koedel (2006) explained that when low-performing schools choose to restructure and become conversion charter schools, they often times end up "retaining teachers and serving the same student population at the same school site, but no longer bound by district regulations governing standard schools" (p. xvi). Compared to startup charter schools, there are significantly fewer conversion charter schools. For example, during the 2002-2003 school year, there were nine conversion charters operated in Florida, and they represented only 5% of the total amount of charter schools in the state (Pine Castle Elementary School, 2010). Currently, both types of charter schools are included in the national debate, but the research regarding conversion charter school is still a developing field, and questions concerning student achievement at conversion charter schools exist. Additionally, I was only able to locate one study that specifically discussed conversion charter schools' student achievement since NCLB's implementation.

In a 2009 quantitative study, Tom Loveless (2010) compared the student achievement of 109 California conversion charter schools to their pre-charter and post-charter levels. To compare, the study analyzed longitudinal data from the 109 schools from 1986-2008. He found

that some conversion charter schools have a 2-3 percent rise in student test scores whereas other ones had a slight drop in test scores, just under 2%. The author concluded that conversion charter schools are not making a notable impact on California student learning. However, there are several organizations that claim to increase student performance levels using a startup charter school model. One of these organizations that is currently getting national attention is the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) schools.

Created by Teach for America teachers, KIPP is an educational organization dedicated to improving minority school children's education. KIPP (2010a) described their group of schools as "a national network of free, open-enrollment, college-preparatory public schools with a track record of preparing students in underserved communities for success in college and in life" (¶ 1), and KIPP spans the United States. During the 2009-2010 school year, there were 82 KIPP schools in 39 states and the District of Columbia (16 elementary schools, 55 middle schools, and 11 high schools) enrolling over 21,000 students. Additionally, KIPP's national student body is comprised of 90% Black or Latino students from largely low-income families who are eligible for the federal free/reduced lunch programs. KIPP claims their proven record of success by their graduates. According to their web-site, KIPP (2010b) reports "90 percent of KIPP middle school students have gone on to college-preparatory high schools, and over 85 percent of KIPP alumni have gone on to college" (¶ 3). KIPP then used the demographics of their students with their students' academic success to prove "demographics do not define destiny" (¶ 3). To make these achievements, KIPP stakeholders – KIPP students, teachers, and parents – all commit to put learning first. To prioritize learning, KIPP schools operate using KIPP's five pillars and each KIPP stakeholder signs a Commitment to Excellence contract.

Each KIPP (2010c) school functions using KIPP's common "core set of operating principles" (¶ 1) known as the Five Pillars:

1. **High Expectations.** KIPP schools have clearly defined and measurable high expectations for academic achievement and conduct that make no excuses based on the students' backgrounds.
2. **Choice & Commitment.** Students, their parents, and the faculty of each KIPP school choose to participate in the program. No one is assigned or forced to attend a KIPP school.
3. **More Time.** With an extended school day, week, and year, students have more time in the classroom to acquire the academic knowledge and skills that will prepare them for competitive high schools and colleges, as well as more opportunities to engage in diverse extracurricular experiences.
4. **Power to Lead.** The principals of KIPP schools are effective academic and organizational leaders who understand that great schools require great school leaders. They have control over their school budget and personnel.
5. **Focus on Results.** KIPP schools relentlessly focus on high student performance on standardized tests and other objective measures. Students are expected to achieve a level of academic performance that will enable them to succeed at the nation's best high schools and colleges (¶ 2-5).

Not only do KIPP stakeholders have to practice the Five Pillars, but they must also sign The Commitment to Excellence, which is a document that each KIPP stakeholder signs upon entering into a KIPP school, which is included in Appendix C. Overall, preliminary research supports KIPP and their approach.

In a 2008 paper presentation made at the American Educational Research Association's annual meeting, researchers used a quasi-experimental experimental design to analyze 165 KIPP students' academic achievement in Tennessee (McDonald, Ross, Abney, and Zoblotsky; 2008). To compare students, researchers matched each KIPP student with a public school student of similar race, gender, grade level, socioeconomic status, and pretest scores on Tennessee's state exams in reading/language arts (R/LA) and math. Researchers compared eight groups of students across 5th to 8th grade. After analyzing scores, the researchers found "out of the 8 overall grade-level analyses comparing KIPP and control students in R/LA and Math (4 grades x 2 subjects), 7 (88%) showed positive effects favoring KIPP" (p. 30). Other researchers found similar findings.

In a 2007 mixed methods study, researchers wanted to investigate student achievement on state assessments after being enrolled in a KIPP school for one year. To conduct this quantitative study, the researchers compared the achievement of 49 African-American fifth grade KIPP students to students in similar schools. Out of the KIPP group, 60% were female and 92% were eligible for free and reduced lunch. They were compared to control group comprised of students who were "the closest individual match for each KIPP student based on (a) gender, (b) free- or reduced-price lunch status, (c) ethnicity, and (d) 2001–2002 NRT-Reading and Mathematics subtest scores. On both pretests, the KIPP... and control group means were nearly identical" (Ross, McDonald, Alberg, & McSparrin-Gallagher; 2007, p. 141). The results favored KIPP students. "Although KIPP... and control fifth graders had virtually identical means on all fourth-grade pretests, the KIPP... students demonstrated significantly higher achievement on 4 out of the 6 fifth-grade tests (p. 158). In the discussion about their findings, the researchers do

note that schools of choice do attract more engaged parents and dedicated teachers than low performing public schools. These factors, the researchers suggest, may influence the findings.

As the national education debate turns toward charter schools, more research on conversion charter schools must be produced. While there is research that suggests startup charter schools, such as KIPP schools, do bring increased levels of student performance, equivalent research about conversion schools does not exist. Additionally, if charter schools are seen as a viable option, as President Obama suggested, policymakers need to address the inequitable funding being provided to charter schools as compared to their public school counterparts.

Contracting.

A less popular NCLB school restructuring option is the contracting model. Under this model, the LEA signs a contract with an *educational management organization* (EMO) to operate a restructuring school (Hassel, 2006). EMOs are private sector non-profit and for-profit organizations that "contract to provide management and administration services for public school agencies" (education.com, 2010, ¶ 1). Essentially, an EMO is hired by an LEA to restructure a low performing school or administer a new charter or private school. The EMO will implement a new curriculum centered on student learning, manage the school's day-to-day operations, offer scientifically researched professional development to the staff, create a positive school culture through strong leadership, and establish fiscally responsible spending habits that benefits student learning (Kowal & Arkin, 2005). KIPP is an example of an EMO that focuses on establishing new charter schools. Other EMOs such as Ed Works (www.edworkspartners.org), which will be reviewed later in this section, focus on restructuring schools instead of creating new ones.

Before Ed Works is discussed, this review will first describe contracting as a model for NCLB school restructuring.

When a school contracts with an EMO, it means the LEA has signed an agreement with the EMO "to deliver comprehensive educational and management services to the school... [but] the public school district retains ultimate authority and control through its ability to set the terms of the contract and terminate the agreement if the terms are not met" (Kowal & Arkin, 2005c, p. 4). Before entering into a contract, the terms of the agreement are negotiated and agreed to by the state department of education, school, LEA, and EMO. The terms of the contract may make an EMO responsible for the entire school but, because the LEA has the ability to terminate or not renew the contract, the LEA ultimately retains the power to cancel the contract (Hentschke, Oschman, & Snell; 2007). An example of a LEA not renewing a contract with an EMO comes from the School District of Philadelphia (SDP).

A 2007 study by the RAND researchers investigated SDP's 2002 plan to hire EMOs hoping "to improve the performance of the city's lowest-achieving schools" (Gill, Zimmer, Christman, & Blanc, 2007, p. 1). In all, seven EMOs – three for-profit organizations, two non-profit organizations, and two universities – were contracted to operate the 45 lowest achieving schools in the SDP. The five non-university EMOs each received $650 to $881 additional funds per pupil – on top of the already established cost per pupil funds from the state – and five year contracts while the universities received $450 per pupil and three year memoranda of understanding, which were also binding agreements between SDP and the universities. The additional funds the EMOs received were determined based on a formula that took teacher salaries, staffing needs, and administrative costs into consideration. The results of SDP's investment in EMOs are inconclusive. The RAND researchers found "for privately managed

schools, across all providers, none of the results for average subgroup achievement are statistically significant, positive or negative.... Private management has had neither a positive nor negative effect on the schools managed" (Gill, Zimmer, Christman, & Blanc, 2007, p. 37). According to the RAND researchers, EMOs are not especially helping or hurting low performing schools as compared to other low performing Pennsylvania schools, both located in and outside of the SDP. Essentially, the SPD was wasting money on EMOs.

In another study about SDP's use of EMOs, Mac Iver & Mac Iver (2006) also reported findings that were consistent with the previous study, which claimed there was no credible evidence the EMOs had a positive effect on student learning. In fact Mac Iver and Mac Iver (2006) "believe that the political decision to replace district management with private management as a strategy for solving the problem of low achievement... [reflects] a fuzzy understanding of the kind of reforms necessary to improve instruction and help students make achievement gains" (p. 11). One reason the EMOs may have been hired was to shift the blame of low student performance from SDP to the EMOs. Furthermore, other school districts have had negative encounters with EMOs.

The Baltimore County Public Schools System (BCPSS) is another school district with EMO experience. In 1999, the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) responded to the dozens of low-performing BCPSS public schools on its watch list by reconstituting four of them (three in 1999 and one in 2000) and then hiring an EMO to manage them (Rhim, 2004). *Reconstitution*, not the same as restructuring, will be discussed in a later section of this review, but for the purposes of this section, a school going through reconstitution refers to the school not rehiring ineffective school staff – teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, etc. – from one school year to the next (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005).

Reconstitution allows a school to release ineffective, burned out teachers without having to follow the stipulated guidelines of a collective bargaining agreement or tenure; therefore, all staff members are eligible for reconstitution (Brady, 2003). Following the 1999 decision to restructure failing schools, the MSDE reconstituted three elementary schools in the summer of 1999 and another one in the summer of 2000. "The state reportedly decided to reconstitute elementary schools rather than middle or high schools because policy makers thought they could have the greatest impact at the elementary school level" (Rhim, 2007, p. 252), and researchers noted that the local community was upset with the reconstitution. Moreover, before the MSDE announced which elementary schools would be reconstituted, "the state issued a call for proposals inviting educational management organizations to apply to operate the three schools" (National High School Center, 2007, p. 6). In 1999, the MSDE chose an EMO called Edison Schools. At the time, Edison Schools (currently renamed Edison Learning, www.edisonlearning.com) was the largest EMO in the nation. Then, because of the backlash created by the reconstitution and MSDE's top-down decision to hire Edison Schools, MSDE allowed BCPSS to choose the fourth EMO, and BCPSS selected Victory Schools (www.victoryschools.com). Because the schools remained public schools and not charter or magnet schools, *school choice* was not permitted for students enrolled in another BCPSS school to transfer into an EMO school. However, the two EMOs were treated quite differently regarding their funding and autonomy:

> The state granted Edison [Schools] near complete autonomy to operate the three BCPSS schools, whereas BCPSS and the Baltimore Teachers Union (BTU) extended Victory relatively limited autonomy over its one school. Edison controlled the curriculum, personnel, and budget in its three schools. Edison did not have to abide by the collective

> bargaining agreement. Victory elected to adopt the BCPSS curriculum and was required to abide by the existing collective bargaining agreement with the local teachers union, but the district granted the company relative autonomy to manage its own budget. (Rhim, 2007, p. 254)

The end results of the EMOs' impact on the low performing elementary schools are mixed (MSDE, 2002; Rhim, 2007). Examination of the state's school performance index for two years after the restructuring shows that the three Edison schools demonstrated overall progress, but the Victory school did not. The MSDE reported after its first year, the Victory school was able to implement a new curriculum and add more "in school" time for students; however, the changes did not immediately result in improved test scores for all classes. After the 2003-2004 school year, the MSDE did not renew their contract with Victory Schools.

Recently, Edison schools have not been able to sustain student achievement at all three elementary schools. Since 2004, only one of Edison's schools has continued to make AYP, and its other two schools did not make AYP in 2006 (National High School Center, 2007). Subsequently, as Edison Schools' contract came up for reauthorization after the 2008-2009 school year, BCPSS decided not to renew it with all three elementary schools (Neufeld, 2009). As of the 2009-2010 school year, Edison Schools only continued to manage one elementary school in BCPSS (Edison Learning, 2010), and one of that school's student subgroups failed to make AYP on Maryland's 2010 state assessment of reading (MSDE, 2010). This section will close with an overview of Ed Works, an EMO that specializes in restructuring low performing high schools.

Ed Works is an EMO based in Cincinnati, Ohio. When compiling information about Ed Works, no scholarly information was available specifically about Ed Works. Therefore, I had to draw from information produced by Ed Works.

Ed Works was founded in 2003 as an offshoot of the KnowledgeWorks Foundation. Because of its roots, Ed Works assists KnowledeWorks in its endeavor to "change forever the way in which our high schools are designed and operated, moving them from assembly-line, factory model institutions to agile learning organizations for the 21st century" (Ed Works, 2010a, ¶ 2). To help accomplish this goal, Ed Works partners with state intermediaries, community organizations, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to target high school educational reform. To help facilitate KnowledgeWorks in reaching its goal, the Ed Works' high school reform model aims to, over the course of five years, train and support educators at the state, district, and school levels in ways that will

- Increase high school graduation rates;
- Improve student achievement levels;
- Raise student performance on high stakes tests;
- Make learning relevant to students' interests and future;
- Create ways for high school students to earn college credit.

To make these reforms, Ed Work relies on their leadership's "past experiences with high school and school districts" (Ed Works, 2010b, ¶ 1). The members of the Ed Works leadership during 2010 included Harold Brown, Deborah Howard, and James Osborn. All three individuals have been involved in the Ohio High School Transformation Initiative (OHSTI), educational politics in Ohio, and worked to reform Ohio's urban schools for several years. Based on their

leadership's past experiences, Ed Works has developed a model that focuses on three different "strands" of school restructuring – School Redesign, STEM, and Early College High School.

Redesign, the first of the three strands, is used to create a foundation for restructuring. During Redesign, the school's existing staff, buildings, and finances are used to transition to "multiple independent small high schools in what was previously a traditional large, low-performing campus" (Ed Works, 2010c, ¶ 1), similar to the schools within a school model (George & Lounsburg, 2000). Ed Works recognizes that "redesign schools are closely connected to the world beyond the classroom" (Ed Works, 2010c, ¶ 1); therefore, Ed Works emphasizes a relevant curriculum that brings students' lives outside of the school into challenging coursework. Ed Works staked claim in that a connected and rigorous curriculum taught in smaller, more personal school communities builds teacher-student relationships that result in higher levels of student learning. Concurrently, as the school transitions from a large, impersonal high school to personal, individualized schools, the schools leadership undergoes transformation as well.

Strong leadership is a crucial element of any form of school restructuring (Arkin & Kowal, 2005; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005; Kowal & Arkin, 2005; Steiner, 2005) and the Ed Works Redesign phase recognized this need. Thus, as the school and its staff reorganize, the "school-based and district-level curriculum leaders participate in a full year of intense professional development focused on transforming them to adaptive, collaborative, courageous leaders of innovative systems" (Ed Works, 2010c, ¶ 2). The end goal is to build a platform to support the other two strands.

The second strand is the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). The goal of the STEM strand is for all students to "complete a rigorous, college ready curriculum; and the four-year course of study will have an intense focus on preparing students

for academic and professional futures in science, technology, engineering and math" (ED Works, 2010d, ¶ 2). STEM courses are open to all students – regardless of any past history of poor academic success – and STEM focuses on differentiated, personalized instruction for all students. Also, the STEM strand does have an experience-based component where students may take courses at an institute of higher education, research in a lab, intern with a STEM based company, or conduct an independent study related to the STEM field.

The program then culminates in the creation of the Early College High School (ECHS), the final strand of Ed Works' model. The objective of the ECHS, which is a new school created during the Redesign strand, is to inspire "disadvantaged students to learn more challenging material, and move on to college" (Ed Works, 2010e, ¶ 1). To accomplish the Ed Works goal, the ECHS tries to motivate students for college by offering dual enrollment classes (courses in which students simultaneously earn college and high school credit) at the high school, supporting students through their first two years of college, and continually developing better ways for the school to serve its students. Throughout the five year plan, Ed Works will first train then support the school.

Overall, Ed Works reported positive outcomes based on its model. On its web-site, Ed Works listed the following accomplishments:

- Overall high school graduation rates in OHSTI schools increased by 32% from 2002 to 2008. During the same time period, the state graduation rate increased just over 2%;
- The graduation gap between OHSTI high schools and all Ohio high schools closed dramatically between 2002 and 2008, by more than 73%;

- Nearly eight out of ten African-American students in OHSTI sites are graduating - a 29% increase from 2002 to 2008, surpassing the state's graduation rate for African-American students during the same period;
- This increase in OHSTI sites happened at a time when the communities in which these schools sit moved from an average of 17% to 72% of students eligible for free and reduced price meals;
- ECHS report an average graduation rate of 91%. In addition, more than one in three ECHS students graduate high school with both a high school diploma and two years of college credit or an associate's degree. Others earn a range of college credits, shortening their time to degree completion after high school;
- More than 98% of ECHS 10th graders passed the reading portion of the 2009 Ohio Graduation Test (OGT). In fact, more than 90% of ECHS 10th graders scored proficient or higher on the OGT assessments in reading, writing, mathematics and social studies, outperforming the State in each of these categories. (Ed Works, 2010f, ¶ 2-7)

As other school restructuring researchers report, there is no "one-size-fits-all" silver bullet for school restructuring (Brady, 2003, Newmann & Wehlage, 1995), Ed Works recognized this dynamic. However, they insisted that effective school restructuring starts with a belief "that EVERY student in the school will be successful in college" (Ed Works, 2010f, ¶ 9). Without this underlying belief, according to Ed Works, their model will not work.

Turnaround.

The school turnaround model aims at changing the culture of low performing schools. This model promotes reconstitution, the process of replacing the school staff of the pre-turnaround school with new administrators and teachers thereby creating an environment for a

new school culture to develop (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). During this process, schools are still accountable for student achievement and AYP, but there are instances of schools being allowed autonomy to operate outside of selected district guidelines, like releasing/hiring practices and funding extra teacher contract time (Hassel, 2006). To create the new school culture, the turnaround model involves the LEA and school hiring the best possible school leader, reconstituting the schools staff, providing sustained support for the school's staff, garnering parent and community support, and making the school accountable for improved student performance. This section will discuss these turnaround attributes and review the human capital costs required for school turnaround.

After a school has been identified for restructuring and the turnaround model is selected, the next step is to provide the school turnaround effort with strong leadership. Even though it is not a requirement of school turnaround, researchers suggest replacing the sitting school principal with a newly selected turnaround leader, as fresh school leadership will begin to set the tone for changing the school's overall culture (Brady, 2003; Hassel, 2006; Leithwood, Harris, & Hopkins, 2008). In fact, the "common thread found in successful turnaround efforts [is]...good school level leadership. In most instances where a school made real gains, a strong and typically experienced principal was part of the effort" (Brady, 2003, p. 31). A school going through the turnaround process is in transition and needs a veteran leader with a proven track record. Often times, failing schools have weak, inexperienced leadership (Leitwood & Riehl, 2003). According to research, two common attributes of successful school turnaround leaders are the ability to face problems and unite a divided staff (Allen, 2010; Brady, 2003; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005).

As a new school leader is installed by the LEA, he or she will immediately face a myriad of challenges. Common problems may include multiple forms and sources of criticism, a new staff, poor relations with the district and state office, a lack of financial support, and poor community relations (Hess, 1991; Rice & Malen, 2003). Upon taking control, the new leader must directly take on these problems. He or she cannot dodge problems by choosing long-term, incremental strategies that chip away at challenges; instead, the leader must be pragmatic and immediately solve problems because early successes are often predictors of sustained reform (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005; Perlman & Redding, 2009). If the new leader does not aggressively and urgently remedy problems, the chances for successful school turnaround are limited. One common problem that the new leader must quell is any divisiveness leftover from the school reconstitution.

The process of reconstitution is emotional, and common hangovers are tension, anger, and resentment to both the new school leadership and new staff by the staff who survived reconstitution (Center on Education Policy, 2010). As the new school leader takes power, he or she has to quickly address this division and unify the staff under a new school vision. According to Allen (2010), "Teachers need to buy into the same vision and practices set by the principal and be given appropriate professional development to meet school or professional goals. Principals should dismiss teachers who don't measure up" (¶ 18). It is paramount that new school leaders are able to get buy-in for the turnaround effort by all staff members. This unity will result in a cohesive school culture among the staff; therefore, as the new staff goes about facing the challenges of redesigning the school, they will be able to collectively and productively work together. To understand how challenging forming this unification is, school reconstitution will next be discussed.

The term *school reconstitution* means "replacing all or most of the school staff (which may include the principal) who are relevant to the failure to make adequate yearly progress" (NCLB, 2002, Sect. 1116 7Bii). In poker terms, NCLB essentially allows a school to discard its poor staff members – mainly teachers whose students are not achieving AYP – from its hand and hire new ones. These poor staff members include teachers whose students are poorly performing on accountability tests and teachers who are resistant to change (Brady, 2003). When schools reconstitute, "advocates assume that reconstitution can be used to turn around 'troubled schools' by replacing weak administrators and teachers with more talented educators who will make better use of new resources to stimulate school improvement" (Center for Education Policy and Leadership, 2003, p. 1). The fundamental idea is that a school can make large improvements quickly if it is able to rid itself of teachers whose students are not achieving AYP and replace them with teachers who are committed to a new school culture created by a dedicated, and often times newly appointed, school leader (Kowal & Ayscue 2005; Malen, Croniger, Redmond, & Muncy, 1999;). The school personnel who are affected during reconstitution include: teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, clerical workers, paraprofessionals, janitors, cafeteria workers, and other support staff (Brady, 2003). During reconstitution, collective bargaining agreements, tenure, and seniority cannot be used to save a job; yet, once released, staff members are free to reapply for the job from which they were released or another job in the same school district. There is no guarantee that the released teacher has a future job, even if they reapply. However, not all researchers suggest that massive staff dismissal is necessary for effective reconstitution.

The Center on Innovation and Improvement (CII) does not suggest that reconstitution calls for complete school staff annihilation. Instead, CII notes that the most successful

turnaround leaders, during reconstitution, "typically do not replace all or most staff...they often replace some senior staff, particularly those who manage others" (Hassel & Hassel, 2009, p. 6). This tactic aims at releasing veteran teachers who have worked their way up in the school power hierarchy but who have stalled and become *burned out*, complacent, or resistant to change. By replacing these teachers with new ones and allowing the younger teachers to no longer be pinned under the veterans' complacency, a new school culture can flourish. However, contradictory to Hassel and Hassel's (2009) claim that successful school turnarounds do not replace a large percentage of their staff, government school restructuring officials are recommending significant portions of a school's staff to be released. In fact, in a 2010 webinar, Tennessee recommended to its LEAs that they should replace at least 50% of the school's existing staff when reconstituting (McCargar, Fentress, & Lentz, 2010). This high rate of teacher replacement comes with several potential challenges.

Reconstitution is an emotional process (Rhim, 2007; Hess, 1991). When a school reconstitutes, it does not rehire a percentage of its teachers, and this percentage includes teachers who have invested many years of their professional lives in the school. Because they are not asked back, bitterness and anger often comes to the surface. Some released veteran teachers, particularly those who have been practicing for several years, feel professionally attacked when they are not hired back, as if they are being told their lives' work is part of the failing school's problem (Malen, Croniger, Redmond, & Muncy, 1999; Rice & Malen, 2003).

Another challenge with reconstitution is the effect of teacher shortages and working conditions when hiring new staff. When schools are hiring new teachers to work at persistently failing schools, it is challenging for the failing schools to attract large number of applicants as compared to higher performing schools (Anyon, 2005). This problem becomes intensified if the

school is located in a rural or urban school area (Center for Education Policy, 2010). Again, there is very little research about attracting new teachers to rural or urban areas to teach at schools that are reconstituting. Because of the steps this model endorses, schools going through turnaround must quickly produce increased levels of student achievement to justify their actions. After choosing the turnaround model, the literature suggests new school leaders take adequate time to plan the turnaround (Center on Education Policy, 2008; DiBiase, 2005; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005; Perlman & Redding 2009). Because a school turnaround plan includes several hard decisions – how to reconstitute effectively, what the new school culture will be, what professional development is needed by the staff, how to organize the future school, what is the relationship between the LEA and the school, how to create a positive relationship with the school's local community – the school turnaround literature encourages school leaders to set aside considerable time for planning, 9-12 months (Perlman & Redding, 2009; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). Experts frown upon attempting to plan a school's turnaround over a summer, as decisions about reconstitution and what the new school will look like will not have been given proper consideration (Brady, 2003). Then, when the school begins to implement the new school plan, the LEA, state department of education, and school must work together to make sure the school is meeting its accountability requirements.

Districts must hold schools undergoing turnaround to the same NCLB standards as performing schools (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). However, the problem is restructuring schools are working with students who are below grade-level performance standards while educators at higher performing high schools are teaching students who consistently make AYP. Therefore, because of the catch-up that turnaround schools must make, "districts choosing this [turnaround] option must decide how much improvement is acceptable in how short of a timeframe and what

actions...will be taken if a school does not improve rapidly" (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005, p. 11). Because each school and district is unique, there are no specific guidelines defined as what exactly entails adequate progress for schools undergoing restructuring, but the research strongly suggests that support from the district and community is necessary for successful turnaround (Brinson, Kowal, & Hassel, 2008).

The old proverb is correct; it does take a village to raise a child, and it does take support from that same village – support from the LEA, state department of education, and community stakeholders – to successfully turnaround a school. The LEA and state department of education cannot take a sole stance of acting as an enforcement agent during a school's turnaround. Rather, the LEA and state department of education need to provide sustained professional and monetary support to the school (Kowal & Ayscue, 2005). For instance, when changing the school culture, schools need to have enough funding to pay for quality professional development for the school's staff, as required by NCLB (Sect. 1116, 3, iii). The professional development should include sessions about new teaching strategies and defining a new school culture. Money can also be used to bring in technology and additional resources, such as quality reading material to often rundown libraries, which can bring non-readers back into reading (Gallagher, 2010).

Support from the state department of education and LEA can also be used to fund extra contract time for teachers. This contract time – usually 5-10 days before non-turnaround school teachers are required back – is used for teachers to receive additional professional development (Hassel, 2006). Regarding building community relations, school stakeholders – including teachers, parents, grass roots organizations, and district workers among others – have the power "to make radical learning improvements in schools" (Ayscue, Hassel, Arkin, Kowal, & Steiner, 2009, p. 15). Some examples of stakeholders coming together for change include attendance at

town hall meetings, signing petitions, fundraising, pressuring politicians for change, organizing book drives and tutoring programs, and traditional protests. Some historic examples of stakeholders collaborating to reform and restructure whole school districts include the remaking of the Chicago public school system (Hess, 1991). In this massive reform, racism and bureaucratic corruption were exposed by engaged school stakeholders. Even on a more personal level, parents can greatly increase their child's school performance by taking an active role in their child's education (Comer & Haynes, 1991). Further, according to NCLB, it is the school that is charged with bringing parents into the school culture.

In a qualitative study of three metropolitan schools (two elementary and one middle school), Rice and Malen (2003) examined the effects of the reconstitution on the schools' human capital. The researchers defined the human cost of school reconstitution "as reforms-related sacrifices made by individuals and groups of individuals in the organization" (p. 639). The researchers further break down human costs into three cost categories: task, social, and psychological.

Task costs are the additional strains and responsibilities required of a school's staff because of reconstitution. In their study, Rice and Malen (2003) point to three specific instances of task costs. First, the new administration is burdened with quickly filling numerous vacancies. In some instances, the researchers report that administrators "scramble" to just get a teacher or substitute teacher in every classroom. Because staffing is paramount for a school to function, it takes precedence over redesigning the school, scheduling classes, and supporting new teachers. Next, teachers and administrators are required to go through large amounts of professional development as part of the reconstitution in addition to normal pre-school year procedures such as classroom setup, lesson planning, and department meetings. Even though teachers are

monetarily compensated for their additional time, the time they lose outside of their classroom before the school year is invaluable. Lastly, researchers found that because reconstitution eliminates a large part of the school's staff, it also erases the pre-existing operating procedures the school used to function. As part of forming a new school culture, the school's newly hired staff must figure out how to do an array of tasks such as ordering school supplies, checking out textbooks, reporting schedule problems, communicating with colleagues, solving technology problems, and reporting class attendance among a host of other functions. As schools are reconstituted in the name of turnaround, the entire school staff – teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, and support personnel – is faced with these additional tasks that go with redesigning a new school.

The social costs attributed to school reconstitution are high. Social costs are defined as challenges a reconstituted staff faces in recovering from releasing many teachers, re-staffing the school, and then developing relations between the pre and post reconstituted staffs (Rice & Malen, 2003). Because reconstitution releases such a large percentage of teachers from the school, the tight-knit families that teachers form within a school are disbanded. Then, as newly hired teachers join the school's staff, they are not warmly welcomed by the teachers who survived the reconstitution. This rift is detrimental to a reconstituting school and developing a new school culture. One way for an LEA to facilitate a reconstituted school's staff coming together is time. In the LEA studied by Rice and Malen (2003), the LEA made a commitment to the schools undergoing reconstitution. As part of the commitment, the LEA pledged to keep the same administrators at the schools for three years and the school's staff agreed to stay at the school for three years. The hope was the three-year window would allow adequate time for the new school staff to gel. Unfortunately, neither the LEA nor the teachers kept their end of the

agreement. The LEA replaced one principal after the first year and three more principals after the second year. As for the incoming teachers, a quarter of them left after the first year and had to be replaced. Because teachers and administrators were consistently being replaced, the researchers reported that school staffs were not able to have the sustained amount of time to bond together and create the new school culture:

> The disbanding of collegial networks left reconstituted staffs with less capacity to deal with more intense demands imposed by the reform. Staff instability and the lack of collaboration and trust made it difficult for schools to offer a coherent educational program for students, let alone develop a shared vision that might guide the improvement of educational opportunities. (Rice & Malen, 2003, p. 653)

The final expense Rice and Malen (2003) looked at was the psychological cost. This cost considered what it meant emotionally to the teachers at the low performing who were told that they would not be rehired. In the district of their study, Rice and Malen (2003) noted how teachers did not see the announcement for school restructuring coming. Instead, the teachers felt as if the announcement was just dropped on them, like a bomb. When the reconstitution was announced to the teachers, "they were 'shocked,' 'insulted,' 'angered', and 'deeply hurt'" (p. 654). The reform came across as an unanticipated, blanket, and brutal assault of teacher competence and commitment. By being told that their school was reconstituting, teachers questioned their own efficacy and teaching ability. This feeling was compounded when the media ran stories about the school reconstitution. In the stories, the media cited ineffective teaching and bad parenting as the culprits, never the LEA, state department of education, or policymakers. These psychological costs do not create better teachers or safer work environments; on the contrary, these psychological costs create hostile work environments and

defensive teachers. These costs put the blame of the low performing school on the teachers and the community (Rice & Malen, 2003). Even though reconstitution can be positioned as wanting to help students and low performing schools, there is an unadvertised side that needs to be taken notice of if the strategy is to be continued.

State Takeover.

A final school restructuring option is the state takeover model. In this model, the state department of education takes control of a failing school away from the LEA and establishes itself as responsible. When reviewing research, I was not able to find any LEA that voluntarily gave over control of a school to a state, and not all states have this authority. For a state department of education to takeover a school, the state department of education must first be legally granted this option in their state's school plan, and their state plan of education must be passed by state policymakers and approved by the federal department of education (NCLB, 2002). As of 2005, only 23 state departments of education had this option, and only five state departments of education had ever enacted it (Steiner, 2005). These numbers reflect a trend that views the state takeover option as a last resort for school restructuring and as the "ultimate sanction for unsuccessful schools" (Zena, 2001, p. 4). Although there is a lack of state takeover case studies from 2007-2010, research about school district restructuring using stake takeover does point to some trends. This section will first describe why SEAs seldom choose to implement state takeover and then review the Recovery School District (RSD), Louisiana's strategy for state takeover.

One reason state departments of education have shied away from utilizing the state takeover models is the emotions involved (Rhim, 2004). When creating the state takeover option, NCLB policymakers idealistically envisioned "a 'friendly' takeover by inviting the state

to take over and manage a persistently low-performing school... [which] differs from the more typical 'hostile' school and district takeovers that some states have undertaken in recent years" (Steiner, 2005, p. 4). In a study that discussed state departments of education's powers, McDermott (2007) questioned why states would include this state takeover option in their state education plan when the citizens of the states have and continue to support "long traditions of extremely localized school governance" (p. 93). Because states took control from communities that supported localized education, the state empowerment goes against the will of the people. However, there are practitioners and researchers who advocate for the state takeover model.

In his practitioners' handbook for aiding in state takeover, Garland (2003) justified the state takeover model by writing, "First, the state cannot perform worse than the current administration. Second, state intervention improves management and leadership. Third, the state roots out corruption and patronage" (p. 6). In their work, Mintrop and Trujilio (2005) pointed out that states have been effective in reforming schools' and districts' financial management. The end result may be higher levels of administrative and budgetary efficiency; however, "student achievement remains inadequate after a takeover" (Zena, 2001, p.4). The two following examples are representative of this trend.

The seminal restructuring of the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) is one of the most researched restructuring efforts in United States education history. When CPS began its restructuring in the 1980's, it was in response to a multitude of criticism culminating in the Secretary of Education William Bennett's public statement that the public schools in Chicago are "the worst in United States" (Hess, 1991, p. 6). In reaction, the state of Illinois prioritized the reform of CPS and worked with policymakers, educational organizations, and local businesses to reform the corrupt, bureaucratic school district (Bryk, Sebring, Kerbow, Rollow, & Easton,

1998; Hess, 1991). There are numerous studies and references to this restructuring project, and the outcomes vary widely depending on the purpose and focus of the study. For instance, on the positive, after making several revisions and corrections, the state's involvement was able to help CPS responsibly monitor it funds, spending, and corruption (Hess, 1991; Mintrop & Trujilo, 2005; Garland, 2003). Conversely, according to researchers, improvement of student achievement was not sustained:

> In the Chicago public schools, mean performance on... [Illinois high stakes] tests in grades 3, 6, and 8 has fallen in the post-reform period relative to mean performance elsewhere in the state. Post-reform results at the high school level have been more promising; graduation rates and ACT scores have exhibited relative increases. At the same time, examination of these post-reform changes in mean performance and the relationship within Chicago between student performance and school community attributes fails to reveal gains across all grade levels in the Chicago schools. (Downes & Horowitz, 1994, p. 30)

Even though students did make short term learning gains, CPS was not able to sustain the improvement post-reform. Additionally, the state department of education was not able to implement and sustain improved student achievement because they were never designed for that function. According to Mathis (2009), state departments of education lack the "capacity to send in a team to take over all or part of local operations. Particularly in states with high numbers of identified schools, state agencies do not have the staff, funding, technical assistance capacity, data systems or federal support to effectively implement this option" (p. 4). Meaning, the state takeover option overextends the abilities of a state department of education. The state department of education typically does not have the resources to run an entire district or school

by itself efficiently and increase student learning, let alone sustain it for multiple years. However, the state of Louisiana has established a program called the Recovery School District (RSD) that utilized a unique approach to manage several low performing schools and early results are promising.

In 2003, Louisiana passed legislation that created the RSD, a "special" school district administered by the Louisiana Department of Education with the purpose of turning around Louisiana's lowest performing schools (RSD, 2010a). The law essentially gave the RSD the power to takeover any school that was unable to meet AYP for four consecutive years (RSD, 2003). Schools were placed in the RSD for at least five years, and this "length of time will allow the schools to fully establish the instructional practices and expectations necessary for success prior to re-entry in to the local school board" (RSD, 2010b). The RSD originally consisted of five New Orleans schools, and then Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005.

As has widely been reported in the news, Hurricane Katrina destroyed many places along the Gulf Coast, and the New Orleans's schools were no exception. Even though schools and district offices of the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB) – the LEA serving the greater New Orleans area – were simply washed away, students remained. Paul Tough (2008) described the situation:

> By September 2006, there were about 22,000 public-school students in New Orleans, one-third of the pre-Katrina population. Though it was more than a year after the storm, the school system wasn't ready for them: there were not enough buses, not enough textbooks; no hot lunches, no doors on the bathroom stalls. There also weren't enough teachers – 106 positions were still unfilled on the first day of classes; at some schools,

> there were as many private security guards, often young and poorly trained, as there were teachers. (p. 8)

But soon after Katrina, the state of Louisiana responded. Taking swift action to amend the RSD and help the OPSB rebuild, legislators seized the moment. "In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, there is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to create a fundamentally better public education system in New Orleans" (Recovery School District Legislatively Required Plan, 2006, p. 4). The Louisiana policymakers quickly amended the legislation and allowed the RSD to waive the four-year waiting period for a school to completely fail before RSD could takeover. The newly revised legislation gave the RSD the power to take over a school after one year of not making AYP. This amendment resulted in the immediate skyrocketing of RSD schools, going from five to 112 in less than three years (RSDb, 2010). To accommodate this growth, the RSD utilized the services of charter schools and EMOs through a "Diverse Providers" strategy to address New Orleans' students' needs.

When planning how to simultaneously restructure 112 schools, the RSD did not want to rebuild the OPSD back to its "top-down," bureaucratic pre-Katrina status. Instead, the RSD decided to use a modified version of the Diverse Providers Strategy (DPS) to manage schools (Hill, Campbell, Harvey, Herdman, Looney, Pierce, Reed, & Winger, 2000). DPS encourages LEAs to rethink how they run a school district:

> Local school boards wouldn't run a school system hierarchically, the way they usually did; instead, they would oversee a "portfolio" of schools, some run directly by the board and many run on contract by nonprofits, universities, or private companies. Schools would receive money on a per-student basis, and principals could then use that money to staff their schools as they liked and pay for whatever instructional methods they chose.

> Each school would negotiate salaries and work rules directly with teachers. The system's small central office would be responsible only for oversight, though it would have considerable power to hold principals accountable: schools that didn't produce results would be closed, and successful schools would be imitated and replicated (Tough,2008, p. 10).

Employing DPS has brought change and innovation to New Orleans school children. Because DPS streamlined the money straight to the schools, money was not lost in a traditional bureaucratic school system. Thus, financial and organizational reforms were directly built into DPS. Also, DPS fostered an environment for non-traditional educational approaches to flourish.

In New Orleans, education is booming. The RSD managed New Orleans' area schools by putting them under the authority of the Louisiana Department of Education (LDE), an EMO, or by creating a charter school. In all three categories, the RSD largely served low income, minority students as compared to the other Louisiana public schools. Table 5 illustrates this comparison.

Regarding funding, the RSD was supplied with more dollars per pupil during the 2007-2008 school year than other state school districts. Funding during the 2007-2008 school was a 65% increase as compared to pre-Katrina funding levels (Stokes, 2008). Additionally, since Hurricane Katrina, OPSB was spending more money per pupil than the state average (Suitts, 2009). This new management concept and money paved the way for new types of education to exist in New Orleans.

Table 5. Comparison of students and teachers in KIPP, RSD, and Louisiana's Public Schools

School	Total Enrollment (09-10)	Percent of students that qualify for free or reduced lunch (09-10)	Percent of minority (non-White) students (09-10)	Attendance Rate (07-08)	Percent of Classes taught by Highly Qualified Teachers (07-08)	Per Pupil Expenditures (07-08)
KIPP	1,296	89.4%	96.3%	95.1%	0%	$10,604.00
RSD-LDE	11,872	87.7%	99.1%	85.0%	7%	$11,907.00
State Profile	690,915	65.8%	51.5%	93.6%	82.8%	$9,781.00

Source: Recovery School District

In New Orleans, during the 2009-2010 school year, charter schools outnumbered traditional schools, 37 to 33 (RSD, 2010b). The remaining 33 schools were either under the control of an LDE or an EMO. During the 2009-2010 school year, the LDE controlled 16 schools and 17 were contracted to EMOs. The largest EMO in New Orleans is KIPP. "KIPP New Orleans Schools currently supports five schools and 1,300 students, including the two highest performing open enrollment schools in the city" (KIPP NOLA, 2010, ¶ 1). In the midst of all these different types of schools, the RSD practiced open enrollment, which gave parents the opportunity to transfer their child to any school within the RSD New Orleans school network. RSD superintendent, Paul Vallas, claimed that RSD schools are 100% choice schools (Vallas, 2010). As for the OPSB, they still operate four schools directly and oversee 12 charter schools (RSD, 2010b). Additionally, OPSB also owns the school buildings and other assets of all the public schools in New Orleans. The RSD was working "collaboratively with the OPSB in the rebuilding process" (RSD, 2010b, ¶ 10). As schools are restructured, both the OPSB schools and

school board must be ready to reunite once both are performing at acceptable levels. However, amongst all this transformation, criticism of RSD exists.

Student achievement is a major point of contention regarding the RSD and New Orleans schools. In New Orleans's Mayor Landrieu's 2010 State of the City address, he talked about the progress education is making. On the one hand, "thanks to the hard work of parents, teachers and education leaders, New Orleans is a national model for education reform. For three straight years, student achievement and test scores have improved significantly" (Landrieu, 2010, ¶ 55). On the other hand, "while the Recovery School District improved their pass rate from 37 percent to 43 percent — by far the largest increase in the state — it still means that 57 percent of our students fail to read, write, or do arithmetic at grade level" (Landrieu, 2010, ¶ 56).

Critics claimed that neither charter nor inner-city schools employ quality teachers. In scathing criticism of the RSD, Larry Carter, President of the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO), claimed that in effort to save money, the RSD was not hiring experienced teachers and it is affecting student learning. "As school after school is turned over to charter management companies, experienced educators continue to be fired and replaced with newer teachers. Why? To save money. If quality education is our goal, why aren't we funding a healthy mix of educators instead of firing all the experienced teachers?" (Carter, 2010, ¶ 7). Given that Carter must defend teachers as the president of the UTNO, the data illustrated in Table 5 does support his claim.

After just being in place for two school years since Hurricane Katrina, the RSD has shown improvement on the Louisiana state exam. In a press release announcing the results of the spring 2009 tests scores, the RSD fared very well:

> RSD students in the 4th and 8th grades, the state's high-stakes testing grades, posted solid growth in every category in terms of the percentage of students scoring *Basic* or higher on this year's assessments. Of special note are an 11-point gain in 4th grade science and a 9- point gain in 4th grade social studies. In addition, comparisons of test results from 2008 show decreases in the number of students scoring *Unsatisfactory* this year in the high stakes grades. Among 4th graders, the percentage of students who did not pass went from 52 percent in 2008 to 46 percent in 2009. Among 8th graders, the percent failing went from 64 percent in 2008 to 59 percent in 2009. (Louisiana Department of Education, 2009, ¶ 20)

Positive test scores on the high school level were also reported in 2009. "While last year [2008], 12 percent of high school students scored basic or above in English, this year [2009] 28 percent of students hit that mark; in math, the jump was from 16 percent to 33 percent" (Carr, 2009, ¶ 17). As Mayor Landrieu made reference to in his speech, student test scores are improving, but the improvement is incremental and the RSD still has a long way to go.

Conclusion

Reforming school accountability and restructuring guidelines need to be key areas of concern in the next reauthorization of ESEA. In fact, researchers have found that biggest predictors of whether or not schools make AYP are the number of student subgroups within a school and if the school is required to participate in school improvement, corrective actions, or school restructuring (Balfanz, Legters, West, & Weber, 2007). If schools have limited numbers of subgroups and are not required to take corrective actions, the school is significantly more likely to make AYP. Because these variables predict if a school makes AYP, NCLB actually

penalizes schools that serve a diverse student body. This practice is neither equitable nor benefiting schools and school stakeholders.

Now, as President Obama's administration outlined their educational agenda in his administration's Blueprint for Education Reform, they have a chance to correct these inequities; however, President Obama's ideas do not reflect change. Instead, they look strikingly similar to NCLB's mandates. For instance, the Blueprint's school restructuring options are illustrated in Table 6. Researchers additionally caution that there is a lack of evidence to suggest that any one school restructuring model is better than another, and no school restructuring model significantly raises student achievement (Brady, 2003; Kowal & Arkin, 2005; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005; Mintrop & Trujilo, 2005; Steiner, 2005). Additionally, in cases of successful school restructuring that were sustained over multiple years, it is very challenging to identify how effective any one restructuring effort was – or combination of restructuring efforts were – in increasing a school's performance. For instance, the competing variables that needs to be controlled for when determining the effectiveness of one specific approach to school restructuring include "the local context, the specific mixture of interventions, or the time allotted for improvement. It is even more difficult to assess the effectiveness of a specific [restructuring] program relative to other differently structured programs without a common metric that would allow us to compare in a straightforward way" (Mintrop & Trujilo, 2005, p. 4). These elements make it hard for researchers to support any specific school restructuring models conclusively. Instead, it is commonly agreed by researchers and practitioners that there is no clear cut "best practice" for school restructuring. Instead, simultaneously using several restructuring options has been found to be most effective.

Table 6. School restructuring options in President Obama's Blueprint for Education.

Restructuring Options	Descriptions
Transformation Model	Replace the principal, strengthen staffing, implement a research-based instructional program, provide extended learning time, and implement new governance and flexibility.
Turnaround Model	Replace the principal and rehire no more than 50 percent of the school staff, implement a research-based instructional program, provide extended learning time, and implement new governance structure.
Restart Model	Convert or close and reopen the school under the management of an effective charter operator, charter management organization, or education management organization.
School Closure Model	Close the school and enroll students who attended it in other, higher-performing schools in the district.

Source: Blueprint for Education

As President Obama and others push for school reform to target low performing schools specifically, they need more research in school restructuring best practices. Also, because the area of school restructuring is still a developing research field, it is premature to make educational policy regarding how to effectively restructure low performing schools; therefore, politicians should not rush to pass new educational legislation until the results from current and future research are studied.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I first traced how the first two authorizations of ESEA led to the creation of NCLB. Next, I outlined NCLB's plan for holding schools accountable for student learning. I then provided an overview of school improvement and corrective actions that NCLB requires low performing schools to engage if they fail to achieve AYP. Next, I described each of

NCLB's four defined school restructuring options. In the descriptions, I first used research to explain each of NCLB's school restructuring options. I then offered examples about how NCLB's school restructuring strategies were actually implemented. Finally, I concluded this chapter by comparing NCLB's school restructuring strategies to those suggested by President Obama's and Secretary of Education Duncan's *Blueprint*.

Chapter III: Context

In this study, I am researching the experiences of HSETs at a specific school that was required to engage NCLB's mandated restructuring policies because of low test scores and graduation rates. Because schools that are identified as having to restructure do not just have one year of low student performance, I created this chapter to offer a historical context of the events leading up to the school I studied being required to restructure. In this historical context, I first offer statistics about the amount of schools NCLB requires to restructure. I then provide data about the school's student demographics and student achievement on standardized tests in the year before the school was required to restructure. Next, I offer my readers a historical context of both the school and the city where the school is located. I then describe the school reforms efforts made by the county to improve student achievement at the school during the 1990s and early 2000s. I close the chapter by outlining my own involvement at the school and describing the participants I included in my study, which introduces my readers to how my participants experienced school restructuring.

When organizing my study, I wanted my readers to be introduced to the context of the school I studied before introducing and sharing the experiences of my participants, so they better understand my participants' experiences of teaching English in it. Additionally, when NCLB required a school to restructure, it was not because the school just "had a bad year" or the school was affected by a sudden problem. Rather, NCLB requires schools to have low test scores for four to six years before requiring them to restructure. Therefore, it is important for me to present my readers a history of the school I studied so they have a better understanding of the challenges and situations the school and its teachers faced, which led to the NCLB mandated restructuring. Furthermore, as the school engaged NCLB's school restructuring mandates, it continued to

experience changes in leadership and school structure. For these reasons, I find it pertinent to present the school's historical context here.

Context of Study

Between the 2005-2006 and 2008-2009 school years, the United States Department of Education (2009) reported that 13,457 schools were identified for some sort of school improvement actions under NCLB's accountability policies. Out of those 13,457 schools, 4,941 schools were required to begin planning or implementing NCLB's school restructuring policies. One of the schools that was required to begin planning and implementing its restructuring during the 2007-2008 school year was the school I studied, Tander Douglas High School (pseudonym).

The Founding of Tander Douglas High School.

The school I studied was named Tander Douglas High School (TD; pseudonym) and it was located in East Tennessee. TD is one of 13 traditional, public high schools in the Leigh County School District (pseudonym). The majority of students who attend TD are Black and come from low-income households as compared to the state and county. Table 7 displays this information.

Because of the low test scores and graduation rates that were reported to the Tennessee Department of Education about TD's students performance based on data collected from 2003-2004 through the 2006-2007 school years, TD was required to restructure beginning in the 2007-2008 school year. However, it is necessary for readers to have an understanding of both the

Table 7. 2007-2008 Student demographics of TD as compared to LCS and TN.

Student Indicator	**School**	**County**	**State Average**
Black (not Hispanic)	88%	15%	25%
White (not Hispanic)	10%	80%	69%
Hispanic	1%	3%	5%
Other	<1%	2%	2%
Qualify for Free/Reduced Lunch	83%	43%	49%

Sources: National Center for Educational Statistics, 2008-2009 & TN Department of Education, 2012

Table 8 compares TD's 2007-2008 student achievement data on reading, writing, and math scores and graduation rates against the state targets designated by Tennessee.

Table 8: Percentage of TD's students who scored proficient or advanced on TN's reading/writing and math tests and graduation rates from 2007 by student subgroups.

Student Subgroup	Reading/Writing Scores (State Target 90%)	Math Scores (State Target 75%)	Graduation Rate (State Target 90%)
All Students	76%	79%	67.8%
African-American	76%	77%	67.4%
White	84%	86%	72.7%
Low SES	74%	75%	N/A
Students with Disabilities	42%	66%	N/A

Source: Tennessee Department of Education

history of the school and town of Henley (pseudonym) to better appreciate how TD found itself in a position of having to restructure.

History of Tander Douglas High School.

Originally, TD was two high schools that merged together to be in accordance with federal desegregation laws when the 1968-1969 school year opened. Before the two schools merged, Tander High School (THS) was designated for Black students and Douglas High School (DHS) was designated for White students, and the two schools each have their own respective histories.

Following the Civil War, reconstruction was hard on Tennessee. Major political conflicts of the day centered on how or if the South should be punished for seceding from the Union, defining the rights of former slaves and former slave owners, and creating a process of how former Confederate states should be allowed to rejoin the Union (McKenzie, 20020). Interestingly though, Tennessee was the home state of President Johnson – who began his presidency following the assassination of President Lincoln – but he broke with Tennessee and sided with the Union when the Civil War began (Adler, 2006). Like much of the South following the Civil War, Tennessee was struggling with how to rebuild its communities, and part of that struggle included how to educate Black children (McKenzie, 2002). For no clear reason other than her desire to educate Black children, a White woman named Miss Ashley Tander (pseudonym), native of Philadelphia, relocated to Tennessee in 1870. It was unclear why Miss Ashley Tander chose to become involved with the state of education in Tennessee, but what is known is that she was met with resistance (Rule, Mellen, & Wooldridge, 1900). Many of the problems Miss Ashley Tander encountered were related to racism, and that racism was likely because of the lingering anger of Tennesseans following the Civil War about the ending of

slavery and the new rights given to former slaves (Academic America, 2012). However, Miss Ashley Tander had a dream of opening a school for Black children. Therefore, Miss Ashley Tander used her connections in Philadelphia to fundraise $6,500, and LCS contributed an additional $2,000. Using that money, Miss Ashley Tander opened THS in 1879 (Trotter, 1976). After opening, THS graduated its first 10th grade class in 1888 and graduated its first 12th grade class in 1936 (Curriculum Survey Committee of the Secondary Schools, 1953). None of the documents found for this history identified when THS began offering students a four year education instead of only two years. However, what is known is that the Black community members who sent their children to THS were appreciative and thankful to Miss Ashley Tander for her work. In fact, to show Miss Ashley Tander their appreciation when she died in 1897, the community members who sent their children to THS mounted a tablet for her on the school with an inscription that read:

> Founder of the Tander School in Henley (pseudonym), Tenn., and for thirty years the devoted friend of the freedmen, fearless from criticism, shrinking from no duty, unswerving in fidelity, coveting on Divine approval. She is gratefully remembered by those whose evaluation she sought by educating mind and heart. *She has done what she could*. (Rule, Mellen, & Wooldridge, 1900)

From its inception through the 1968-1969 school year when it integrated with DHS, THS offered Black school children access to education, and the Black community responded by sending THS their youth. Moreover, the school, from as early as 1881, employed many Black principals (Booker, 2010). By offering access to education and being under Black leadership, THS quickly attracted a large, predominantly Black student population. Subsequently, the school was forced to build an additional wing in 1916 and then moved twice, in 1928 and 1952, to larger buildings

(Trotter, 1976; Curriculum Survey Committee of the Secondary Schools, 1953). During this time period, THS was a source of pride in its local community. Besides academics, THS offered students a variety of extracurricular activities including pep squads, glee clubs, and athletics. According to numerous newspaper articles, THS yearbooks, and THS graduation announcements, the school was very successful academically, athletically, and with other extracurricular activities. THS sent several of its students to college, trained other students for the work force, won athletic titles and championships, and its student organizations – glee club, pep squad, student council – were recognized for their accomplishments. Then, in the name of integration, DHS and THS merged to start the 1968-1969 school year.

Comparatively, DHS has a shorter history than THS and less information exists about it. In response to a growing population in Henley because of soldiers returning home from World War II and starting families, the LCS school board opened four new high schools during the late 1940s and 1950s (Julian, 2011). When DHS opened in 1951, the LCS school board transferred administrators and teachers from other LCS high schools to staff DHS (Julian, 2011). Over the two decades that DHS operated, *Blue and Gray,* a student newspaper for the school, was created and captured numerous moments of DHS's history (Terry, 2012). In the archives that exist for the *Blue and Gray*, the newspaper reported on an array of student activities including articles about the school's glee club, athletic teams, student government association, and academics. In fact, DHS's students were so successful academically, that a dissertation from when DHS still operated reported that 100% of DHS's graduate attended college (Hoback, 1966).

When writing about DHS integrating with THS in 1968, Julian (2011) put "the last class of [DHS] graduated in 1968. Re-organization required the name of the school to be changed and it continues to serve the community today" (¶ 8). In his comments, Julian referred to the

merging of DHS and THS as a "re-organization" of the school. Julian's word choice is curious because it does not speak to integrating schools or improving education for all students. Rather, it speaks to a reconfiguration of how the school operated, which is not what happened.

The desegregation of schools in Tennessee took over 20 years (Jones-Wilson, Jones-Wilson, Asbury, Okazawa-Rey, Anderson, Jacobs , Fulz, 1996). When school desegregation was required in Tennessee, the state resisted the federal law and instead planned to integrate schools one grade per year (Tennessee Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2008). As part of its resistance, several Tennessee school districts filed objections with courts. These actions resulted in the filing of multiple court rulings and appeals, which lasted for two decades. In fact, it was not until the 1980s when the majority of desegregation court room arguments were settled (Jones-Wilson, Jones-Wilson, Asbury, Okazawa-Rey, Anderson, Jacobs , Fulz, 1996; Tennessee Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2008). As such, LCS experienced a de facto form of segregated schools that lasted for an additional 20 years after the federal desegregation law was passed, and those sentiments may be reflected in Julian's word choice of "re-organization."

A Historical Overview of Henley.

Currently, TD is located on the east side of Henley, in a predominantly Black community where the city's past has left a discernable mark on the community. Henley was founded in 1786 and quickly became the capital of the then Southwest Territory of the fledging Union. Because of its location on the Tennessee River and the then newly completed Tennessee-Georgia railroad, Henley experienced a boom in its population from the 1790s through the 1850s (Wheeler, 2010). As the Civil War broke out, Henley's citizens voted to secede from the Union, and Henley would be held by both the Union and Confederate armies during the Civil War. One reason Henley was

such a valuable city during the Civil War was because of the ability to move raw materials through its train depot and river ports (McKenzie, 2002). After the war ended, Henley again experienced a boom in the manufacturing industry, and the city's population rose steadily. As the manufacturing industry thrived into the 1890s, the burning of coal in residential areas and commercialization of the Industrial Revolution began to take its toll on the city and gave Henley an unattractive appearance (Wheeler, 2010). Therefore, when the Fire of 1897 severely burned much of the city, many of Henley's wealthier citizens left town and did not return. Moreover, Henley would struggle with race relations during the first decades of the 20th century and experience two notable race riots in addition to White politicians gerrymandering the voting districts so Henley's Black citizens would lose their political voice (Williams and Williams II, 1972; Wheeler, 2010).

As the 1900s progressed, Henley's manufacturing industry was rebuilt following the Fire of 1897 and continued to provide jobs to its citizens. When the Great Depression hit America in the 1930s, it caused Henley's citizens to struggle like so many other people. However, with the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), many people were able to find jobs (Wheeler, 2010). But the jobs TVA produced resulted in displaced families in addition to the theft of private lands – that stretched up and down the Tennessee River – which led to tensions between TVA and the local community. Unfortunately, Henley lost most of its manufacturing jobs in the 1950s and 1960s because of foreign competition (Chrone, 1997; Wheeler, 2010). Currently, the empty factories and abandoned warehouses of Henley's once powerful manufacturing industry sit dormant and vacant in the east and north of downtown, the same side of town that also housed TD. In addition to the vacant buildings, the east side is also home to several churches and fast food restaurants as well as the city's zoo, a YMCA, parks, and museums. Poverty is common in

the east side and it is reflected in that 87% of students who attended TD during the 2010-2011 school year qualified for the free/reduced lunch program (TN Department of Education, 2012). Additionally, the homes where these students live also echo their economic status. Most of the houses by TD and in nearby, surrounding neighborhoods were constructed around 1900, made of wood and plaster with brick foundations, and show their age. TD is situated in one of the community's neighborhoods, across the street from a funeral home and within walking distance of convenience stores, a night club, and a dry cleaner. Because of its location, several students are able to walk to the high school from their homes.

Tander Douglas High School's Magnet Program.

Even after THS merged with DHS in the name of integration, TD's students were still largely African-American. "The black student population at Tander Douglas High School in the early 1990s was 98 percent" (Lawson, 2002, ¶ 20). In an effort to recruit more majority students to TD, the school board of Leigh County Schools (LCS) – TD's LEA – voted in 1991 to implement a performing arts and sciences magnet program in three elementary schools, one middle school, and TD (Lawson, 2002). When a magnet program is created, it is an attempt to attract students to a school who are not zoned to attend it based on their residence by offering vocational courses not offered at the school they are zoned to attend (Magnet Schools of America, 2007). As such, magnet schools are a form of school choice with the goal of offering students an educational program that traditional schools do not have. Often times, the schools offering magnet programs have large minority populations, and a magnet program is created to provide "an attractive choice to many students, thereby increasing the diversity of the student population" (Chen, 2007, ¶ 2). However, TD's magnet program did not attract many of the majority students that LCS's school board wanted.

In the early 1990s, TD's facilities were physically in need of renovation. As part of the school board's vote to implement the performing arts and sciences magnet program at TD, $15 million was slated to provide TD the funding it needed to update its facilities, which included a new auditorium and dance studios (Mayshark, 2011). However, even after the renovations to TD were completed and the magnet program was launched, TD failed to attract significant numbers of students who were not zoned to attend TD. By the time NCLB required TD to restructure in 2008, the school was a "'magnet' [school] mostly in name [only]" (Mayshark, 2011, ¶ 23), and Table 7 shows the student demographics of TD in 2008 as compared to the state. Based on the student demographic data, the magnet program did not significantly affect TD's student population over the long term. As for why the program failed to attract students not zoned to attend TD, there are no concrete answers. However, some possible reasons include other LCS schools developed performing arts programs, TD's lack of stable leadership (TD had four principals in a 10 year span), and the death of LCS's superintendent, who was an ardent supporter of the magnet program (Mayshark, 2011). Other possible reasons include White parents and students not wanting to transfer into a predominantly Black high school, TD's negative academic reputation in the community, and negative stereotypes of being in Black communities. Furthermore, changes in ESEA led to TD being required to restructure.

Tander Douglas High School Required to Restructure.

When ESEA was reauthorized as NCLB by President Bush in 2001, specific criteria were established for schools to restructure. NCLB's criteria were largely based on student achievement measured by standardized tests used to determine AYP and graduation rates as outlined in Chapter Two. TD was affected by NCLB's policies by first qualifying for school improvement actions in 2004, then corrective actions in 2006, and finally school restructuring in

2007. Table 8 shows TD's test scores and graduation rates from 2007 that resulted in the school having to restructure. The data in Table 8 displays TD's student achievement in the final year of corrective actions before being required to restructure. In that year, TD did satisfy TN's AYP requirement in math in all of its student subgroups except for students with disabilities. However, TD failed to reach the AYP scores in reading/writing and graduation rates. As such, TD failed to satisfy TN's student achievement targets for six consecutive years and was required to restructure beginning in 2007.

A Timeline of Leigh County Schools' and Tander Douglas High School's Restructuring Actions.

When NCLB went into law in 2001, Wesley King was TD's principal. King began his tenure as TD's principal in 1999, and he held that post for five school years before being transferred to LCS's central office in 2005. As King was transferred out of TD, Albert Lewis replaced him as TD's principal in the fall of 2005. It was during Lewis' tenure as TD's principal when TD was required to restructure because of NCLB's policies in 2007. After TD was identified for restructuring in 2007, LCS's Superintendent and Director of Schools recruited Shannon Carmen to be TD's Curriculum Principal and charged her with planning and implementing TD's restructuring. Prior to being recruited to lead TD's restructuring, Carmen served as an assistant principal at another LCS high school from 2006-2007 and had worked as an administrator and HSET in a high performing Florida high school from 1999-2006.

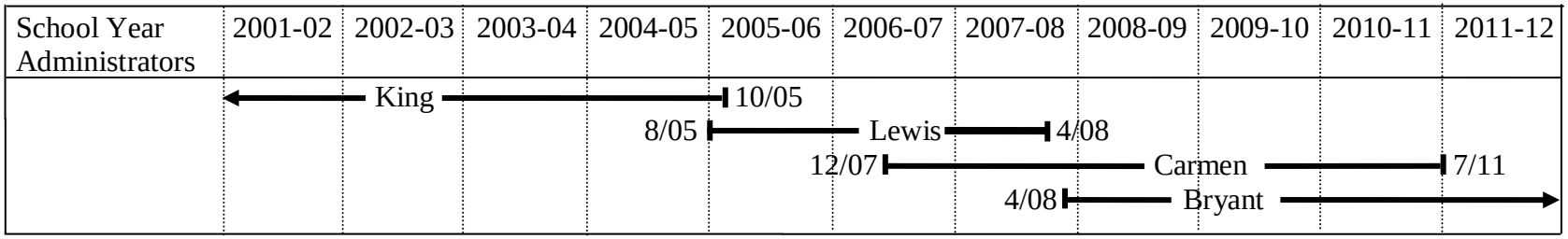
After the LCS Superintendent recruited Carmen for TD's restructuring, Carmen, Lewis, and LCS school district officials decided to hire Ed Works to assist with TD's restructuring during the spring of 2008 (for more information on Ed Works, please see Chapter Two). Not long after hiring Ed Works, LCS released Lewis of his administrative duties at TD and transferred him to LCS's central office. Following Lewis' transfer, LCS school officials named

Phil Bryant TD's new principal. Figure 1 below illustrates these changes in TD's leadership from 2001-2002 school year through the 2011-2012 school year. Before being made TD's principal, Bryant had been a principal at other LCS middle and high schools. Once Bryant was named TD's principal, Carmen and Bryant began reconstituting TD's staff.

To reconstitute the staff, Carmen and Bryant interviewed all of TD's teachers who wanted to continue teaching at TD during the spring of 2008. After completing their interviews, Carmen and Bryant informed the staff of whether they were rehired or released in May of 2008. Then, over the 2008 summer break, Carmen and Bryant hired the released teachers' replacements. Additionally, when Carmen and Bryant rehired TD's teachers and hired the released teachers' replacements, they required all the teachers to sign new contracts. In their new contracts, there was one stipulation referred to as "extended contract time" that required TD's teachers to report back to work 10 days before teachers in other LCS's schools. This extra time was used for professional development (PD).

To open the 2008-2009 school year, Carmen and Bryant decided to hold a three-day, TD faculty retreat at a local resort area. At the retreat, TD's teachers engaged in PD facilitated by Ed Works. Ed Works was charged with the PD because it was part of the contract they signed with LCS and Carmen and Bryant were engaged creating TD's master schedule, reforming TD's guidance department, and hiring new teachers during the summer. Additionally, at the retreat, Carmen and Bryant announced that they collapsed the different academic tracks of classes – fundamental, basic, college-placement, and honors – to offering only college-placement level courses. After the three day retreat, the teachers returned to TD for an additional seven days of PD.

During the 2008-2009 school year, TD did not test 95% of its students and was therefore ineligible to meet NCLB's test requirement.



In Figure 1, the numbers before an individual's name indicate the date the individual was hired or transferred into TD. The number following an individual's name is the date the person left or was transferred out of TD. The bold line indicates the individual was working at TD. A line with an arrowhead before the individual's name indicates that the person worked at TD before the 2001-2002 school year. A line with an arrowhead after the individual's name indicates the individual continued to work at TD during the time of this study.

Figure 1. An overview of TD's leadership from the 2001-2002 school year through the 2011-2012 school year.

In response to not testing 95% of its students, LCS's Superintendent called a meeting with TD's administrators in September of 2009. In the meeting, LCS's Superintendent told TD's administrators if 95% of its students were not tested during the 2009-2010 school year, the school would be shut down. In response, Carmen created the "95% Tested" committee, and, when TD was scheduled to take its test that school year, it tested 100% of its students. Also, as the 2009-2010 school year opened, TD's teachers were again required to report back to TD early because of their extended contract for PD facilitated by Ed Works.

As the 2009-2010 school closed, TD's teachers were told that student achievement had to increase during the 2010-2011school year or else TD may be closed or taken over by the state. To hold TD accountable for student achievement, TD's teachers were told the school was going to be judged by its students' scores on the 11th grade writing assessment, 10th grade reading test, and graduation rate. These accountability demands put tremendous pressure on TD's English department. Furthermore, the contract LCS and TD signed with Ed Works expired in May of 2010.

Over the summer of 2010, TD launched a writing initiative where English teachers trained their colleagues who taught other disciplines about how to assess student writing. The Writing Imitative was planned over the summer and implemented throughout the 2010-2011 school year. Additionally, TD's teachers again reported back early for PD. This time, however, teachers underwent six days of PD facilitated by hired educational consultants. That year, TD experienced success regarding its students' academic achievement. Specifically, TD tested enough students to be eligible for AYP, and its students scored high enough on the writing and reading assessments for TD to satisfy NCLB's safe harbor requirement. As the 2010-2011 school year closed, it was announced that it was unlikely TD would be taken over by the state.

As the 2011-2012 school year opened, LCS transferred Carmen out of TD and promoted her to head principal of Holmes High School, a higher achieving but socioeconomically diverse school in the district. Following Carmen's transfer, TD's teachers returned six days early for PD. As they began the school year, selected teachers and administrators were trained to implement the Teacher Advancement Program (TAP).

The Implementation of TAP and TEAM in TN.

As part of its Race to the Top application, TN pledged to overhaul its teacher evaluation system by implementing TAP, which was created by the National Institute for Excellence in Teaching (NIET). According to NIET, "TAP was launched in 1999 as a comprehensive school reform that restructures and revitalizes the teaching profession by providing teachers with powerful opportunities for career advancement, ongoing professional development, a fair evaluation system and performance-based compensation" (2011a, ¶ 3). Because TN incorporated TAP as the centerpiece of its teacher evaluation program reforms, the federal government accepted TN's Race to the Top application and awarded the state with over $500 million worth of federal funds to implement its proposed education reforms. The parts of TAP that TN emphasized in its application were the "career advancement" opportunities for teachers and its teacher evaluation system.

In the TAP model, teachers may choose to pursue opportunities as a "master" or "mentor" teacher. TAP used a competitive process to select master and mentor teachers that was based on their classroom performance, expertise in curriculum, and instructional skills (NIET, 2011b). If selected as a master teacher, the teacher would work with his or her principal to analyze student data, create an academic achievement plan for the school, model research-based teaching strategies, evaluate teachers, and teach students for two hours a day (NIET, 2011b). On

the other hand, mentor teachers also helped with analyzing student data and creating their school's academic achievement plan. However, mentor teachers were made more responsible for observing classroom teachers and providing them with "classroom-based follow-up and extensive feedback" (NIET, 2011b, ¶ 8). Additionally, both the master teachers and mentor teachers were responsible for teaching classroom teachers about TAP's teacher evaluation system.

Once the TAP system was adopted by the state, TN modified its teacher evaluation components and renamed it the Tennessee Educator Acceleration Model (TEAM). Four of my participants identified as being directly impacted by the implementation of TAP and TEAM by TD and LCS. To evaluate teachers using TEAM, TN devised a three-pronged approach. Each prong was supposed to separately measure a different component of a teacher's effectiveness, and the components included:

- 50% on teacher observations;
- 35% on student growth;
- 15% student achievement data (NIET, 2011c).

To gather data for the teacher observations, TEAM evaluators originally were to conduct four observations of professional teachers' instruction annually. To qualify as a professional teacher, a teacher must hold a TN professional teaching license, meaning the teacher has worked for three or more years in a TN public school or has the equivalent teaching experience in another state (TN DOE, 2011). If a teacher is an early career teacher – meaning that the teacher has fewer than three years of classroom experience – the teacher was issued an apprentice license and was supposed to be evaluated six times annually according to the TEAM teacher evaluation model. The observations for both professional and apprentice teachers ranged from 15 minutes to a

whole lesson, included both announced and unannounced observations, required post-conferences, and the observations were conducted by master teachers, mentor teachers, assistant principals, and principals who were all trained in TEAM evaluations (NIET, 2011c). During the summer of 2011 and into the 2011-2012 school year, the TN Department of Education held TEAM training sessions across the state for all teacher evaluators.

The Tennessee Value-Added Assessment System (TVAAS) comprised 35% of a teacher's evaluation and was used during TEAM's first year of implementation as the state worked to develop additional methods to gauge student growth (NIET, 2011c). The final 15% of a teacher's evaluation came from "student achievement data selected by the educator and his/her supervisor from a list of state board approved options" (NIET, 2011b, p. 1). These options for high school teachers included:

- Student achievement on state assessments;
- School-wide TVAAS scores;
- American College Test (ACT) and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores;
- Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate test scores;
- Dual Credit enrollment (TN DOE, 2011c).

When selecting the student achievement data used to evaluate a teacher, both the teacher and evaluator had to agree to the terms. If they were not able to agree, TN granted the evaluator the authority to select the criteria. Additionally, the 15% of student achievement data "should reflect the educator's primary responsibility as directly as possible" (Gladdis, 2011, slide 7). The data then chosen to reflect that teacher's responsibility was left to a negotiation between the teacher and his or her evaluator.

My Involvement with Tander Douglas High School

During the 2008-2009 school year, I was teaching 10th grade English at a Florida high school and applying to PhD programs in secondary education (English). As I wrote about in my positionality statement, the school where I taught was a low performing, Title I school. Because we traditionally struggled to achieve AYP and were subsequently graded as a "D" school by Florida's Department of Education, we were annually threatened with various school improvement mandates including having to convert into a charter school. Although none of these threats were ever made into a reality for our school, they sparked my initial interest into understanding how low performing schools were impacted by NCLB's school accountability policies. Then, in the spring of 2009, I was accepted into a PhD program at a major university located in Henley, TN. After being accepted into the program, I applied for and was awarded a graduate teaching assistant position at the university. Subsequently, I relocated from Florida to Tennessee during the summer of 2009 to pursue my doctorate in education.

When the 2009-2010 school year began, my role as a graduate teaching assistant required I teach education courses and supervise four interns at TD. Working in these capacities allowed me access to TD, and I began speaking with TD's English teachers and administrators about how my interns were performing, which led to conversations about TD's restructuring process. These discussions allowed me to begin creating a rapport with TD's administrators and English teachers. As the 2009 fall semester progressed into the 2010 spring semester, my interest in TD's school restructuring continued to grow. In my free time, I found myself researching statistics about the number of schools having to restructure because of NCLB's school restructuring and accountability policies, which led me to read and reread sections 1111 and 1116 of NCLB itself. Then, as I continued to visit TD to observe my interns, I would

purposively "bump into" either Bryant or Carmen to ask about TD's restructuring, report on my interns, and continue building rapport. Towards the end of 2010 spring semester, I believed TD's administrators trusted me because they sought my opinion about my interns regarding which one they should hire. Additionally, during the 2010 spring semester, I conducted a pilot study of my current investigation in which I interviewed Carmen and Marie. After conducting the pilot study and hearing the stories of Carmen and Marie, I became deeply interested in understanding what it meant to restructure a school, the process of restructuring a low performing school into one that annually satisfies NCLB's AYP requirements, and the pressures school restructuring put on English teachers and administrators. As the 2010 spring semester came to a close, I was proud that one of my interns was hired by TD and that I received positive feedback by my classmates and instructor about my pilot study on TD's restructuring.

As the 2010 spring semester closed, I met with my academic advisor and discussed a project where I would write a review of literature related to NCLB's school restructuring policies. My advisor and I discussed what the review would look like, who the intended audience would be, and how I would go about collecting data for the review. After having that conversation, I spent the majority of my summer reading research and drafting a review of literature on NCLB's accountability and school restructuring policies.

When the 2010-2011 school year opened, I again taught education courses at the university and had two interns placed at TD. Because of the rapport I developed during the previous school year, TD's administrators and mentor teachers knew me and invited me to a beginning of the year luncheon for new teachers and interns, which I attended. At the luncheon, everybody introduced themselves. When I introduced myself, I tried to downplay my role at TD;

however, Bryant spoke highly about me to the new teachers and interns, and his comments made me feel proud.

As the 2010-2011 school year progressed, I continued to monitor my interns at TD. Additionally, I kept working to build relationships with TD's English teachers. I also kept abreast of TD's restructuring by continuing to have conversations with TD's English teachers and administrators. In May of 2011, a local weekly newspaper brought additional amount of attention to TD's restructuring when it published a feature article titled *Saving TD*. When I first saw the newspaper I was eager to read it because one of my former interns was on the newspaper's cover. Although I found the use of the word "saving" in the title a bit dramatic, I thought the author did a fair job in portraying the history of TD and the work that TD's administrators and teachers have done to improve student achievement. Moreover, as the 2010-2011 school year closed, one of my interns was hired by TD during the 2011 spring semester. His success made me feel proud.

As the 2011 spring semester closed, I discussed expanding my pilot study about TD's school restructuring into my dissertation topic with my academic advisor. After having that conversation, my advisor agreed that TD's restructuring was a suitable topic for my dissertation.

During the 2011-2012 school year, I did not have any interns placed at TD. At first I was concerned that not having interns at TD may severe my relations with the school and hamper my research. However, when asking my then potential participants if they were willing to be part of my study, I found the relationships I had built with TD's administrators, teachers, and interns over the course of the previous two school years were still strong, and I had a positive response when I asked them if they were willing to be part of my study.

Over the course of my three years as a doctoral student, I have mentored 16 interns. Out of those 16, six interned at TD, and two were hired by the school before their internship was complete. In retrospect, if it were not for the opportunities I had to mentor interns and the hard work by the interns who were placed at TD, I may not have been able to study TD's restructuring process and the effects on HSETs working at TD. As such, I am grateful to my interns.

Participant Selection

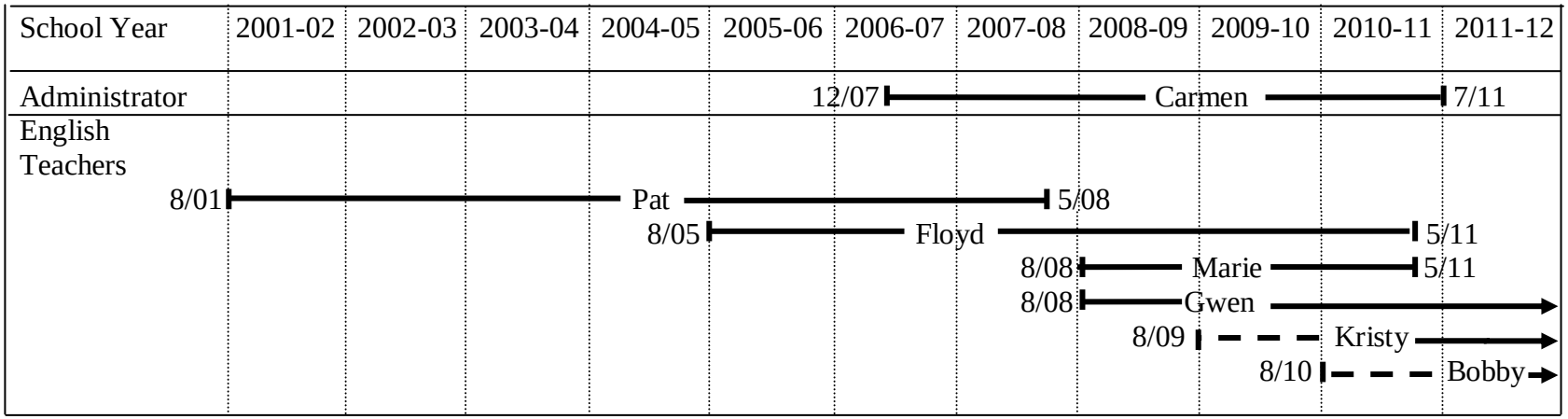
My study was based on the experiences of HSETs who worked or continued to work at TD while it restructured. I chose to center my investigation on the experiences of high school English teachers because the quantifiable requirements put on TD to successfully restructure included the 11th grade writing assessment, 10th grade EOC, and graduation rates. TD's English teachers were directly responsible for building their students' skill sets so they would be successful on the writing assessment and EOC. Additionally, the graduation rate put increased pressure on TD's senior English teachers to ensure their students were able to pass their classes. Unlike the three credits students must earn in math, science, and social studies to graduate, the state of Tennessee requires students to have four full credits of English in order to graduate. Therefore, students who are completing their senior English requirement in the spring semester do not have an opportunity to make up the credit if they fail English, which means they subsequently would not graduate and that would drop TD's graduation rate. This dynamic put increased pressure on TD's senior English teachers to pass their students. For these reasons, I studied the experiences of six of TD's English teachers and one administrator. To recruit participants for my study, I used purposive sampling (Glense, 2006), and my participants include:

1. **Shannon Carmen (a White woman in her 40s):** The assistant principal who was brought in by the school district to lead TD's restructuring. Although Carmen was an administrator and not a HSET, I wanted to include her because (a) she was a former HSET, (b) her story provided a frame for TD's entire restructuring, and (c) she was the leader of TD's restructuring, meaning she planned and implemented TD's restructuring efforts starting in the 2007-2008 and lasting through the 2010-2011 school year.
2. **Jamie Pat (a White woman in her 60s):** A HSET who taught at TD before it was restructured. TD's administrative team decided not to hire Pat back when it began its restructuring process, and subsequently released her. I included Pat because she worked at TD in the years leading up to the restructuring, and she lost her teaching position at TD because of the restructuring.
3. **Kevin Floyd (a White male in his 40s):** A HSET who taught at TD before and during its restructuring. As TD restructured, Floyd was promoted to the dual role of being both a classroom English teacher and administrator. I included Floyd because he brought the perspectives of both a classroom teacher and administrator in his experience with TD's restructuring.
4. **Lesley Marie (a White woman in her 20s):** A HSET who was hired as TD began implementing its restructuring process. Marie was an early career HSET, but she was given responsibilities typically reserved for veteran teachers. These additional responsibilities included mentoring interns, offering TD's staff professional development, and creating end-of-course exams for TD's LEA. I included Marie because she was viewed as an up-and-coming teacher in the district. She left TD following the 2010-2011

school year for a position at the school district's new Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) School.

5. **Harriet Gwen (a White woman in her 20s):** A HSET and teacher evaluator who was hired to teach at TD as the school began its restructuring process. Gwen came to TD as an early career teacher and has been promoted to mentor teacher in TAP because of her classroom instruction. As of the 2011-2012 school year, Gwen was both a classroom English teacher and teacher evaluator at TD.
6. **Nancy Kristy (a White woman in her 20s):** A HSET who interned at TD while it was restructuring. As part of her teacher licensure program, Kristy interned at TD during the 2009-2010 school year and was hired by TD to be an English teacher before Kristy completed her internship. I included Kristy because she taught upper level English courses that directly affected TD's graduation rate.
7. **Gregory Bobby (a White male in his 20s):** An intern who was hired at TD during its second year of restructuring. Although Bobby was a first year teacher at TD during the 2011-2012, he completed a year-long internship at TD during the 2010-2011 school year and was hired before his internship year was completed. I included Bobby because his experiences as a HSET are limited to TD, and he prepared students for the 11th grade writing assessment.

To help my readers understand the varying times that my participants interned and worked at TD, I have included Figure 2 that graphically portrays this information. Additionally, I prepared Appendix E, which is a one-page summary of TD's restructuring process.



In Figure 2, the numbers before an individual's name indicate the date the individual was hired or transferred into TD. The number following an individual's name is the date the person left or was transferred out of TD. The bold line indicates the individual was working at TD. The segmented line indicates the individual was interning at TD. The line with an arrowhead after the individual's name indicates that he or she continued to work at TD during the time of this study.

Figure 2: An overview of when each participant worked at TD from the 2001-2002 school year through the 2011-2012 school year

Participant Risk

By agreeing to participate in this study, each of my participants took a professional risk. For instance, the focus of my study was to understand how NCLB's school restructuring impacted the work of high school English teachers. To gain this understanding, I spoke with multiple teachers who taught at TD. The information my participants gave me was dangerous in that it if they were identified, LCS could possibly take disciplinary actions against them if they viewed the information my participants shared with me as "insubordinate." Moreover, some of my participants took an even greater risk by sharing their experiences because they were not tenured teachers. However, I did not use all the individuals I initially hoped to include. For example, when I originally planned this study, I contacted and interviewed eight participants but only used seven of their stories. The reason I did not include the eighth person was because, in the interview I conducted with her, the potential participant withheld specific details I needed to write her narrative. The participant explained to me that she did not divulge some specific information because she feared how TD's administration would potentially react if she was identified. As such, I felt it was better not to include that participant's experience.

Lastly, I am fully aware that sensitive information could be used to harm the reputation of TD and LCS. Negativity, accusations, and embarrassment are not the purpose of this study; rather, it is to better understand TD's restructuring process.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I first offered my readers statistics about the number of schools required to engage NCLB's school restructuring policies. I then gave my readers a historical context of both TD and the town of Henley. Next, I presented my readers student demographics and test score data about TD in year it was officially required to restructure before outlining failed

attempts by LCS to improve student performance at TD. I closed this chapter by reporting my involvement at TD and describing the participants I included in my study.

Chapter IV: Methodology

In this study, I am setting out to understand the experiences of HSETs teaching in an urban high school while it restructures according to NCLB policies. I see myself more as a hermeneutical researcher in that I am interested in understanding people's experiences with different phenomena by listening to their stories (Guda & Lincoln, 1994; Noblit, 1999). As such, I conducted in-depth interviews with six HSETs and one administrator who had all worked or were working TD while it restructured. These interviews allowed me to gain an understanding about high school restructuring and its effects on HSETs. Moreover, because of my own past experiences teaching in a low performing high school, I was drawn to studying the phenomenon of school restructuring and its impacts on HSETs. As I discussed in Chapter Two, NCLB's accountability policies require schools to annually achieve AYP or risk being labeled as a "low performing" school. When schools are labeled as "low performing" for multiple years, they eventually have to restructure. In my study, I identified and investigated TD, an urban high school that began its restructuring process during the 2007-2008 school year.

In this chapter, I will describe the research methodology I used to conduct this study. I will open the chapter with a discussion of the qualitative research paradigm. I then will shift into a discussion about the constructivist research paradigm. To close, I will introduce my coding and analysis including narrative inquiry and explain how I used it as part of my study.

An Overview of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research allows researchers of the social sciences – education, healthcare, and political science among others – a methodology to investigate phenomenon occurring in people's everyday lives (Becker, 1996; Merriam, 2009). In its most general sense, qualitative research includes "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical

procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17-18). Pope and Mays (1995) further explain that "qualitative research is the development of concepts which help us to understand social phenomena in natural (rather than experimental) settings, giving due emphasis to the meanings, experiences, and views of all the participants" (p. 43). Working with these definitions, qualitative research aims to understand the lived experiences of people by investigating how people are impacted by, respond to, and interact with the phenomenon they encounter in their daily lives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). As such, qualitative research then ontologically differs from other research paradigms – mainly positivism – in that it allows for multiple perspectives of reality to exist instead of viewing reality from only one perspective (Hatch, 2002). Essential then to understanding the content that qualitative research investigates, it is important to define what criterion substantiates phenomena.

I understand a phenomenon in qualitative research as being an occurrence, a happening, a fact, or a situation that has a tangible, observable impact on people. For instance, Giorgi (1994), a qualitative researcher, commented that "a phenomenon is present when its meaning is expressed, regardless of the form it takes" (p. 198). From his point of view, Giorgi viewed a phenomenon as something that has a tangible impact on a person or entity without consideration of the actual form the phenomenon takes. For Giorgi, to qualify something as a phenomenon, it is essential that there is a reaction to a phenomenon when a person interacts with it because, if not, there would be nothing to study. As such, what constitutes a phenomenon in society varies greatly and includes items such as social interactions, legislative policies, and cultural expectations. In each of these instances, people will react differently to these phenomena, and it is the work of qualitative researchers to study these different reactions. However, the lens that qualitative researchers see these reactions through impacts the work they create.

Because qualitative research recognizes that multiple realities exist, it houses the constructivist research paradigm (Glense, 1996; Merriam 2009). Constructivism is the view that no absolute reality exists, and constructivists seek to understand the world by studying "individual perspectives or constructions of reality" (Hatch, 2002, p. 15). For constructivist researchers, they want to investigate phenomenon in its natural settings by co-creating knowledge with individuals who have experience with that phenomenon. The term co-create means that a researcher works with a participant to understand a participant's experience with a phenomenon. To gain that understanding of a participant's experience with a phenomenon, Hatch (2002) notes that constructivist researchers use naturalistic research methods – observation, interviews, documents analysis – to co-create knowledge with their participants. The products that constructivist researchers typically produce about a phenomenon that they set out to study include case studies, ethnographies, narratives, and life histories. Finally, when reporting their findings, qualitative researchers use rich description as part of presenting their work. Rich description is an essential characteristic of qualitative studies because the details add validity, generalizability, and credibility to the work (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Merriam, 2009).

As a researcher, I align myself with the qualitative research paradigm and used it to guide my study. As a person, I am interested in learning from other people's experiences, and conducting this study from a qualitative lens allowed me an opportunity to learn from other people's experiences with school restructuring. Additionally, I believe that no two people have the exact same experience, but I do think people can experience the same phenomenon in different ways. Similar to how different players on the same team can experience the same game through different lenses while still being bounded by the game, I see school restructuring as the bounding phenomenon that my participants have all engaged from different vantage points. As

such, I used the qualitative research paradigm of constructivism to understand the experiences of TD's English teachers as the school engaged the phenomenon of NCLB's school restructuring policies.

A Constructivist Approach

I chose constructivism to guide my study because it was important to me to share the experiences my participants had with the phenomenon of school restructuring to my readers, and I saw the use of constructivism as being closely aligned with my research goals for this study. Hatch (2002) described constructivism as assuming that no absolute reality exists, and each person's reality is unique because reality is based in individual experience. As such, even though groups of people may share one reality, multiple realities between groups and individuals exist. Glense (1996) adds that the constructivist paradigm "maintains human beings construct their perceptions of the world, that no one perception is 'right' or more 'real' than another" (p. 7). Constructivism then sees knowledge as a human construction with the researcher and participant working together to co-construct understanding of the participant's lived experience (Hatch, 2002).

As the focus of my study was based on understanding the experiences of English teachers working at TD as it restructured according to NCLB's policies, I chose a constructivist approach because it permitted me to follow the lines of communication and stories HSETs were sharing about their experience of working at TD while it restructured (Glense, 1996). Furthermore, because constructivism allows for multiple realities to exist, it then permitted each of my participants' experiences to stand alone and not have to be part of one school restructuring reality. In this way, constructivism allowed me to acknowledge that each of my participants may have had a different reality based on their individual experiences with school restructuring.

Finally, as I heard each of my participants' experiences, constructivism, as a research paradigm, permitted me to construct their realities into experience-based narratives (Hatch, 2002). As such, I saw constructivism fitting tightly with the narrative inquiry approach I took with this study.

An Overview of Narrative Inquiry

Due to my commitment to capture each participant's story I used narrative inquiry. Stories are used to communicate lived experiences (Bell, 2002; Carr, 1986; Reissman, 2001), and I chose narrative inquiry for my methodology because of its focus on people's experience-based stories to better understand a social phenomenon (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). To begin, "narrative is both phenomenon and method" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2) meaning that narrative is something that can be studied and methodologies exist to specifically analyze narratives, which supports the notion of humans living storied lives (Noblit, 1999). The phrase "living storied lives" means often times people use stories to convey a message, concept, or idea to another person. Additionally, people often use anecdotes to articulate a specific point or to respond to a question. For example, when people are asked "how was your day?" they usually respond with a story that happened to them instead of making a simple summative statement such as "good" or "okay." My participants' stories about their experiences working at TD while it restructured is the specific phenomenon that I set out to study. When I would ask about their experiences of working at TD while it restructured, my participants continually responded by telling me a story about what happened to them because of the TD's restructuring. As I continued to listen to their stories, I felt I was experiencing the phenomenon of narrative as I engaged my participants in the interview process, and I wanted to further explore using a narrative-based methodology to analyze my participants' stories. Clandinin and Connelly (1990)

then discuss how researchers become part of the narratives they collect from their participants when using narrative inquiry.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) explained that narrative inquiry relies on the mutual participation of the researcher and research participants as they co-construct participants' lived experiences. This process makes the researcher become part of the participants' story by the researcher choosing to ask certain probing questions about specific topics the participants discussed while passing on others. The researcher again becomes part of each participant's story by the way the researcher chooses to represent the data from each participant's story. This dynamic resulted in "the two narratives of participant and researcher become, in one part, a shared narrative construction and reconstruction [of a social phenomenon] through the inquiry" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 5). This process of co-construction makes the disclosure of the researcher's positionality so important because it allows the readers of the research to have a better understanding of who the individual conducting the research is. As I conducted interviews with my participants and went through my data collection and analysis procedures, which I will next describe, I felt myself becoming intertwined with the experiences of my participants.

Finally, narrative inquiry as a methodology tightly fit into how I used both the qualitative and constructivist research paradigms. Because the qualitative paradigm supports the perspective that multiple realities exist, each one of my participants' narratives offered a different reality of how they experienced TD's restructuring. The qualitative paradigm further asserts that none of my participants had a "right" or "wrong" experience with TD's school restructuring; rather, each one of my participants only had "their" experience, their own reality with school restructuring. Through my use of narrative inquiry as a methodology, it helped me understand each of my participants' experiences. Constructivism then complimented this

approach because I used qualitative research methods – conducting in-depth interviews, asking probing and clarifying questions, coding interview data, and employing member checking strategies – to help me co-construct my participants' realities into experienced-based narratives. Narrative inquiry was part of this constructivist process because I was co-constructing my participants' stories about their time teaching in TD as it restructured into experienced-based narratives. In these ways, narrative inquiry aligned with my use of the qualitative and constructivist paradigms.

Data Collection Methods

I used semi-structured interviews to draw out my participants' stories of their school restructuring experience (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte; 1999). The interview protocol (Glense, 2006) included the following questions:

- What has been your experience with your school's restructuring efforts?
- How would you describe your school's restructuring process?
- How have you been affected by your school's restructuring efforts?
- If you could change part of your school's restructuring plan, what would it be and why?
- How has your school's restructuring affected your teaching?
- What have been the biggest successes/failures of your school's restructuring efforts?
- What strategies have been the most effective in increasing your students' achievement?

As my participants responded to my questions, I asked clarifying and probing questions to ensure I deeply understood my participants' responses. To help me keep track of these follow-up questions while my participants responded, I took notes where I jotted down some of the ideas and phrases my participants used that stuck out to me. After my participants finished their responses, I would reference my notes as a basis for my clarifying and probing questions.

When conducting the interviews, I wanted to create a conversational atmosphere, so my participants felt at ease and a trustful rapport could develop (Glense, 2006). To start a discussion, I used my opening question to introduce the topic and rely on clarifying and probing questions to draw richer, more detailed responses from my interviews. To break from the traditional question-answer model of interviews, I encouraged my participants to tell stories or offer anecdotes as they responded to my questions (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Additionally, I paid particular attention to what was said, what was not said, the form the stories took, and the literary devices used to tell the stories (Glense, 2006; Noblit, 1999; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). When listening to my participants' interviews and analyzing them for meaning, my participants often attempted to cast themselves as the protagonist of their experience. By presenting themselves as a protagonist, my participants emphasized challenges that other people placed on them which they had to overcome. To explain these challenges, my participants often told short anecdotes that supported their actions. It was not until I had analyzed all the interview data and represent stories for each participant that a realized some participants omitted parts of their story in an effort to cast them in a better light. To me, I see the actions of my participants as a reflection of individuals who felt they were doing what they thought was right, even though they may or may not have manipulated their words and memories to do so. As such, the central goal of my interviews was to hear my participants' stories about their experience with the school's restructuring. To build validity, credibility, and a deep understanding of the interview data I collected, I employed member checking by seeking my participants' feedback about my transcription and interpretation (Guda & Lincoln, 1981). Additionally, I used two levels of coding to help me analyze my data.

Data Analysis: A Three Layered Coding Process

In my study, I used the stories of past and current English teachers who all taught at TD during different stages of its restructuring to study the phenomenon of school restructuring. Similar to other qualitative studies, I used interviews to capture my participants' stories and then interpreted the interview data using in vivo and sociologically constructed codes (Glense, 2006; Coffee & Atkinson, 1996). An example of my coding process may be seen in Figure 3 below and a listing of all my in vivo and sociologically constructed codes for each participant are available in Appendix F. In vivo codes are smallest bits of languages that come from the data itself – typically words and phrases – that contain meaning (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Examples of predominant in vivo codes I found include *chaos*, *resistant*, *change*, *administration*, *no choice*, *inner city*, *restructuring*, *firing*, *fresh start*, *professional development*, *too much too fast*, *reform efforts*, *extended contract*, *improvement*, *AYP*, *off the list*, and *test scores*. Sociologically constructed codes are terms created by researchers to help them understand their collected data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Examples of predominant sociologically constructed codes I created based on the in vivo codes I indentified include *lack of support*, *discipline problems*, *pressure from the test*, *making learning gains*, *increased accountability*, *unsustained school reforms*, *top-down change/communication*, *demands for improvement*, *student involvement*, *higher test scores*, *freed from the list*, and *hope for the future*.

When I was coding the data, it is important to note that I felt my own experiences as a former English teacher, which I wrote about in my positionality statement in Chapter One, did impact the in vivo and sociologically constructed codes I identified. For example, when some of my participants discussed having to teach a narrowed curriculum because of the pressures placed on them by the standardized tests that were used to hold them accountable, I felt empathy

towards the teachers because I experienced that same dynamic. As my participants told me about having to narrow their curricula and why they felt conflicted in doing so, I remembered my own experiences teaching in a school where we were pressured to reduce our teaching to test-based skills and how I felt about it. As such, I therefore wanted to ensure I included experiences with a narrowed curriculum when I wrote those participants' narratives. After having identified a first layer of coding using in vivo and a second layer of coding using

Overview: In this excerpt, Marie was beginning to describe her school's restructuring.	
Transcript Data – In Vivo Codes are **bolded**	Sociologically Constructed Codes
Researcher: How would you describe the restructuring process? Marie: **Chaotic**, in one word (laughing) Researcher: Why? Marie: Because, there are so **many different things going on**, and what I mean by that is **we don't have the luxury of simply opening a new school** and **establishing brand new procedures** and **brand new foundations** for things. We, as a **staff,** are kind of **walking a tightrope** as far as **holding students accountable** and **raising the rigor of our curriculum**, but also **not leaving the Old Tander Douglass High School behind**. Researcher: What is the Old TDHS? Marie: Well, based on what I've seen, it's "**we get by and no one bothers us**." And that is the **students' mentality**, that they **are going to graduate** because **we have to** have **graduation rates** and **teachers** are, they **are going to pass** you.	Dysfunction - negative word Multiple responsibilities - dual roles - not a fresh start - pulled in many directions METAPHOR Higher expectations Honoring the past Low expectations - isolated - below the radar - pressure to pass students - social promotion - powerless teachers

Figure 3. Example of in vivo and sociologically constructed coding process using interview data

sociologically constructed codes, I then worked to categorize my codes.

With my initial list of codes for each participants complete, I began creating charts by sorting and grouping each of my participants' individual codes into larger categories. To create a category, I reread the list of in vivo and sociologically constructed codes and began grouping them by my participants' experiences with different phenomenon that were part of TD's school restructuring. For example, Kristy discussed multiple school reforms attempted at TD during her interview. When I reread the list of in vivo and sociologically constructed codes I identified in her interview transcripts, I grouped the individual codes together under the larger category of *school reforms*. By grouping the codes together, I began to identify how concerned Kristy was about the amount of reforms being simultaneously implemented at TD. Therefore, when Kristy said in her interview, "We get a lot on our plate and [we] don't fully follow through on everything, and so we end up with failed initiatives and... I think we need to stop spreading ourselves so thin," I could see the multiple failed initiatives Kristy was referring to and understand her frustration. Examples of categories I created based on the codes I identified include *threats, support, extended contract time, reconstitution, unsustained school reform, staff divide*, and *NCLB accountability*. The complete charts I created for each participant are included in Appendix G. After having created the categorized charts, I then took the larger categories and created webs of the categories for each of my participants.

When I created the webs, I grouped the larger categories I found based on the in vivo and sociologically constructed codes I identified in my participants' interview transcripts together. For example, after I completed identifying categories for Carmen, several of the categories I interpreted as challenges presented to her because of the school restructuring. Because I felt the categories had that commonality, I created a larger category level of *Challenges of Restructuring* that I used to web together the initial categories I created based on my coding. The complete

web for each participant is located in Appendix H. These webs also served as the basis for how I named each of my participants' stories.

Naming Stories

A clear-cut, definitive, or "correct" technique that can be used to name a person's experience as a type of story does not exist (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Additionally, I am highly doubtful that one such technique will ever be created and/or unquestionably adopted by qualitative researchers. As such, I developed my own process to move from collecting interviews through analyzing data to naming stories of experience.

When naming a story (Noblit, 1999), the first step I took was to conduct an interview and transcribe it. I then member checked the transcript. After allowing my participants the opportunity to review their transcript and make any changes to it, I then identified in vivo and sociologically constructed codes. Additionally, I made notes on the transcripts about specific places and times mentioned, which I then used to sequence events in TD's restructuring. As I worked to create the in vivo and sociologically constructed charts, I theorized and categorized the codes I identified, and then webbed them together. It was at this point when my codes and data really became clear to me. As I theorized their experiences by categories, I was able to see how my participants interacted with different people and the pressures put on them by each stage of TD's school restructuring process. This moment is when I reflected the most to see the interconnectedness of the data I collected and analyzed. As Noblit (1999) noted:

> Theorizing is what I do as part of my work, as I think through what people have told me and think of what questions to ask next. Theorizing is thinking through the conclusions I draw from different sets of information so that I may try to understand how things go together or do not. Theorizing is a process of trying out ideas. (p. 12)

For instance, I theorized by continually going back to the data I collected to see how a certain reform that was part of the school restructuring process differently affected my participants. For

example, when TD became a TAP school, Bobby and Kristy found that the TAP program limited their instructional freedom in the classroom. On the other hand, Floyd and Gwen saw great benefits for their instruction because of TAP. Yet, on a different level, I saw TAP as working to standardize instruction; something I do not believe is beneficial for students or teachers or the field of education. To work through this murkiness, I continually reflected on the data and traced the recursive nature of the codes I created, stories I heard, and experiences I had in order to give meaning to the experiences my participants shared with me. At this point in my process, I started to draft each of my participants' stories. As I wrote, I worked to include as much of the data set as I could, but I purposefully avoided naming the stories at this point. In fact, it was not until I had a complete draft of a story that I was ready to present to a participant for member checking until I felt comfortable naming the story. Therefore, even after I wrote a first draft of the story, I often returned to it after reflecting to add more information about a certain instance or to ensure I included a meaningful quote. Once I was comfortable with the story I had, I then brainstormed possible names for the story.

When brainstorming names for the stories, I made a decision not to use language from the in vivo codes I identified. I made this decision because I felt when those comments were said, a participant was only speaking about a certain instance in the school restructuring, and in this iteration of the project I did not generate an in vivo code I thought captured a holistic experience in any of the stories. For instance, the in vivo code "chaos" appears multiple times in Carmen's story. At first, I considered using that as the name for her story, but after going through the naming process I described above, I did not feel that "chaos" spoke to the entirety of Carmen's experience at TD. To explain, I agree that Carmen took over TD at a chaotic moment in the school's history; however, she left a school that was more organized, had higher levels of student

performance, and was developing a new school culture. In fact, when I asked her about where the progress TD was making, Carmen used the metaphor "the ship is turning." In deconstructing that metaphor, I understood it to mean that at one time the school was "chaotic," but the school reforms she was implementing at the time were beginning to increase student achievement and teacher effectiveness. To me, I felt that "chaos" then did not speak to the end product of Carmen's work at TD, only the school she came into restructuring. As such, I instead labeled Carmen's story as one of progress because TD's teachers, administrators, and students were all making strides to help TD improve. In this way, I only used my own sociologically constructed codes as the names for each of my participants' stories. Finally, I wanted to share my rationale of my reasons for naming the stories with the term I selected, so I included a section after each story where I explained my rationale for naming my participant's experience as a certain kind of story. Therefore, only after I had written each participant's narrative did I name their stories. To confirm that the name of the story I assigned to each narrative I created was based on my participants' experiences, I went back to the webs I made and placed the name of the story in the center. This last check allowed me to confirm visually that the experiences my participants had spoke to the name I created for their stories. Figure 4 visually captures this process.

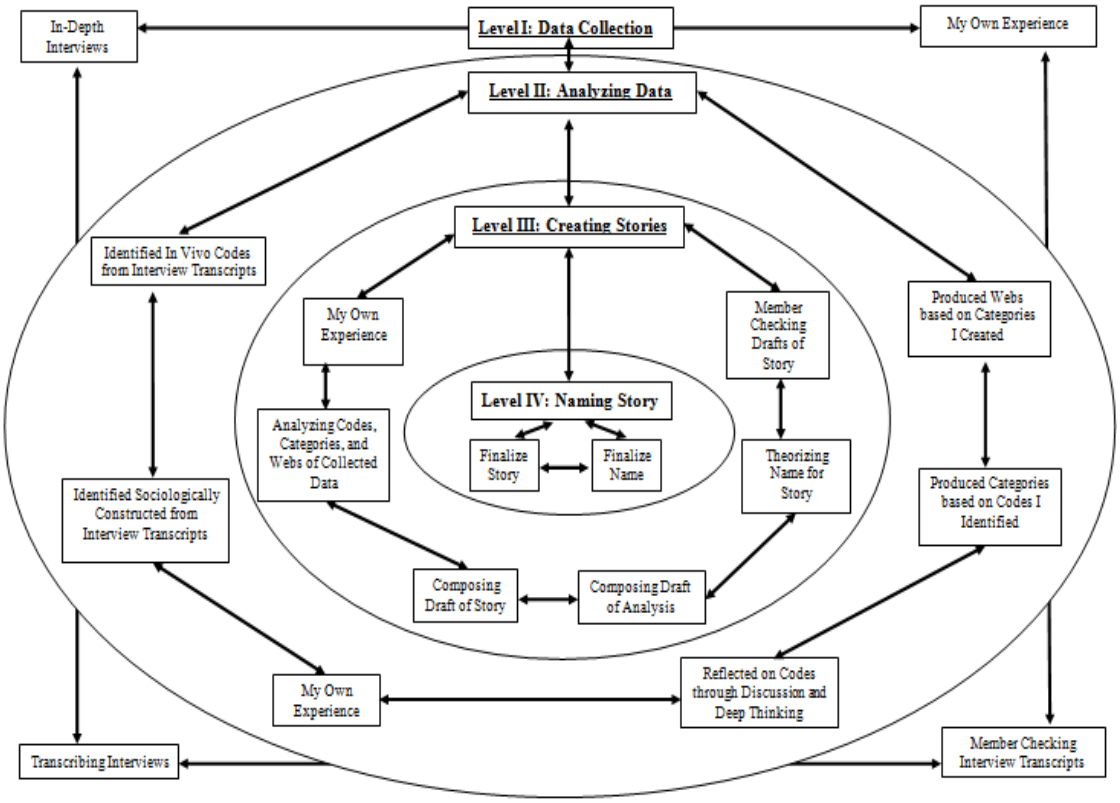


Figure 4: Visual representation of story naming process

Becoming Part of the Story

When creating my participants' narratives, I became interwoven in their stories. As Connelly and Clandinin (1990) pointed out, when a researcher produced a story based on interview data, the information the researcher selected to use from the participant's interview was based on what the researcher values. As the researcher went about the work of presenting the participant's experience for readers, the participant's experience as narrated by the researcher became a reconstructed reality (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Like I mentioned earlier, the use of member checking (Lather, 1986) helped me ensure that my participants were co-constructers in the creation of their narratives and added validity to my work, but member checking alone did not resolve the subjectivity of choosing my participants, collecting their interview data, analyzing their interview data, applying three-dimensional narrative inquiry to their stories, and

then creating their narratives. As a result, I understand that the process I used to create my participants' narratives puts me directly in their stories. As such, I included my positionality statement in Chapter I and ideas about school restructuring in Appendix A to offer my readers an understanding of my views about school restructuring.

In my eyes, combining in vivo coding and sociologically constructed code offered me the best methodology to make meaning of my participants' experiences of teaching English in a restructuring high school while also helping me to understand what I experienced as a HSET.

Comments on the Story-Naming Process I Used

After working with this story-naming process extensively while conducting my study, there are parts of it that must be deeply considered before engaging. First, power and authority are inherent in the act of naming an experience as a type of story (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Even though I member checked my transcripts and narratives with my participants, I was still the individual generating the names for their stories, and that must be considered. Secondly, I was directly part of my participants' stories, not their experiences. The stories are the products I produced, member checked, and that appear in Chapter Five. The experiences are what my participants lived through and that ultimately created their professional identity. Thirdly, the process I used to name my participants stories was reflective in nature. By reflective, I mean I engaged recursive reflexivity by continually thinking about the data I had, making handwritten notes on the interview transcripts I created, and talking about the experiences my participants had with colleagues and my advisers (Pillow, 2003). In short, I continually revisited the data to drive meaning. Fourthly, the act of naming a story is recursive and cyclical. By recursive, I mean the in vivo and sociologically constructed codes I created interacted with one another and with my own experience and beliefs about education. Figure 5 illustrates how I see these two

types of codes and my experience working together. Fifthly, this process of naming stories makes the researcher into "an instrument of qualitative inquiry" (Patton, 2001, p. 433). By becoming an 'instrument of research," I mean that throughout and after my collection and analysis of data, at a certain point, I filtered the information I had acquired against my own experiences – both in life and in education – to derive meaning. This process therefore projected my own self, beliefs, views, and perspectives onto the work I was creating and co-creating with my participants. This interaction is the phenomenon Connelly and Clandinin (1990) and Clandinin and Huber (2002) described as the researcher becoming part of the research when engaging narrative inquiry.

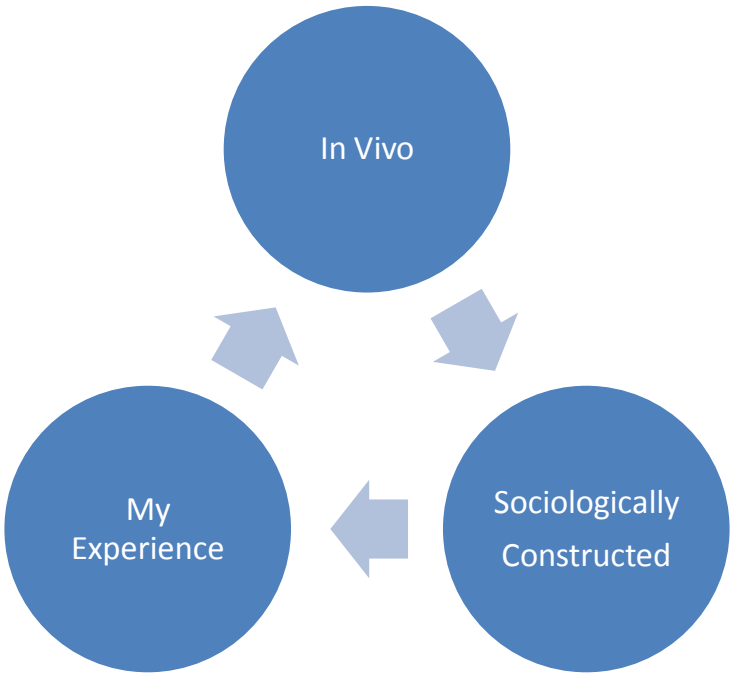


Figure 5. Recursive interaction of in vivo and sociologically constructed codes working with my own experience

Finally, I member checked the final draft of each story with my participant to include that he or she was satisfied with the narrative I created. In that final member check, I shared the name of the story, the story, and my analysis of the story with the participant whose story it was. Although these six components to naming stories may be overlooked or dismissed, it is important to realize that naming stories is not a quick, easy process, and that there is no "right" answer. To name a story requires large amounts of reflection on the coded data to see how the different pieces work together to create a story.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the methodology I used to guide my study. To do so, I first offered a description of the qualitative research paradigm and how it relates to the smaller research paradigms of constructivism, feminism, and critical studies. Next, I outlined how narrative inquiry is both a phenomenon and method. After introducing the research paradigms and a theoretical framework of narrative inquiry, I offered my readers the procedures I used to (a) collect data, (b) analyze my collected data, (c) create stories based on the data I collected and analyzed, and (d) name the stories as a certain type of experience. I concluded this chapter with a discussion of how I and my experiences became intertwined with the data I collected and stories I produced.

Chapter V: Analysis

In this chapter, I will present my participants' narratives. To structure the narratives, I first introduced a participant by providing demographic and career information for him or her. I then present the narrative I created for the participant based on the interview data I collected. Lastly, I close each narrative with a discussion of why I chose to label my participant's experience as the story I selected for it. To frame this discussion, I first introduce the name I gave my participant's story and offer supporting evidence for my decision to name my participant's story as I did based on the narrative I created for it.

To arrange the narratives, I started with Carmen's experience since she was the individual charged with planning and implementing of TD's restructuring efforts starting in the 2007-2008 school year and lasting through the 2010-2011 school year. In this way, her narrative provides a backdrop for the other stories. I then temporally ordered the remaining interviews based on the time each participant taught at TD. I started with the participant who began teaching at TD first, and I then presented each subsequent story accordingly. Additionally, it is important to note that I interviewed my participants at different times. For example, I interviewed Carmen in the spring of 2010, which was significant because her interview took place while TD was still restructuring. It was not until when the 2011-2012 school year opened that it was announced TD had earned the test scores it needed to be freed from the threat of state takeover and NCLB's school restructuring mandates. Therefore, in her interview, Carmen talked about TD's restructuring as a "work in progress." Conversely, I interviewed Pat three years after she was released from teaching at TD. The three years allowed Pat to develop a reflective perspective about what she experienced at TD. Floyd's interview was similar to Pat's in that the interview allowed Floyd a place to reflect on his experience teaching at TD after he was transferred to

another LCS high school. Finally, when I interviewed teachers who were still working at TD during the time of their interview – Marie, Gwen, Kristy, and Bobby – they were still deeply engaged in ensuring TD continued to produce the test scores necessary to keep TD in good standing with NCLB's accountability policies. Figure 6 provides an overview of when each participant taught at TD and at what point in time I interviewed them.

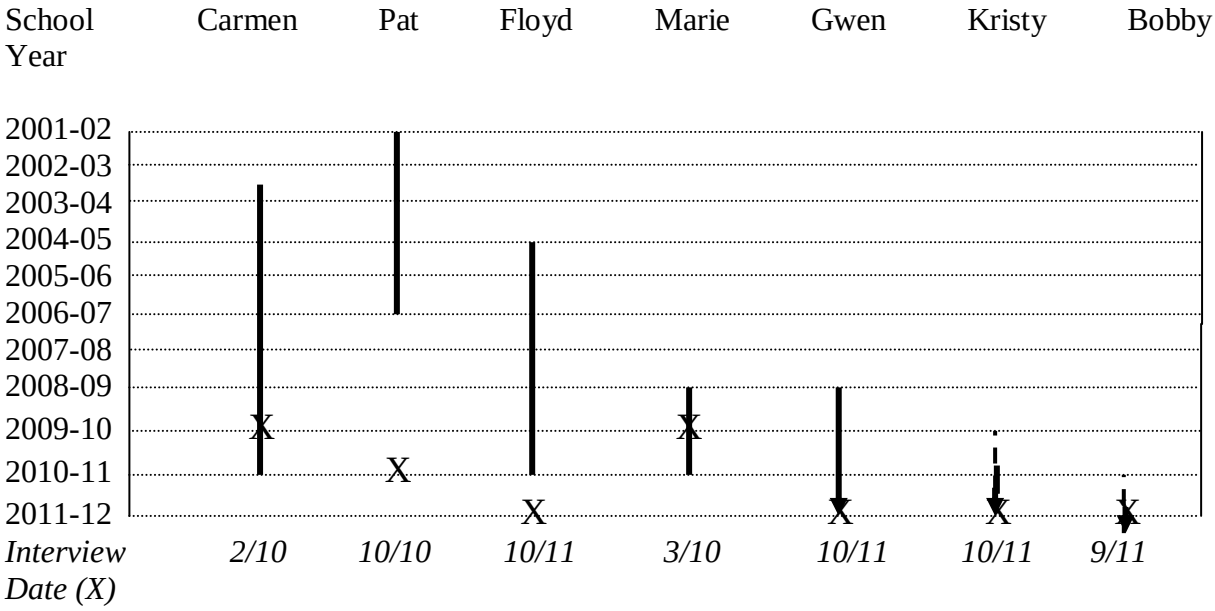


Figure 6. An Overview of When Each Participant Taught at TD and Was Interviewed.

In Figure 6, the X denotes the date when the participant was interviewed. The solid lines signify the timeframe of when the participant taught at TD, the segmented lines represent a participant's internship year at TD, and the arrowheads represent that the participant still taught at TD through the 2011-2012 school year.

In addition to understanding the time when each participant taught at TD and was interviewed, it is also important to comprehend the interconnectedness of my participants. Since some of my participants were placed at TD as interns who were eventually hired by the school,

some of my participants were mentored by other of my participants. Figure 7 illustrates these connections.

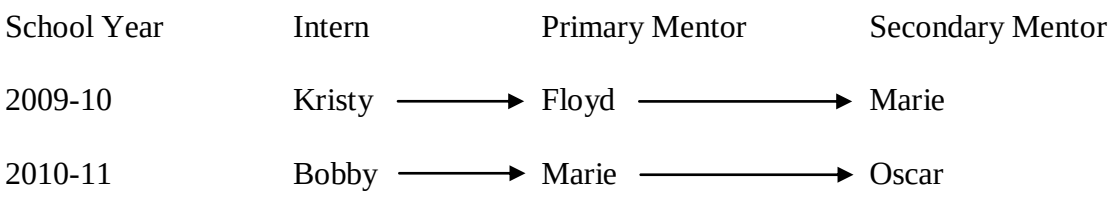


Figure 7. Relationships Between Participants.

Understanding that Floyd and Marie mentored Kristy, and that Marie and Oscar mentored Bobby during their respective internship years is important because of the opportunities the mentor teachers gave their interns. Additionally, in their interviews, Kristy and Bobby each spoke about their experience learning to teach under their mentors. Other notable connections between participants was that Pat was part of the TD's English department who welcomed Floyd when he was hired by TD in 2004, and Gwen was hired to replace Pat following TD's reconstitution in 2008. Furthermore, Carmen was responsible for both releasing Pat from TD's faculty and hiring Gwen and Marie. Lastly, as I wrote my participants' narratives, I saw how the interconnectedness between teachers became both a source of strength for some participants and a point of despair for others. The participants who spoke highly about the interconnectedness felt that they were supported by their colleagues and mentor teachers. The support that both Kristy and Bobby particularly keyed on were the freedom and opportunities allowed to them by both their mentor teachers. Conversely, the teachers who disliked the interconnectedness discussed never feeling that they were a part of or accepted into TD's community. As such, they worked to fulfill their job requirements while trying not to let their disappointment about how

they were viewed by the school community to affect their performance in the classroom negatively. Understanding when each participant taught at TD, when I interviewed them, and their interconnectedness is important as I will next present each of my participants' narratives.

Researcher Orientation.

When creating narratives based on my participants' experiences, Connelly & Clandinin (1990) explained that the researcher's positionality becomes part of the co-constructed narrative of a participant's experience. In the following narratives I created, my own voice and interpretation of my participants' experiences are part of their narratives. Being a person who is sympathetic and empathetic to treatment of teachers in low performing schools and also having been the intern supervisor for some of my participants, these experiences have affected the way I interpreted and reacted to my participants' stories. It is important that my reader understands how intertwined my experiences and those of my participants were while reading the following narratives.

Introducing Carmen

Carmen was a White woman in her early forties when I interviewed her. When the 1995-1996 school year began, Carmen was a first year English teacher at Mangrove High School (MHS) in Florida. In 2002, Carmen was promoted to Assistant Principal at MHS, and she continued working there through the 2005-2006 school year. Carmen moved to Henley during the summer of 2006 for personal reasons, and she was hired by Hills High School as an assistant principal. Carmen worked at Hills High School from the fall of 2006 until November of 2007, when she was offered the opportunity to lead TD's restructuring. Carmen accepted the job and began working to restructure TD from an office in LCS's district headquarters until December of 2007, when she transferred office locations to TD after being granted permission to do so by

LCS's Superintendent. Carmen worked to restructure TD from November of 2007 through May of 2011. In August of 2011, it was publicly announced that Carmen left TD to become Head Principal of Holmes High School. Carmen was Holmes High School's Head Principal at the time this study was completed.

Carmen's Story

Carmen told a story of progress. At the time of her interview, Carmen had been implementing TD's school restructuring plan for two years. In her interview, Carmen discussed successes TD had experienced because of her efforts and talked about missteps in the restructuring process. About the missteps, Carmen was candid about them and confessed that if she were given the opportunity to redo some of those situations, she would have made different choices. Nonetheless, Carmen took pride in the work she was doing and the progress TD was making as she talked about her experience of being the leader of TD's restructuring plan. When she told her story, Carmen did not start with her first day at TD. Rather, Carmen began her story by discussing her experiences as administrator that eventually led to her being recruited by LCS's Superintendent to restructure TD.

Carmen's story began when she was an English teacher at Mangrove High School, a high performing secondary school in south Florida. About Mangrove High School, Carmen said "it was a very high performing school, the free and reduced [lunch program] was probably 10%... The first year I got there, they were number 34 in the *Newsweek* rank of public high schools." At Mangrove High School, Carmen taught 10th grade English and 11th grade AP English, and her abilities in the classroom made her a standout teacher. As a result of her teaching abilities, Carmen was promoted to Assistant Principal of Curriculum and "was responsible for all the curriculum and instruction" in the school. Additionally, as Curriculum Principal, Carmen was in

charge of Mangrove's testing, and Carmen said "the last year I was there, I gave 1700 AP [advanced placement] exams and 1800 IB [international baccalaureate] exams." Because of personal reasons, Carmen left Mangrove High School after the 2005-2006 school year and relocated to Henley, Tennessee.

When Carmen came to Henley, she was hired by LCS to be the Assistant Principal in charge of freshmen at Hills High School. Hills High School was a suburban high school with a student population comprised of 86% White students, 6% Asian students, 5% Black students, and 3% Hispanic students (Great Schools.com, 2011). 7% of Hills High School students are on the free/reduced lunch program, and the school's test scores on the English I and English II EOCs are over 20 percentile points above Tennessee's state average (Great Schools.com, 2011). On the grade 11 state writing assessment, Hills High School's students scored six percentile points higher than the state's average (Great Schools.com, 2011). When she was at Hills High School, Carmen explained that she worked mostly to maintain the school's reputation and achievement levels since it was already the highest performing high school in LCS. Additionally, because Hills High School was already a high performing school and Carmen was mostly in charge of keeping the status quo, Carmen said she was "extremely bored" by her job and "there was no challenge to it." As such, Carmen was looking for a change after spending only one year at Hills High School.

In the fall semester of the 2007-2008 school year, Carmen received a phone call from LCS's Superintendent. About the phone call, Carmen said the Superintendent said "he had an opportunity that he wanted to discuss with me." When Carmen went to meet with the Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction was also in the meeting. According to Carmen, the Assistant Superintendent knew that she had "extensive

curriculum experience." During that meeting, the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent briefed Carmen about TD. Specifically, the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent explained how TD's history of low student achievement on NCLB's mandated assessments caused the school to have to restructure. After the briefing, the Assistant Superintendent asked Carmen "would you be interested in doing this, redesigning a school? They are going to reconstitute." In response to the proposition, Carmen asked for some time to consider it. As she left that meeting, Carmen thought "this [restructuring TD] is a challenge, and the stars were aligned, I was looking for a challenge in my career, and so, uh, uh, the timing was perfect. It was perfect." After taking the evening to consider the opportunity, Carmen "came back and said 'yes,'" that she wanted to be charged with the restructuring of TD. As a result, Carmen transitioned from being the freshmen Assistant Principal at Hills High School to the leader of TD's restructuring in November of 2007. Additionally, Carmen commented that the reason she thought she was asked lead TD's restructuring was because of her experience at Mangrove High School and knowledge about curriculum.

Initially when Carmen became responsible for TD's restructuring, LCS relocated her to a vacant office in its District Building. According to Carmen, LCS put her there "to do some work [on planning TD's restructuring], they didn't really want me to come out there [to TD]." Carmen guessed the reason she was moved to LCS's District Building instead of TD was because of the amount of uncertainty about what was going to happen to TD. Carmen explained:

> It [LCS's decision to move her to the District Building instead of TD] might have been because they knew there was going to be a lot of turmoil. The faculty knew that there was going to be a reconstitution, things were getting pretty hot out here then. People

didn't know what was going to happen to their careers. And part of it was kind of the Superintendent; he didn't want to throw me out here in the middle of all this uncertainty. Because Carmen was at LCS's District Building, the plan was for Lewis, TD's principal at the time, to come out to LCS's District Building to meet with Carmen and co-plan how they were going to restructure the school. However, that scenario did not happen. Carmen explained that Lewis "couldn't get out of the school and come up and work with me, and so I got very frustrated very quickly." In that situation, Carmen was physically removed from the school and Lewis's responsibilities of running TD's day-in day-out operations did not allow for him to co-plan TD's restructuring with Carmen. Because she was removed from the school and not collaborating about TD's restructuring with Lewis, Carmen grew quickly frustrated. As such, Carmen spent her first few weeks of planning TD's restructuring by "just researching school change, school reform." Carmen said she was reading "everything I could think of" to prepare her to lead TD's restructuring. Therefore, after spending November and the first two weeks of December in LCS's District Building without collaborating with Lewis, Carmen went to LCS's Superintendent and said "I can't accomplish this job if I can't go to the school. I've been out there [to TD] once. I can't do this unless I can go out to the school, it's just an impossibility." In response to Carmen's request to relocate from LCS's headquarters to TD, the Superintendent told Carmen "you have my blessing" and Carmen moved her office to TD.

As Carmen relocated to TD, Lewis assigned her to a small office in TD's Performing Arts wing. In her interview, Carmen described her office as "a very quiet workspace. It was a good workspace, but I had to get a computer down there, I had to get everything." Carmen was grateful to have an office at TD and expressed appreciation to Lewis for her office; however, Carmen was annoyed that a computer and other essential office supplies were not just made

available to her. Instead, she had to request them. Additionally, as the 2007 fall semester ended and the 2008 spring semester began, Carmen said that Lewis "would come down there periodically" to talk with her about how TD should be restructured, but the frequency of their conversations was sporadic. As such, Carmen said she "was really frustrated because it was like I had been sent here [to TD] to change a school by myself." Even though Carmen transitioned from LCS's district building to TD, Lewis was still not collaborating with her. Therefore, Carmen did not feel she had a support system in place to begin planning, let alone implementing, TD's restructuring. About her situation at the time, Carmen said "I felt extremely isolated, and... a lot of pressure to get the job done. So, here I was feeling pressure... and not really getting any support at all, at all." It was at this time that LCS's Superintendent approached Carmen and Lewis about hiring an educational management company to assist in TD's restructuring.

In January of 2008, LCS's Superintendent asked Carmen and Lewis if they should hire Ed Works, an educational management organization, to support TD while the school restructures. When making her decision of if she wanted Ed Works to be involved in TD's restructuring, Carmen was conflicted. On the one hand, Carmen felt pressured from the Superintendent because she was told to turnaround TD's student achievement "as quickly as possible." On the other hand, the Ed Works model for school reform came with a $275,000 price tag for two years. To help her make the decision of if she wanted to hire Ed Works, Carmen, Lewis, and other LCS school district officials attended one of two informational meetings about Ed Works put on by its chief executive officer. About the meeting, Carmen said:

> They just went over their five year plan of [how to build TD's] sustainability [so it becomes] a higher performing school. And they talked about what they did in the first year, what they do in the second year. It was a pyramid, so that your most intensive, um,

> assistance comes in the first year, a little less in the second, a little less in the third, so that by the time you get five years, you have a sustainable high performing school. And they had, um, a number of components to their approach and we sort of veered off... because we didn't do the full five year program for one thing. We were trying to put five years into two years. Sort of make it a hybrid because... the funding resource did not fund for five years. They [Ed Works] said, 'We'll do two years and see where we are.'

Ed Works' model for school turnaround was a five year plan. In the first year, Ed Works aimed to give TD support through providing PD to TD's teachers and instruct TD's administrators in how to analyze data effectively and then make decisions based off their analysis. In the second, third, and fourth years of its model, Ed Works would continue to provide TD the supports it offered the first year; however, it would begin to drawback its services in hopes of making TD self sufficient by the end of the fifth year of its contract. However, because LCS wanted immediate results and TD's funding was limited, LCS and TD told Ed Works they wanted a two year model for school improvement instead of a five year plan. As to where the funding for Ed Works came from, Carmen said "I believe it was a private funding source, a foundation that went through Project Grad." Carmen said that she did not know the specifics about how LCS was obtaining funding for Ed Works, but she was certain LCS was not directly paying for it.

After Ed Works had presented its school turnaround model to Carmen, Lewis, and LCS school officials, there was a meeting where Carmen was directly asked by different school board members if TD needed Ed Works. Carmen's replied to them, "If Leigh County were paying for this, I would say 'no' because I believe in being a steward of the public's money, and I felt like it was too much money." However, since the funding was coming from a private source related to Project Grad, Carmen said "I was okay with it because we needed it, we, we were expected to

really transform this school quickly and I knew we needed help. I knew that Lewis and I could not transform this school in a year without some help." As such, Carmen, Lewis, and LCS agreed to sign Ed Works to a two year contract. After signing the contract with Ed Works, it marked the beginning of a lot of changes for Carmen and TD.

After signing the contract with Ed Works in February of 2008, Carmen still felt isolated. Even though the Ed Works' contract was signed, the company would not start regularly visiting TD until the end of the spring semester. As such, Carmen still felt like she was planning TD's school restructuring alone. However, later in February, Carmen explained that LCS's Director of Schools called her and asked if she would like a retired curriculum principal to begin meeting with her to assist in developing ideas for TD's restructuring. Carmen said the Director of Schools "could have said 'would you like me to send Satan out there' and I would have said 'yes' at that point." Carmen explained even though it was imminent TD was going to be restructured, she was still "sitting down there [in her office] by myself, nobody to talk to, nobody to bounce ideas off of." Because she felt so isolated and alone, Carmen was thankful to have another individual to collaborate with and they "were able to really start moving and grooving on plans and work." In her interview, Carmen did not name any specific actions or examples that the retired assistant principal did to support her; however, just having the companionship of the retired curriculum principal helped Carmen feel better. Moreover, as Carmen was planning TD's restructuring while preparing for Ed Works to begin implementing its school restructuring model, LCS made a major change in TD's administrative team.

In middle of April 2008, LCS relieved Lewis of being TD's principal and installed Bryant. The transition of TD's leader happened very quickly. Carmen explained "Lewis was removed and Bryant was put in overnight. On a Friday he [Lewis] was removed and on a

Monday Bryant was here." To help support the fast switch in leadership, LCS sent School District Officials from the district office to inform TD's staff that Lewis had been removed and Bryant had replaced him. In response to the change, Carmen explained that TD's teachers did not welcome it. Carmen said "there was quite an uproar. TD's teachers were like 'why are you doing this?' 'This is not what you said you were going to do.'" When asked where the teachers were focusing their frustrations – on Carmen and Bryant or officials from LCS – Carmen explained that since she was still quasi new at TD, the teachers were expressing their anger to LCS's district officials. Additionally, the teachers were not only upset about the change in leadership; rather, they were also expressing their frustrations about not being given information about the restructuring. Carmen said "they [TD's teachers] had no ideas what we were doing...there was a lot of anxiety, a lot of anxiety, particularly that Monday morning when... the district office [officials] came out to tell the staff" about the change of principals. Because the staff had been uninformed about LCS's plan to change TD's leadership, TD's staff likely saw this moment as an opportunity to voice their frustrations about TD's school restructuring to the district officials. However, even after voicing their concerns, LCS continued the restructuring of TD with little input from its teachers.

Two weeks after Bryant was installed as TD's new principal, Carmen and Bryant began the reconstitution of TD's staff. When a school reconstitutes its staff according to one of NCLB's school restructuring strategies, the school essentially fires all of its staff members – including custodians, cafeteria workers, teachers, support personnel, and guidance counselors – and requires each staff member to re-interview for their job. The goal of NCLB's reconstitution strategy is to create a method for a school to rid itself of its staff members who are deemed responsible for a school's low academic achievement. To implement the reconstitution process

at TD, Carmen and Bryant sent "letters to everyone on the staff... that they were being let go, but that they had the opportunity to reapply for their jobs. There was no guarantee that they would get it, but they could certainly reapply." By the time all of TD's staff members had received their letter, it was the beginning of May and Carmen and Bryant had to make decisions about which teachers they wanted to rehire or release by the first week of June, which marked the end of the school year. Carmen discussed the urgency to interview all of TD's staff members who reapplied for their jobs by saying "Bryant and I started interviewing, and we interviewed 100, approximately 100 people within a three week period of time. It was just boom, boom, boom." When conducting interviews with teachers, Carmen noted that she asked each of them "how do you define rigor and what does that mean to you?" Two example responses that immediately eliminated a candidate for being considered were if they defined *rigor* as "to give more work" or "give extra homework." Carmen explained that she wanted to hear a candidate articulate their understanding of *rigor* as meaning "to go deeper [with the content of a class]. It means to create more critical thinking opportunities." When candidates defined *rigor* as helping to develop a student's deeper understanding of a subject instead of just defining *rigor* as assigning extra work, a candidate had an increased chance of being rehired by Carmen and Bryant. Moreover, Carmen wanted teachers to stress the importance of rigor in their classes because she felt "the curriculum here is very long and wide, and it needs to be much deeper... that it [rigor] was quality more than quantity." When Carmen analyzed the content of the curriculum TD offered its students during her first months at TD, she was displeased because the curriculum of classes did not emphasize deep understanding of content. Rather, Carmen saw the curriculum as focusing on lower level thinking skills that were stretched out over 18 weeks, and Carmen took these concerns into the interviews by asking how each of TD's teachers understood rigor. Then, besides just relying on

interviews, Carmen also used additional information about each candidate before making her decisions about rehiring them.

Because Carmen was isolated from TD's school community during her first months at TD, she did not have the opportunity to observe teachers' instruction. Carmen felt that she was at a disadvantage going into the interviews and said "I knew nothing of the existing teachers other than test scores." As such, Carmen relied heavily on a teachers' value-added rating determined by the state based on student test scores on EOCs and state accountability assessments. From their value-added ratings and test scores, Carmen said "I could see what teachers have had growth, what teachers have been stagnant." In addition to teacher ratings and test scores, Carmen also consulted with members of Lewis's administrative team who still were employed by TD through the end of the school year. Carmen said she would ask Lewis's administrative team, of whom only one member continued to work at TD following the end of the 2007-2008 school year, "what can you tell me about this person, or what can you tell us about this person?" Even though Lewis's administrative team knew they were no longer going to be working at TD following the end of the school year, Carmen said their input "was very good." Additionally, Carmen commented that Lewis's administrative team was "very professional, [and] there was no animosity [about not returning to TD]... I was very impressed how the administrative team kept it all the way through to the end." As a whole, however, Carmen described the interview process as "total chaos." Carmen explained that she and Bryant felt like they were at a total "disadvantage" because they did not know any of the teachers they were evaluating past their interviews, test scores, and supervisors' evaluations; however, since they were charged with successfully restructuring TD, Carmen and Bryant made the decisions anyway.

After they completed evaluating each teacher, Carmen and Bryant had to devise a process of how best to inform the teachers of their decision. According to Carmen, she and Bryant informed the teachers of their decisions on the day before students were released for their 2008 Summer Break. To inform the teachers, Carmen and Bryant called all the teachers into the library for a meeting after school where they each received a manila envelope that contained a letter. The letter informed the teachers if they had or had not been rehired by TD. About the process, Carmen said "if I knew then what I know now, I would have never allowed that kind of process to happen in a building I was in. I felt like it was very impersonal, very, um, it didn't sit well with me." At the time of her interview, Carmen regretted the actions she, Bryant, and LCS took to inform TD's teachers if they were or were not rehired. Carmen was upset because the process lacked a personal touch and felt sorry that the released teachers had to learn about their firing in this manner. When asked how the teachers who were released responded to the news of their firing, Carmen said "some people were pretty upset. Uh, some people had nasty things to say. Others were like 'Great, I didn't want to come back here anyway.' Just a variety of things." When asked how the teachers who were rehired responded to the news, Carmen said "they were very thankful that they had a job, because, you know, some of these people didn't have tenure and if they weren't rehired here, too bad so sad, and there were quite a few people in that situation." Overall, Carmen reported that she and Bryant decided to retain 60% of TD's teachers and release 40%. In retrospect, Carmen said "if I've known then what I know now, I would have done that completely opposite... I would have kept probably 30 to 40% old and [hired] the rest new." Carmen felt that keeping 60% of the teachers did not allow for her to have a complete "fresh start." She further explained that if she and Bryant released all of TD's teachers and "had a 100% new people here including the administrative team, no one is going to know the nuances

of the school, the culture of the school, we had to keep some of the original people." As Carmen planned the restructuring of the school, she understood she could not fire all of TD's teachers because it would be impossible to hire and ready an entire new faculty for TD over one summer. Additionally, Carmen respected TD's school culture and did not want to send a message that her vision for TD was more important than the school's history. Instead, Carmen tried to weave her vision into TD's existing culture by keeping 60% of its staff. To begin this implementing her vision for TD, Carmen started by investigating TD's guidance department.

Once the teachers who were rehired left on their 2008 Summer Break, Carmen and Bryant officially moved into their new offices, and Carmen really began to explore nuances of TD. As she explored TD, she discovered that the school had "a very closed culture." Carmen then commented that – previous to her transferring to TD – she had "heard many times 'what goes on at TD stays at TD.'" Carmen further commented that people "were very secretive and no one wanted to share anything. There was just total distrust." For example, Carmen told a story about how TD's master schedule was constructed prior to her arriving at TD.

During the summer of 2008, Carmen went to the guidance department to collaborate in the development of TD's master schedule. About Robin, the guidance counselor who was responsible with creating the master schedule, Carmen commented that she had a "little fiefdom" of control. According to Carmen, Robin was "very passive aggressive about the counseling office" and not forthcoming as to how she created TD's master schedule. After talking with teachers and auditing student records, Carmen found out that Robin "had this little kingdom where she would barter." If someone in the building asked Robin for a particular planning period, Robin would make deals with teachers and give teachers the plan period they wanted in exchange for something. Carmen said Robin was ultimately "creating a schedule based on

[what] her friends [wanted], not what was best for the school." Since Robin was in charge of the master schedule at TD and Lewis asked limited questions about it, Robin "had a lot of power because she controlled the schedule." Carmen reported that she asked Robin what Lewis thought of her actions, and Carmen recalled Robin responded by saying "the principal didn't know enough to know what was good or bad." By the time Carmen realized what she was doing in the guidance department, Robin had been creating TD's master schedule for six years. Additionally, Robin did not lose her job when TD reconstituted, which Carmen said "that is another story" when asked about it. After she confronted Robin about the master schedule, Carmen began monitoring Robin's work and eventually began to feel confident enough that she could take a week's vacation and return to a completed master schedule; however, that was not the case. Carmen said:

> I left to go take a week's vacation with the understanding that all the master schedule is under control and we've got everything going, and I came back and I had a call from the Urban School Director who said 'Carmen, the master schedule is a mess, and we've put a halt to it' because the person [Robin] that was doing it, they didn't feel like she knew what she was talking about it. So I had to comeback within a week and completely create a new master schedule and get it in the computer and get everything done. I mean it was really hairy, it was like 13 hour days getting all that done.

Even though Robin had six years' experience in creating master schedules at TD, she was unable to produce TD's 2008-2009 master schedule to the Director of Urban School's satisfaction. Because of Robin's incompetence, Carmen worked long days to ensure TD had a functioning master schedule by the time TD's staff returned to open the school year. One reason for Robin's struggles may have been the decision Carmen and Bryant made to collapse the multiple

academic tracks – fundamental, basic, college placement, and honors – that TD offered its students.

Since Carmen and Bryant were concerned about raising the rigor of TD's classes, they saw TD's offerings of academic tracks that did not prepare students for college effectively as working against their goal. As such, Carmen and Bryant decided to stop offering core classes – math, English, science, and social studies – on the fundamental, basic, and honors levels. Rather, during the 2008-2009 school year, TD only offered core classes that were aligned to the college placement curriculum. Because Carmen and Bryant collapsed the academic tracks, they experienced several secondary benefits of their decision besides only raising the rigor of the courses.

First, the collapsed schedule allowed a "common planning time for teachers." Because teachers were no longer instructing courses on four different tracks, Carmen was able to create the master schedule where, for example, all the English teachers would have the same plan period. This common planning time allowed for teachers to align their instruction and collaborate about the use of different instructional methods, which resulted in the creation of professional learning communities.

Secondly, previous to the 2008-2009 school year, there were a disproportionate number of students enrolled in fundamental and basic classes as compared to college placement and honors. Carmen offered the example of how during the 2007-2008 school year, there were "18 children in [English I] honors out of the whole freshmen class." About being in lower level English I class, Carmen said "if you were put in fundamental English as a freshmen, once a 'fundie always a fundie.' You were never going to get out of that." Carmen saw that the lower tracks TD offered were not advancing students to the higher tier classes; instead, the lower level

classes trapped students into learning a curriculum with lowered expectations and did not allow for them to advance into higher tiered classes. Carmen commented:

> My argument was there has got to be more kids, when I looked at the test scores, there have got to be more kids that need exposure to this [college placement] level... If we eliminate fundamental, if we eliminate honors, and we start out in college prep, more of those kids are going to get exposure to that [curriculum].

Because Carmen and Bryant made the decision to collapse TD's schedule down to only offering college placement tiered core classes during the 2008-2009 school year, all of TD's students were exposed to a substantially more rigorous curriculum.

Thirdly, collapsing the tracks required TD's teachers to differentiate their instruction. When the students were divided by four different tracks, teachers were not asked to modify their instruction to meet the needs of their students. For example, when English teachers were teaching a fundamental class, they knew that they would have to use reading strategies to support their struggling readers and provide scaffolding to students when analyzing a plot. However, when collapsing the core classes into offering students only the option to take college placement level classes, English teachers suddenly had to differentiate their instruction to teach students who were reading on grade level and had the ability to independently analyze text while also having struggling readers in their class who were challenged by reading a text let alone analyzing it for meaning. Yet, Carmen and Bryant did not leave their teachers stranded or unprepared for the challenges of having to differentiate their instruction. Rather, Carmen and Bryant relied on Ed Works to create a PD program before the school year started to teach TD's teachers how to differentiate their classroom instruction.

When Carmen and Bryant rehired 60% of TD's teachers and also hired the released teachers' replacements, they required each teacher to sign an "extended time" contract. About the contracts, Carmen said "our teachers are on a 221 day contract for two years. That's 21 more days than your regular teacher, and 10 of those days were spent prior to school starting and doing nothing but professional development on instructional strategies, differentiation, [and] positive behavior system." The extended time contract that TD's teachers signed before starting the 2008-2009 school year required them to return to TD 10 days before other LCS teachers working in higher performing schools had to report back to school. To account for the additional 11 days, TD's teachers were required to attend PD sessions on Wednesday afternoons for two hours after school that counted for 10 of the extra 11 days. The final day was made up at the end of school year where TD's teacher would report to TD for an additional day after teachers in other LCS schools left for summer break. Therefore, as the 2008-2009 school year opened, TD's teachers reported back early for 10 days of PD.

During the summer of 2008, Carmen and Bryant worked to plan TD's restructuring, and Ed Works provided them a technical assistance coach named Dr. Grant. In her interview, Carmen pointed that Dr. Grant was "extremely knowledgeable" in school restructuring, and he focused his attention on helping to redesign TD into small learning communities (SLCs) and creating a PD program that matched the needs of TD's teachers. When planning the restructuring, Carmen and Bryant were originally considering breaking TD down from being one comprehensive high school where all of TD's students were grouped together into SLCs. Whereas it is challenging to monitor individual students in a comprehensive high school because they were all grouped together, Carmen was a supporter of SLCs because she saw them as a way to offer students more individual attention. To help redesign TD into SLCs, Dr. Grant brought in

an Ed Works facilities expert who toured TD. After touring the school, the facilities expert told Carmen "'you don't have enough students to do four [SLCs] and [the layout of] your building will not work for that.' And he suggested three [SLCs]. And sort of, he toured the whole building and laid out how we can manage the facility for three [SLCs]." The three SLCs that TD eventually created over the following two school years began with TD creating a 9th grade SLC during the 2008-2009 school year and then adding two 10th-12th grade SLCs during the 2009-2010 school year. About that decision, Carmen said:

> The reason we went with this model was that in 9th grade they'd be so tight with this group that works with them, so when you went into the two other ones, you'd have the same principal, the same counselor, the same Project Grad person, all the way through for three years, to develop the relationship piece that is super important here.

In the model that TD adopted, students began TD in a 9th grade SLC. The 9th grade SLC had a specific assistant principal, guidance counselor, and group of teachers who only worked with freshmen students in developing the academic skills and behavior they would need for high school success. After completing their freshmen year in the 9th grade SLC, students would join one of TD's 10th-12th grade SLCs. In these SLCs, students would be supported by having a consistent assistant principal, counselor, group of teachers, and Project Grad staff member for their last three years of high school. By placing students in the same SLC for three years, Carmen felt it would give students and faculty members alike the opportunity to develop meaningful relationships. Carmen believed these relationships would support students while they earned their high school diploma and be better prepared for college success. Once it was decided how TD would be redesigned into SLCs and that only college placement level classes

would be offered, Dr. Grant developed a PD program that aimed to develop teachers' instructional skills to meet the needs of their changing school.

When the teachers reported back for their 10 days of PD to kickoff the 2008-2009 school year, they began attending the training sessions that Dr. Grant created. About the PD, Carmen said "it was really, really good PD. Ed Works did all the PD." However, after spending 10 days attending intensive PD sessions – the first three days were at a mountain retreat that Carmen did not discuss in her interview and the last seven were held in TD's orchestra room – teachers eventually "got to the point where they absolutely hated going to the orchestra room" for PD. Even though the PD was intense, Carmen felt it was needed to change how instruction was being delivered to students. Carmen said:

> Much of the teaching, not all, but much of the teaching going on here was just stand and deliver worksheets, stand and deliver worksheets, and, um, so we really had to, um, change some of the older teachers, who had been here, to change their style, and that it is about student learning more than it is about teacher teaching. We've got to begin to focus on learning and that had not been the focus.

After Carmen and Bryant made the decision to collapse TD's academic tracks into only offering college placement courses, they knew that teachers needed intense doses of PD to change the way TD's older teachers taught. When asked how TD's older teachers reacted to the PD, Carmen said "they were resistant." Carmen explained that as the 2008-2009 school year began "some of them [TD's teachers] were doing it [differentiating their instruction] very, very well." When asked to identify which teachers were differentiating their instruction, Carmen said "primarily the new ones." In her interview when she discussed the reconstitution of TD's staff, Carmen discussed how she would have only kept 40% of TD's staff instead of the 60% she kept

if given an opportunity to redo that situation. It is likely that TD's older teachers' lack of willingness to change how they delivered their instruction was part of the reason why Carmen would have released 20% more of TD's teachers if given the opportunity. Nonetheless, as the 2008-2009 school year opened and students reported back to TD, Carmen and Bryant would be met with several more challenges.

The biggest challenge Carmen and Bryant faced during the 2008-2009 school year was how to run a school effectively while simultaneously restructuring it. For example, even though it was decided that TD would convert into three SLCs over the course of two school years, the details of how to implement that change were challenging. About that situation, Carmen said:

> So we did the 10 days of instructional PD, then the next step with Ed Works was to move into what is the structure of your school going to look like. You want small learning communities, what, what is that going to look like? So we jumped into, um, into developing that. Well, the problem arose when we're trying to run the school and we are trying to plan this [future] school at the same time, and it was, it was so difficult for everybody to do that because this is a very difficult school to operate, and with all this turmoil that was going on, [it] was even more chaotic.

In their first full year of being responsible for TD's day-in day-out operations, Carmen and Bryant were challenged to ensure the school was serving its current students while planning how the future TD would function. An example of the challenges Carmen faced included to correct mistakes made by TD's guidance department.

About her first year, Carmen described that working with the guidance department "was a living hell." According to Carmen, she ran an audit of all of TD's student transcripts and she "started finding mistake after mistake after mistake," and the biggest mistakes Carmen found

was in relation to seniors who were slated to graduate in May of 2009. Carmen said "I did an audit on the seniors and found 53 egregious errors that would've kept kids from graduating." In response to finding these errors, Carmen reported her findings to Harriet, LCS's Supervisor for Guidance. According to Carmen, she told Harriet "there are things that have gone on at that school [TD] that would curl you toenails." In response to Carmen informing Harriet about what she found, Harriet told Carmen "'I don't want to know about it... You're probably right, and I don't want to know about it.'" When asked what Carmen thought Harriet meant by her comments, Carmen said "I think her thoughts are 'it's done and you're going to fix it, so I don't want to know about it.' She knew at that point that that day, as long as I was here [at TD], that that day was over." The specific errors that Carmen detected included "finding kids who had had geometry twice. They had sat through geometry twice, passed it both times. Kids that didn't have all the required courses that they needed to graduate [because of mistakes in the guidance department's ability to schedule classes], that was the main thing." After finding these mistakes made mostly by one specific guidance counselor who Carmen never named, Carmen became very angry. Carmen explained:

> I got very upset when all that was going on, and very vocal with central office and my superiors. I said, 'these kids in this school, and the parents of the kids in this school, and the families in this school, need the very, very best counselors.' Many of our parents, they don't know if their kids are taking geometry, they're not going to catch those mistakes. They don't know what the graduation requirements are. We need to be so diligent here, much more so than Hills High School where a parent would pick up on that instantly. Um, I still believe that. I still believe in many, many cases our counselors may

> be the only advocate that that child will ever have. You know, in terms of getting their education off in the right way.

Because of her strong belief in how TD's students need to be supported, Carmen took this issue to LCS's Director of Schools and the Superintendent. Carmen said she showed the Director of Schools and the Superintendent the 53 audits that contained the mistakes and told them "here are 53 kids that will not graduate unless there problems [with their scheduling] are corrected." In response, LCS's Superintendent said "no child will be penalized because of this counselor's error." With the support of the Superintendent, Carmen returned to TD and told that guidance counselor "'this will be fixed, every one of them [the incorrect scheduling of students] will be corrected, no one will not graduate from this high school due to your error." After the guidance counselor was informed about her errors, Carmen worked to correct the mistakes and fired that guidance counselor because of her incompetence. As a result of finding the scheduling mistakes, reporting them to LCS, and firing the guidance counselor who made the mistakes, Carmen viewed that moment as "the turning point for the counseling department. They saw no longer were things going to be able to go under the radar because nobody knew what to look for." After discussing her actions in response to the mistakes she found, Carmen hypothesized that the mistakes may not have been true mistakes at all. Rather, the "mistakes" may have been made to help TD increase its graduation rate and therefore satisfy some of NCLB's accountability mandates. Unfortunately for Carmen, reforming TD's guidance department was not her only challenge of the 2008-2009 school year.

Student behavior was a major challenge that Carmen had to overcome during her first full year at TD. As Ed Works was providing instructional strategies, teachers began not responding to the PD that was offered to them. Carmen explained that Ed Works' plan was to deliver PD in

eight week units. For example, Carmen commented that Ed Works originally planned to "spend eight weeks on culture and climate, then... spend eight weeks on rigorous curriculum and instruction, then eight on, I can't remember what the next component was." However, after sitting through 10 days of PD before the school year opened and then engaging Ed Works' PD again for two hours every Wednesday, "the teachers just revolted because all they wanted was to get was classroom management." Even though Carmen considered the PD Ed Works offered as being "high quality," the PD was not matching the needs of the teachers. In response to the teachers, Carmen met with a group of teachers and they decided to abandon Ed Works' PD and instead learn how to use the Positive Behavior Intervention System (PBIS). When making the decision to adopt PBIS, Carmen said "there were a lot of inconsistencies in discipline, and there were a lot of complaints from the teachers that this principal was easier than this principal, and it was causing problems with the kids." According to Carmen, teachers were upset about the ability of Bryant's administrative team to discipline insubordinate students as effectively as Lewis's administration did. However, about the effectiveness of the new behavior management system, Carmen did not comment. Instead, she told an extreme story about why learning to manage students was so necessary during her first year at TD.

In the early part of the 2008-2009 school year, there was a car accident close to TD. In the accident, the cars demolished the transformer that provided power to TD. As a result of the transformer being destroyed, TD lost power for a sustained amount of time. To describe the situation, Carmen reported:

> The power was not just out for 30 seconds, it was out for an hour and a half, and it was chaos. I was afraid for my life, and I'm not exaggerating. I was afraid for my life. You had kids running down the hallways like, just, out of control, NOBODY HAD

> CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL... [It] was so extreme I was ready to quit at that point because I was afraid for my life because there were hallways and places that were pitch dark, a fight broke out in the cafeteria in pitch black darkness with massive numbers of kids in there. It was the scariest thing I've ever witnessed. There was no emergency plan, there was no 'who is in charge', it was total chaos... I said [to Bryant] 'You got to call the Superintendent, and we've got to get these kids out of here and send them home.' And he [the Superintendent] gave approval to do that, we got the kids out.

Because TD's teachers were struggling to control their students' behavior, teachers were unable to keep their students orderly when TD lost power. Additionally, because Carmen and Bryant had recently hired a significant number of new teachers and had yet to develop emergency plans for the school, they were unprepared for this situation. However, instead of quitting her job like she contemplated in that moment, Carmen decided to prepare teachers better to be effective classroom managers by implementing PBIS. According to its website (www.pbis.org/school), PBIS is a three-tiered approach to ensuring improved levels of student behavior. The first level focuses on general interventions classroom teachers can use to improve student behavior. The second level focuses more on the students who repeatedly make poor decisions regarding their behavior at school. The final level focuses on a school's most delinquent students. At the crux of PBIS is the need for the entire school community to support one another when implementing PBIS.

As the 2008-2009 school year continued, Carmen and Bryant continued to struggle with TD's restructuring. One major shortcoming was that TD did not test 95% of its students and subsequently missed making AYP. According to NCLB, a school has to test at least 95% of its students. If a school does not test 95% of its students, it is ineligible to make AYP. As a result

of TD not testing 95% of its students, LCS's Superintendent was irate and he called a meeting with TD's entire administrative team as the 2009-2010 school year opened. According to Carmen, the Superintendent made it "very clear that we better have 95% test this year [2009-2010]." In the meeting, Carmen reported that the Superintendent made it clear that if TD did not test 95% of it students, TD "will close or become a charter school." In response to not making the 95% tested mark and being threatened by the urgent need for school improvement, Carmen said "I accept responsibility for a lot of that because I was so entrenched in planning what the school was going to look like." Because she was deeply invested in planning the redesign of TD into SLCs, Carmen overly trusted the guidance department's supervisor in assuring her that TD's testing needs were being met. About that situation, Carmen said "my mistake was in putting too much faith in that [the guidance department] and not overseeing more [of the guidance department's plan for testing students] myself." However, after meeting with the Superintendent, Carmen formed the "95% Tested Committee" with the sole purpose of ensuring 95% of TD's students would be tested during the 2009-2010 school year. Other changes Carmen and Bryant made after the 2008-2009 school year ended included changing how Ed Works offered PD.

As the 2009-2010 school year opened, TD's teachers again reported back to school early for 10 days of PD. However, Carmen changed the format of the PD. Like the previous year, TD's teachers gathered in the orchestra room for PD, but instead of spending the entire day in that room, the teachers "would break off into other rooms, in small groups, because they hated being in the orchestra room, and I don't blame them." Additionally, the PD was no longer solely being offered by Ed Works nor was it only focused on instructional strategies. Rather, the 10

days of PD was divided into a two day session about PBIS led by a group of educators from a university in Henley and eight days led by Ed Works.

The two day session about the PBIS was held in the backroom of a large restaurant in downtown Henley. About the training, Carmen said "it wasn't well received, it was not well received at all. I remember one teacher left, and I had to go out and [talk her into returning]." Carmen did not make specific comments about why the training was poorly received by teachers, but it may have related to teachers having already sat through PBIS training during the 2008-2009 school year and they viewed the additional PBIS training as a repeat of what they had already learned. As such, the PBIS lacked meaning; however, TD's teachers responded differently to the other eight days of their extended contract time.

According to their contract, Ed Works was to offer TD's staff additional PD as the 2009-2010 school year opened. When discussing the PD that Ed Works was going to give TD's teachers, Carmen gave Dr. Grant specific instructions about how he was to design the training. Carmen told Dr. Grant "'they [TD's teachers] can't just sit there and have stuff given to them, they need to be able to do hands on things that they can use in their classroom.' And that is when he trained them in the, um, design for the unit plans." When asked about how the teachers responded to the PD, Carmen said "[The training was] not well received because it was very in depth, the understanding of design, some of them really embraced it, and others, not so much." According to Carmen, TD's English teachers and social science teachers were the individuals who found value in the unit planning training. Carmen described TD's science teachers as "being very resistant to it." Moreover, Carmen reported that TD's math teachers were indifferent to the unit plans. One group of teachers that did respond positively to the PD, however, was TD's elective teachers.

In the PD about unit plans, Carmen reported that TD's elective teachers were challenged by it because they had never been asked to create a unit plan. When discussing the elective teachers' time in the unit plan PD, Carmen recalled an experience she had with TD's cosmetology teacher. Carmen said "I remember the cosmetology teacher did one [a unit plan]. And I thought it was really, really good for somebody that had never done this ever, anything like this. And she was all excited." Carmen was proud of the cosmetology teacher for creating her first unit plan, and she also commented that TD's elective teachers "really wanted to do their part to help the academics folk." As such, to support the elective teachers in their wanting to support their colleagues, Carmen "had a training on how to infuse academics into elective classes, how can elective classes support what's going on in the academic classes" that was well received by TD's elective teachers. Because Carmen created the 95% Tested Committee and modified how TD's teachers were trained, she effectively set TD up to experience success during the 2009-2010 school year.

As the 2009-2010 school year opened, TD began two initiatives to involve students directly with TD's restructuring. The first initiative TD launched was a "State of TD" presentation. The State of TD is a speech given by TD's administrative team to explain to students TD's current situation with restructuring. To explain the State of TD, Carmen said:

> We do two a year, one first semester and one second [semester] and we show them [students] the data. Here's where we are, here's where we need to be. Here's our attendance, here's our test scores as a school. Uh, we laid out, here's what the state... says about low performing schools... These are the changes we're making.

Carmen said that although they started the State of TD presentations during the 2008-2009 school year, there was little student buy-in because the initiative was new and students were not

seeing a big change in their school. However, Carmen and Bryant decided to continue the State of TD and used a new program devised by one of TD's guidance counselors to sell the State of TD to the school's student body.

New to TD for the 2009-2010 school year was the Student Leader program. Carmen gave full recognition for the success of the Student Leader program to a newly hired guidance counselor, and Carmen pointed to it as "one of our greatest things to get our kids on board." The Student Leader Program, according to Carmen, is comprised of 90 students ranging from freshmen to seniors. In the program, students learned about leadership and were given opportunities to practice their leadership abilities. One example that Carmen was particularly proud of was the role the Student Leaders played in helping TD to achieve something that no other school in LCS has ever done.

Because TD did not test 95% of it students during the 2008-2009 school year, it was very important that they successfully tested at least 95% of their students during the 2009-2010 school year. To help TD achieve that mark, Carmen recruited the Student Leaders to support TD. Carmen said "what we did [is] we got those Leaders – the juniors primarily who don't want this school closed – and they were calling their friends and getting people in here." Because Carmen and Bryant used State of TD to communicate that TD could close following the 2009-2010 school year if they did not test at least 95% of its students, the juniors in the Student Leader program feared losing their senior year. As such, the juniors were very active in getting their peers to attend school on test days. As such, the Student Leaders called their friends and urged them to attend school on the day TD's students were take their annual accountability tests. In addition to the Student Leader's efforts, TD's teachers and administrators "were going out in cars and going to kids' houses and brining them in to test." As a result of the combined efforts

of TD's student Leaders, teachers, and administrators, TD successfully tested 100% of its students; a feat that had never been accomplished by any school in LCS. In her interview, Carmen identified testing 100% of TD's students as a significant moment in TD's restructuring. Carmen said "test time came and we had 100% of kids tested in every single test, and I think that was a big turning point. And the faculty was like 'these people just might know what they're doing.'" Because Carmen created a 95% Tested Committee, kept TD's students informed about the school's restructuring, supported the Student Leaders' involvement with the testing initiative, and tested 100% of TD's students, Carmen and Bryant were able to persuade more of TD's teachers and staff to buy into their school restructuring plan.

At the time of her interview, Carmen was feeling optimistic about TD's future. In fact, Carmen used the metaphor of "the ship is turning" when she described the direction TD was headed. However, even though Carmen believed the school restructuring initiatives being implemented at TD were working, she was still cautious for three reasons.

First, the 2009-2010 school year was the first year TD implemented its 9th grade SLC. To Carmen, she saw the work that the 9th grade SLC teachers, administrators, and staff members as starting to positively change TD's culture. Carmen explained:

> Here's how I know the culture is changing. We got all the right people on the 9th grade team. We got the right administrator, lead teacher, we got this team of teachers and they're all upstairs in one hallway. And they [the students] are pretty much sequestered up there unless they go to an elective. And they've taken those kids, they've transformed those 160 kids from coming in here and... [not caring] about what really happened or classes or anything else to conversations that I'm hearing going on up there, 'how many

> honors classes can I take?' 'Can I take an AP class when I'm in 10th grade?' And we, you never heard conversations like that.

When Carmen visited the 9th grade SLC, she observed the culture of TD changing. No longer were TD's students apathetic towards their education; rather, based on Carmen's comments, students were engaged in their courses and were increasing their expectations about their own ability levels. When looking into the future, Carmen was concerned about students potentially becoming disinterested in their academics as they progressed out of the 9th grade SLC and into one of the two 10th-12th grade SLCs that were to be established by the 2010-2011 school year. About the creation of the two future SLCs, Carmen said:

> That's our next hurdle. From 9th grade they go into one of the two small learning communities, and, um, we are in the process of creating a selection process for them to decide which one they are going to go into. Those two small learning communities still need help. The dynamics of the two teams [SLCs] are not as [strong as compared to the 9th grade team].

As she worked to design the upper level SLCs, Carmen was concerned that they will not be staffed by teachers who were as effective as the individuals working in the 9th grade SLC. As such, Carmen was worried that students may lose the momentum that the freshmen gained because of their experience in the 9th grade SLC.

Secondly, Ed Works' contract with TD and LCS was set to expire in May, 2010. When discussing the impact of Ed Works on TD, Carmen was split. On the one hand, Carmen recognized Dr. Grant as being knowledgeable about school restructuring and was thankful he took the burden of planning PD for TD's teachers off of her. However, about Dr. Grant, Carmen commented "part of my frustrations with him was I kept having to say, 'you're too random

abstract, our teachers are not at that level, you've got to be more concrete, sequential. You got to take it down a notch.'" To Carmen, Dr. Grant struggled to communicate with TD's teachers during their PD on a meaningful level. Moreover, since TD did not fully implement Ed Works' five year plan, the second year of their contract TD received less support from Ed Works than they had the first year, and Carmen found that to be a positive. Carmen said "this school year, they [Ed Works] have been much less... The technical assistance coach [Dr. Grant] has come less often, and that's, that is a good thing because it was just so intense, every week. It was just overwhelming." As the Ed Works' contract expired, Carmen found herself relieved in no longer having to make time to collaborate with them. However, when asked if she thought the $275,000 spent on Ed Works was a waste of money, Carmen said:

> Well, I'm not going to say that we didn't get our money's worth; it was a lot of money. I know that without them [Ed Works] we wouldn't be where we are right now. We would've never ever managed to get to this point this fast. We would have never been able to put the quality PD together that they had, I mean it was very high quality PD. Um, so I will always be grateful for that.

Carmen's comments about Ed Works showed that she did value the company's presence at TD; however, her comments centered more on Ed Works providing PD to TD's teachers then in helping TD redesign into SLCs. Additionally, Carmen's closing comments about Ed Works did contradict other comments she made earlier in her interview about having to request that Dr. Grant align his PD to the level of TD's teachers, development more "hands-on" activities for TD's teachers while attending PD, and incorporate breakout sessions into his PD instead of only lecturing at the entire group of TD's teachers. Overall, it is likely Carmen would not rehire Ed Works if she had the opportunity to make that decision again.

The final reason Carmen is cautious while going forward with TD's restructuring was the lack of information received from the state department of education. In her interview, Carmen took time to express her opinion about the reason why schools were not informed about the exact test scores they needed to achieve AYP. According to Carmen, "money and politics" control the state department of education. Carmen explained that "as you get close to the 2014 [deadline for all students testing proficient] and you're still not performing, you get to a point where you have state takeover, and that is very costly, very costly." According to Carmen's opinion, the state waits until it gets students' test scores from across the state to determine what scores constitutes "proficiency." For instance, if a state sets its proficiency bar too high, it will result in a larger number of schools having to restructure, which will put an economic strain on the state to financially support those restructuring schools. By not announcing the cut scores for proficiency until all of the tests from across the state are analyzed, the state is better able to control the amount of schools that will be mandated to restructure and limit costs. Additionally, because TN competed for Race to the Top funds, the state's legislators voted to create the Successful Schools District (SSD).

The SSD does not have physical boundaries as to what schools are placed in it. Instead, the SSD is comprised of schools that TN has taken over because of low student achievement. The SSD was designed to allow the state to takeover schools that were "persistently low performing" or were required to restructure. Carmen's problem with the SSD is if "commissioner of education [for the state] has the authority to place persistently failing schools and persistently low achieving schools under the control of the SSD" they should have to define what the terms "persistently failing" and "persistently low achieving" mean. Therefore, from Carmen's perspective of being the Curriculum Principal at school that has been required to

restructure, she saw the process of the state labeling schools as "persistently failing" or "persistently low achieving" as ambiguous because the state will not quantify those terms with test scores. As a result of the ambiguity, Carmen kept asking her superiors "Do you know if we are in the Successful Schools District and what that means [if we are in it]?" However, Carmen reported that she has not received a response from her superiors, and she closed her comments about the SSD by saying "I don't think it's just the district. I think the state is creating it [the SSD] as they go. They have to be." Because the state was unable to quantify what scores will result in a school being placed in the SSD, Carmen was frustrated and felt like TD was "shooting in the dark because we don't know what the cut scores are [to avoid state takeover and being put in the SSD]." Therefore, as she continued to plan TD's school restructuring, she tried to keep herself informed about the SSD while not letting it distract her from the progress TD was making with its restructuring.

To close her interview, Carmen discussed the progress TD's teachers were making. When reflecting on how TD's teachers were performing in the classroom before Carmen and Bryant began restructuring TD as compared to where they were at the time of the reconstitution, Carmen was proud of TD's teachers and said:

> I really don't [think they can see their own growth] because when you're in something, you're in it, [and] you don't really see it. But when I think about where some of these teachers started and where they are now, all of the professional development that they've had, they've had more professional development in a year than most teachers would get in a lifetime... I don't think they have a clue about how much they have grown.

Even though she felt TD's teachers were not aware of their professional growth, Carmen commented that she saw the growth made by TD's teachers. About TD's teachers' instruction,

Carmen said "I've seen more instructional strategies... I see the planning going on." Specifically, Carmen discussed how she required TD's teachers to submit to her lesson plans starting in the 2008-2009 school year. In response to being held accountable for planning, Carmen said the teachers "hated me... but they are seeing the benefits." Even though Carmen and Bryant are behind TD's school restructuring, TD's teachers are the ones in the classroom having to implement their initiatives. As such, Carmen's interview showed she understood successfully restructuring a school required a collaborative effort between teachers, students, administrators, and support staff.

A Story of Progress

It was not possible for Carmen and Bryant to change TD from being labeled as a low performing and failing school to one that annually achieves NCLB's AYP mandates overnight. Rather, the school restructuring plan Carmen and Bryant in conjunction with Ed Works designed and began implementing was a two year plan. As they implemented their plan for TD, Carmen identified problems with schools teachers and guidance department as two problem areas she would have to reform for TD to increase its students' achievement.

First, when TD was mandated to restructure, LCS, Carmen, and Bryant chose to implement NCLB's reconstitution and contracting options. The reconstitution allowed Carmen and Bryant to fire the staff members who they thought were ineffective teachers or were holding TD back from achieving AYP. Additionally, the reconstitution option allowed Carmen and Bryant to replace the teachers they fired with new teachers. Carmen and Bryant selected teachers they felt could come in and make an immediate, positive impact on student achievement and differentiate their instruction. Throughout her interview, Carmen continually referred to the large amount of PD that was offered to teachers, and closed her interview by commenting about

the growth TD's teachers have made. As such, Carmen credited the combination of hiring a new staff and offering them large quantities of PD as a reason for TD's progress. Therefore, because Carmen, Bryant, and LCS reconstituted TD's staff, they were able to make initial progress in restructuring.

Secondly, the decision to hire Ed Works – although it had benefits and disadvantages – helped Carmen redesign TD from a comprehensive high school to SLCs. In her interview, Carmen pointed to redesigning the school to SLCs as making an immediate impact on TD's freshmen class. For example, Carmen discussed how TD's freshmen were interested in their education by asking questions about enrolling in honors and AP classes as sophomore. To Carmen, these conversations indicated progress because she had not previously heard them. As Carmen worked to create two more SLCs for 10th-12th graders, she was concerned that the freshmen's transition to the upper level SLCs may hinder their academic progress. Moreover, Carmen credited Ed Works facilities expert in helping her and Bryant design TD into three SLCs.

Next, the reforms Carmen made to TD's guidance department have helped TD make significant progress. During the summer of 2008 after Carmen and Bryant had reconstituted TD's staff, Carmen involved herself in the creation of TD's master schedule. As she became immersed in the master schedule's creation, she identified problems with the person in charge of creating it. In response to the problems, Carmen ultimately took over the task of creating TD's master schedule. By Carmen creating the master schedule, TD was able to successfully offer its students the classes they needed to complete their high school graduation requirements. By having created a master schedule that placed students in the classes they needed to graduate, Carmen helped TD increase its graduation rate. Additionally, Carmen's involvement in the

guidance department of the 2008-2009 school year resulted in Carmen identifying severe problems with the academic counseling the guidance department was offering TD's students.

When auditing the academic transcripts of TD's students, Carmen identified 53 errors made by one guidance counselor that would have resulted in 53 students not being eligible to graduate. After finding the mistakes, Carmen reported the problems to her supervisors in LCS's district office including the Superintendent. As a result of Carmen's actions, the guidance counselor who made the mistakes was fired and the problems were resolved, which allowed the 53 students to graduate. Because Carmen took swift actions, it marked a turning point in the guidance department's ability to support TD's students. Between holding the guidance counselors accountable for creating an effective master schedule and responsibly scheduling students for classes they needed to graduate, Carmen was able to make progress in ensuring that TD's students were bettered served. Additionally, Carmen's actions sent a message to the guidance department that their efforts mattered in improving TD's educational standing and she was going to hold them accountable. In response, a guidance counselor created the Student Leader program that Carmen credited as being a main reason TD was able to test 100% of its students during the 2009-2010 school year. By reforming the guidance department, TD was able to effectively schedule students and support school initiatives that helped TD make progress in its restructuring efforts.

At the end of her interview, Carmen used the metaphor of 'the ship is turning" to metaphorically express the progress TD was making. To Carmen, she was aware that the work she and Bryant have done was beginning to pay dividends. However, Carmen understood that her responsibility to restructure TD was not yet finished, but TD was making progress.

Introducing Pat

Pat began teaching in the 1970s and has taught in multiple contexts during her career. Pat was hired by TD to teach upper levels English in August of 2001. From her date of hire, Pat continued to teach upper level English classes until May of 2008, when she lost her job because of TD's use of reconstitution as its major restructuring strategy. Following losing her job at TD, Pat found another teaching job in LCS where she began in August of 2008. At the time of this study, Pat was still teaching at the other LCS school.

Pat's Story

Pat's story was one of disempowerment. In her interview, Pat explained that she began teaching in the 1970s and has taught in both urban and rural schools. When talking about Pat's time teaching at TD, she chose not to tell her experiences from a classroom teacher's perspective; instead, Pat used a retrospective lens that allowed her to question and criticize the moves made by both LCS and TD as they went about the business of school restructuring. In Pat's interview, she explained that test scores were never her reason for teaching; rather, Pat valued her own personal mission of preparing students for success after high school.

Pat opened her interview about TD's school restructuring by discussing how she viewed school change under NCLB. Pat said that NCLB is a typical school change policy in that it was "handed down from high, which means that politicians, powerbrokers, people with money, they make the decisions. Then they come to the people in the schools and say 'here's what you're doing.'" From the start of her interview, Pat immediately identified school change policies as being top-down moves where the stakeholders at the top of the chain of command tell the stakeholders who are at the bottom of the chain what to do and how they are to do it. In this school reform model, Pat saw teachers as powerless stakeholders who received their orders from

the "powerbrokers" and then were required to implement those orders in their classroom. By opening the interview about her time teaching TD with a critique of the implementation of school change policy, Pat self-identified as a person who was critical of school change policy and how it affected teachers.

Pat began teaching at TD in the fall of 2001. Previous to becoming an English teacher at TD, Pat moved to Henley in the fall of 2000 for personal, family-related reasons. After spending the 2000-2001 school year applying for jobs outside of public education and not getting any job offers, Pat decided to return to the high school classroom. Pat's thought process at the time was "after a year of doing that [applying for jobs outside of public education], I decided well I've got to do something, and 20 years ago I was a high school teacher, and I'll see if I can get a credential." Because of Pat's previous teaching licenses, she had "no problem" getting licensed to teach in LCS and subsequently applied for high school English teaching jobs.

When beginning her job search, Pat said she targeted three specific schools in LCS. Pat explained that teaching in a high-performing, suburban school was not her goal. Instead, Pat "wanted to be in a hard-to-staff environment." She said that being in an inner city school was appealing because she saw those schools as needing quality teachers. Based on Pat's experience as an educator, she explained that first year teachers coming out of teacher education programs were unprepared to handle the realities of teaching in an inner city school.

> I had students who wanted to work in the inner city and they were going to save the world, but they really didn't have a lot of information about how inner city schools really worked and what that experience is like because its, it's brutal. It's very difficult and most people don't survive. They go for a year and they say 'oh my God, this is what teaching is like. I'll kill myself'... They have a lot of enthusiasm and they are idealistic

> but they don't have a lot of skills, and they come in the classroom and basically get their asses kicked.

Because she had experience teaching in inner city schools, Pat felt she had the necessary professional attributes – mainly a background in inner city schools – to effectively teach at TD. Additionally, Pat saw teaching in inner city schools as a "personal challenge" to serve a population of students who she felt was underserved. Pat's goal for teaching in inner city schools was to contribute in making "the world a more equitable place... a more fair, reasonable world," and the population she was referring to were students from low socioeconomic backgrounds who attend Title I schools. As such, the three LCS schools Pat targeted were Whitaker, TD, and Holmes high schools. Pat explained that both Whitaker and TD fit the model for the school of where she wanted to work. Holmes, however, was an "oddity." Pat explained that Holmes was unusual because it was more diverse than Whitaker or TD. Whereas the majority of the students who attended Whitaker and TD were from low socioeconomic, single-parent households, Holmes had a large student population of students from both high and low socioeconomic households. Pat saw economic diversity as "intriguing because they have... such a wide array [of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds], and I was curious of how that actually plays out there." For these reasons, Pat's job search focused on Whitaker, TD, and Holmes.

Pat was late applying for 2001-2002 teaching jobs in LCS. Pat explained that she was late in filling out the necessary paperwork to apply for the jobs because Pat and her family left town to visit other family members during that summer. Because Pat was tardy in filing her paperwork and not aggressively monitoring job vacancies during the summer of 2001, she was not expecting to receive any job offers. However, upon Pat's return to Henley, there was a

message from King, TD's principal, about a job opening. When Pat went to interview for the job opening, she said that King was "expecting to have to settle for whoever was available, and, uh, that meant having to take somebody who really didn't want to be in that environment." However, Pat did not fit into that category. As such, on the same day she interviewed with King, Pat was hired. Yet, Pat did not have an easy beginning to the school year.

By the time Pat had returned to Henley and was hired to teach English at TD, the 2001-2002 had already begun. Pat explained, "I didn't start on Day 1. I missed all the pre-school days and at least the first week of school, and I came into a, uh, kind of awkward, uh, situation." Pat described her first days at TD as "awkward" because the person who was hired to teach the classes before her had quit during the first week. Because that person left, Pat was assigned to teach that person's course load. Out of those classes, Pat recognized one of those courses as more challenging than the rest because "they [the students] were actually the reason this other person left, and so, uh, they were always a bit of a problem and, um, not always an easy group to work with." When asked what made this group of students particularly challenging, Pat said that "there were just a lot of unusual personalities" and she got to know them well because she "had most of them [again] as [students in an upper level English class]." Pat cited TD's magnet program as one reason for the "unusual personalities." Pat explained that the magnet program recruited students from across the county who were bused to TD. Pat said the magnet students were minority students, "but they were minority kids who were coming in from somewhere else." By the students coming in from "somewhere else," Pat was insinuating that the culture of the magnet students was different from that of the students who were zoned to attend TD based on their home residence.

As her first year at TD passed, Pat offered a mixed response about how she was welcomed into the school community. Pat said King was "very welcoming." She explained that King "saw that I had some potential to bring something to the building." The experience that Pat brought with her to the job was the "potential" that she thought King saw in her. Additionally, Pat enjoyed King's "hands-off" approach. Pat described King as not "really involved in the day-to-day mechanics" of running TD, and she responded to King's style of being a principal. Pat explained that when she started teaching in the 1970s, the "principals allowed you a lot of autonomy, and they expected that you knew your job, you were going to do your job, and they didn't intervene unless there was a problem." Because she viewed herself as a competent professional, Pat appreciated the freedom that King's style of administering offered, and that made her feel welcomed. The English department head was another individual who Pat mentioned as making her feel welcomed, but she never explained how the department head made her feel welcomed outside of saying she was "watching out for people." Besides those two individuals, Pat did not feel part of the school community. Moreover, Pat said it took several years of teaching at TD before she felt accepted into the school community. Pat explained "I was there seven years, and I wouldn't say it was until, you know, the sixth or seventh year that I was there that I had any insider credibility. Uh, and I'm not sure, you know, I'm not really sure why that would be." To help make sense of hers struggles to build relationships with other teachers, Pat told an anecdote about why it took so long to even know the full names of her colleagues.

Pat's anecdote began with the opening of the 2002-2003 school year. At the time, Pat had "started to kind of establish an identity in the building." However, Pat made a strong distinction between working at her former job as compared to TD. Pat explained that when

working at her former job, Pat and her colleagues "were all on a first name basis." By knowing and being able to call colleagues by their first names, Pat was able to build working relationships; however, Pat was not able to reproduce these relationships with her co-workers at TD easily. Pat said that when she arrived at TD:

> Everybody was mister, misses, miss..., so there were people that... I had no idea what their first name was because I never heard it; I had never seen it. They were mister so-and-so and miss so-and-so, whatever. And, so that was kind of an odd, just dynamic in the building. There was a formality about it. That I think, that could've been partly an outgrowth of the fact it was uh, a Black, you know, uh, a uh, an inner city school that catered to an African-American audience, you know, cause it's a more formal, you know. I don't know if the background of slavery or whatever, but you know, it seems to be, uh...

That anecdote expressed how Pat felt separated from her colleagues on a cultural level. When working at her previous job, Pat taught with a majority of White colleagues who were culturally comfortable with using each other's first names. At TD, Pat identified the titles that her colleagues preferred being addressed by as acting as an impediment for her being able to form relationships. Based on her anecdote, Pat was unable to feel close to colleagues without knowing their first names. Pat hypothesized that because of modern Black culture's roots in slavery, formal titles for individuals were still being used. Since Pat was a White person working in a school that had the highest percentage of Black teachers and students in LCS, her culture did not jive with some of her colleagues' and students' culture. This lack of commonality between Pat's culture and the cultures of her colleagues and students then impacted how she was received at TD, and it helped explain why it took several years for her to feel like

an insider at TD. As Pat worked to better the relationships with her co-workers, a landmark piece of educational legislation passed.

The No Child Left Behind Act was implemented during Pat's second year at TD. Pat explained that NCLB "wasn't much of an issue" at first. Pat said that previous to NCLB's passage and implementation, TD was "the low school on the district totem pole consistently in terms of test scores." Pat mentioned that TD's magnet students' test scores on the ACT and EOC [end-of-course] exams were not an issue, but the test scores for the students who were zoned to attend TD based on their residence "were low relative to everybody else." When reflecting on TD's achievement during the 2002-2003 school year, Pat identified graduation and attendance rates as being issues. Regarding graduation rates, Pat said that "under half" of TD's students graduated. When asked about dropouts, Pat commented that calculating the percentage of students who dropout was more complex than a person would first think. Pat commented that "you'd think this [counting the number of students who dropout] is one of the most straightforward things in the world... [but] it's very difficult to count dropouts." For example, if a student drops out of high school and never earned a general education degree [GED], that student may count as a dropout. However, the situation becomes complicated because if that same student who dropped out earns a GED. For example, if that student earned the equivalent of a high school diploma after leaving high school without graduating, should that student still be considered a "dropout"? Nevertheless, Pat estimated that 50% of TD's students dropped out. When discussing TD's attendance rates, Pat became frustrated.

When Pat explained TD's attendance problem, she started by saying "I think officially our claim was we had about 800 students. That's debatable. We probably did have 800 officially on our roll, on any given day though you were probably not going to see 800 kids."

Pat then told a story about how there were a certain number of students who came to school each day, but those students never went to class. Pat commented that "there were actually several teachers who were pretty, uh, forgiving let's say about whether or not you stayed in their classroom when you were supposed to be in somebody else's class." Pat explained that students would arrive at TD in the morning and then "hangout" in other teachers' classrooms instead of attending the classes on their schedule. This dynamic frustrated Pat because the other teacher's leniency affected the work she was doing in the classroom. Pat commented "if I had a kid in English class, I wanted that kid in English class. I wanted them to be doing the work they needed to do to..., and so they [Pat's students] were in this other teacher's class, and they were not doing what I needed them to do." From Pat's perspective, TD's teachers were actually hurting the school's achievement levels because they were not supporting student learning. Instead, the teachers were allowing the students to be truant and not accountable for being in their assigned classes. As such, attendance would remain a problem as TD began to engage NCLB's corrective actions policies starting in the 2005-2006 school year.

According to Pat, the first move made to restructure TD came in the fall of 2005 when LCS removed King as TD's principal and installed Lewis. According to Pat, LCS changed TD's principal after the 2005-2006 school year started. Pat did not know exactly why the change happened at that time, but she presumed something "upset the applecart" and that LCS saw Lewis "as a change agent." To transition from King being principal to Lewis, the plan according to Pat was King "was going to be there for a while... to show him [Lewis] the ropes, and he was going to take over... in January." As Lewis took over as TD's principal, Lewis set a high expectation for TD. Pat explained that Lewis "came in, and uh, and he is this brash young guy. He's gonna, he's gonna shake the world up. He's gonna make TD, I believe, I believe the saying

was he was going to make it [TD], make it one of the best schools in the state." Pat and the majority of teachers at TD, however, did not buy into Lewis's vision. Pat critiqued LCS's decision to bring in Lewis as "totally misguided." Pat then explained that "you don't bring in a brand new principal and say 'hey, you're going to change the school' because a band new principal is busy trying to figure out how to be a principal." When asked about how Pat's colleagues responded to Lewis's vision for TD and if they bought into it, she said "if they did, I never heard about it." Pat then went on to explain that Lewis's vision "was more rhetoric, that people, you know, saw it as the kind of thing a young, ambitious principal says when they show up at a new school, and uh, my perception would be that nobody took it very seriously." Lewis's vision was never respected by TD's staff. Instead, the staff, according to Pat, saw Lewis as an inexperienced administrator who was trying to make a statement. However, that is not to say Pat was not interested in improving the achievement levels of TD. Pat explained "I take seriously the idea of improving the school. I can take seriously the idea of making us the best that we are able to be. The idea that we were going to be one of the best schools in the state was probably not going to happen... Let's live for a moment in the real world." To Pat, Lewis's vision was unreasonable, and she dismissed Lewis's expectation as something an inexperienced administrator would say. Additionally, Pat cited the larger number of teacher's leaving TD after Lewis's first year as a commentary on Lewis's leadership ability. Pat explained "there was a mass exodus at the end of the [2005-2006 school] year." To quantify the "mass exodus," Pat said "in a given year, it is about...1 in 5 [teachers leave TD]... So to go from 1 in 5 to 1 in 3 is a commentary." However, Pat did point out the scores students were earning on their standardized reading tests did improve that year.

During the 2005-2006 school year, TD was still the lowest performing high school in LCS. However, according to Pat, TD's English teachers "believed they could make a difference, so they were focused on achievable goals, and one of those goals was to see those [standardized reading test] scores improve, and they were improving. They were getting better. They weren't great, but they were improving. They were showing an upward trend." At the time, Pat was teaching mostly upper level English courses, and she made it clear that in no way was she trying to take credit for the work of her colleagues in TD's English department. Pat did express pride in the work of her colleagues for increasing their students' scores on the standardized reading assessments. Pat said "my kudos to them because they were making an effort to actually see that." As for her, Pat explained that she had other reasons for teaching.

Pat's mission for teaching was to prepare her upper level English students for the rigors of college-level English. Pat explained that she wanted to "introduce them [Pat's students] to the kind of analytical work that college level English would expect." In her interview, Pat expressed how her mission for preparing students separated her from the work her colleagues were doing with their students. When asked about how successful Pat was in preparing students for college, she replied "not very." Then Pat explained that "the classic pattern for TD graduates is that they spend a semester or year in college and then they either dropout or flunk, and that is probably the vast majority." Pat then disaggregated TD's graduates by separating out the graduates who participated in TD's magnet program and those who did not. Of the magnet program' students, Pat commented that they were "a somewhat better statistic." Because the students came from elsewhere in LCS and were not zoned to attend TD based on their residence, Pat felt they had the support system and resources to excel in college while students who were zoned to attend TD did

not. As to why LCS officials did not institute effective programs to support students who were zoned for TD based on their residence, Pat pointed to racism.

When she pointed to racism as a reason for the lack of effective school reforms at TD, Pat understood that she made a serious allegation. As such, Pat took her time to explain why she felt racism was part of TD's situation. Pat said:

> I think there was an element of racism for years, that, you know, that they were the predominantly Black school, [and LCS officials were like] 'we're not going to worry about them.' And I don't think anybody said that outright, and I'm sure if you asked anybody in the district, they would say 'oh God no, that wasn't true' but...

Pat then explained that several school reform initiatives were implemented and "a lot of money... came into TD through different grants." Pat questioned the effectiveness of the reforms and how the money was spent to support them because the reforms did not increase TD's test scores or comparative ranking against other high schools in LCS. Nonetheless, because LCS initiated school reforms efforts at TD regardless of their effectiveness, just the fact that the initiatives were attempted, it allowed LCS officials to be publicly accountable that they were trying to do something about TD's low achievement. Pat found the attempts on behalf of LCS to improve the achievement of TD to be racist because they were half-hearted and ineffective. Moreover, the reform efforts only allowed LCS officials to go on the public record as saying they were trying to improve TD while TD remained the lowest achieving school in LCS. In this way, Pat found the reform efforts to be a racist move and then offered Project Grad as an example of a poor school reform initiative implemented at TD.

Project Grad is an organization that attempts to make college accessible for low-income students through scholarships, academic tutoring, and community support (Project Grad, 2011).

When Project Grad was introduced to TD, it already existed at another low performing LCS high school and "was supposed to be the saving grace" for TD's students. According to Pat, Project Grad promised they were going to "get these kids through high school, they're going to have the tools they need for college, and they are going to give them scholarship money." When Pat discussed Project Grad, she was critical from the start. Pat began by pointing out that when Project Grad came to TD, the program "was actually set up for elementary kids, and they tried to use that with high school kids." This first attempt resulted in both students and teachers not buying into Project Grad. Next, Pat pointed out that students went unsupported once they were in college. Pat explained "if we really make an effort with these kids, they can graduate, and that we might be able to get them off to college, and then of course they are going to have to figure out what they are going to do on their own." In Pat's view, once students graduated TD and began their college education, they were left without the support or mentoring that Project Grad offered them in high school and ultimately struggled. Pat's biggest critique of Project Grad, however, was the integrity of some of Project Grad's staff members.

Pat made a distinction between TD's teachers and Project Grad's staff members. Based on her interview, TD's teachers were to collaborate with Project Grad, but Pat made it clear that she did not collaborate with Project Grad staff members who were dishonest with students. Pat explained:

> Some of the kids had poor skills, poor grades, poor chances of ever getting into college much less succeeding in college. And their, Project Grad's, reactions would be 'yes, you're going to college, you're going to do great,' which, in my book, sounds a lot like a lie. That it was dishonest. That, you know, it is okay to encourage this kid to do better, it's okay to encourage this kid to do the best they can, but, you know, if they are not able

> to do the work, they are not able to do the work. You either need to help them figure out how to do the work, or you need to be honest with them about that.

To Pat, Project Grad was setting students up for failure, and that was dishonest. Pat wanted the Project Grad staff members to be truthful with students about their chances for success in college and not to just make a blanket statement of "yes, you're going to college." As such, Pat became selective when it came to collaborating with Project Grad staff members. When deciding if she would or would not collaborate with a Project Grad staff member, Pat said that if the Project Grad staff members "were actually trying to get the kids to do well in their classes, to actually learn and try to acquire the kinds of skills that they are going to need..., those people I had no problem collaborating with them...because I thought they were doing something useful." As for why Project Grad was brought into TD during Lewis's first year, Pat was unsure. Pat said "Lewis came in and did a lot things, and I'm not sure how much of that was Lewis and how much came from the outside." Pat suspected that bringing in Project Grad was a school reform decision made by the county; however, one move she felt Lewis may have made independently was when Lewis changed the English teacher's teaching assignment.

At the end of the 2005-2006 school year, Lewis changed TD's English teachers' teaching assignments. Pat explained that Lewis "decided to kind of regroup how people in the English department were doing some things, and we had some issues." The actions Lewis took were to change the courses that TD's English teachers were instructing. For example, Pat discussed how she had been teaching a particular upper level English class. Then, at the end of the 2005-2006 school year, Lewis came to her and told her that next year she would be teaching a different upper level English class. This change forced Pat to go back and create a new curriculum and

materials for the class, and she was offended in the manner that Lewis told her that she would be teaching a different upper level English class. Pat explained:

> It would've been one thing if he'd [Lewis] come to me and said 'look, I don't have what I need for 11th graders. I need a teacher that can come in and do these things with my 11th graders. Would you be interested?' In which case I might have said 'yes,' but that wasn't the scenario. The scenario was I've decided you're going to do this, and I realized that, you know, he is the administrator. He is the guy who gets to make those calls.

Pat understood that part of Lewis's job allowed him to be TD's decision maker; however, she felt Lewis used his authority to make a top-down decision without consulting anyone. As a result of Lewis's use of authority, Pat did not feel as if she had any power in deciding what she was going to teach. Pat, therefore, grew frustrated with Lewis because Lewis did not come to his English teachers for their input about their class scheduling. Pat's frustrations then became compounded in that she would have possibly been willing to change classes if Lewis ever came to her to have a conversation about it. Additionally, Pat bemoaned the way Lewis informed his English teachers of their teaching schedule. "We did not know up until literally the last day of school, the last day for teachers, the kids are already gone, the last day for teachers..., which to my knowledge is unheard of." The fact that Lewis made a top-down decision and then did not tell TD's English teachers about it until the day before summer break started all resulted in Pat's frustrations with Lewis to grow. At this point, Pat moved to the 2006-2007 school year.

Pat described the 2006-2007 school year as being very similar to the 2005-2006 school year. To explain the similarities, Pat told a story about how Lewis continued to use his authority to advance his agenda for TD. In this story, Pat explained that Lewis used his authority to increase TD's graduation rate regardless of if students successfully completed the requirements

needed to graduate, and since Pat was still teaching upper level English classes during the 2006-2007 school year, Lewis's agenda affected her. To begin her story, Pat said:

> I'm teaching [an upper level] English [class] in the spring semester, and… if they [students] fail my class, they don't graduate… I'm in a school where they are concerned about the graduation rate. Well, uh, I was leaned on in a lot of subtle and not so subtle ways to make sure that the kids in my class graduated; that they finished... English.

Pat immediately opened this anecdote with feeling pressured to ensure that her students passed her English class. The pressure Pat felt was not to ensure that her students were well prepared for college or the work force; rather, she felt pressured to ensure her students graduated so TD could increase its graduation rate. When asked if Pat was explicitly told that her students needed to pass, she responded that "it was more framed as 'you want to do everything you can to make sure that they [Pat's students] earn a credit in your class.'" As a result of this directive, Pat created a situation where her students would earn a "D" if they "came to class, did your [Pat's students] assignments, and you [Pat's students] made a real effort to complete all the assignments." Pat said that students who never came to class or never completed their classroom assignments did fail. Pat then explained one particular incident with a student and Lewis that she described as an "extreme" case.

Pat told a story about a female student who was enrolled in her spring upper level class and was told by Project Grad that she was going to go to college. In her case, Pat agreed that this student had the intelligence for college and that it was "not an unreasonable request or expectation…that she should go to college." Unfortunately, this student did not engage in Pat's class. Pat explained that this student found everything she asked her to do was "pointless, it was useless, she wasn't going to be bothered. She would come into class, wrap herself in a blanket

and go to sleep. If she didn't go to sleep, she was just troublesome." Pat said that as her teacher, she continually urged her to complete her work by explaining that she would need these skills for college level work. Nevertheless, Pat was unable to motivate this student to do her work, and she explained that "she's not really buying into it." As a result, this student was failing and Pat did not think it was likely this student was going to pass. Pat explained that she usually tried to help students who were failing by a few points; however, that was not the case with this student. "Typically if a kid has a 68-69, I tried to figure out a way for them to get a 70 C, that wasn't usually a problem. It's usually if a kid was failing, they weren't failing with a 68 or 69; they were FAILING. They had a 50-60. She's in that category." Because this student realized that she was not going to pass Pat's class and graduate, she circumvented Pat and spoke directly with Lewis. Pat claimed that she did not know the extent of the conversation between this student and Lewis, but she presumed that Lewis "basically assured [her] that she could do recovery credit." As a result of that conversation, "lo and behold, when graduation took place, she walked." This story angered Pat because she again felt powerless. To express her perspective on the situation, Pat commented that "[I] wasn't opposed to the idea to help them [students struggling] graduate, but, you know, at the same time, you are hiring me to do something here." In this instance, Pat was questioning the purpose of the job that she had supposedly been hired to do. Pat felt that Lewis used his authority to override her professional judgment about whether or not this student had successfully completed the requirements of her upper level English class. Pat said "if I'm going to give her credit for my class, let me feel like they've at least, they've acquired some of the skills I'm trying to teach. That they know something. They are not walking out of here just because they put in 135 hours." As a result of Lewis's usurpation of Pat's authority, the student graduated without passing her upper level English class and that left her feeling angry. Another

way Lewis disappointed Pat during the 2006-2007 school year related to TD's school improvement plan.

NCLB requires schools to update their school improvement plan if they fail to earn AYP based on their students' standardized test scores. Because TD failed to achieve AYP during the 2005-2006 school year, TD was required to revise its school improvement plan. To revise TD's school plan during the 2006-2007 school year, Lewis formed a committee that consisted of Pat, TD's four assistant principals, and the school's librarian. Lewis then charged the committee with the task of revising TD's school improvement plan to satisfy NCLB's requirements. Pat described the experience of working to revise the school plan with the committee as problematic. Pat explained that "we had a very difficult time convening any meetings to do our assigned project, and the librarian and I ended up literally doing it ourselves." Even though TD's assistant principals were unable to schedule a time to meet with the committee and were subsequently not involved in updating TD's school plan, Pat and the school librarian still felt it was their responsibility to comply with NCLB's policies and Lewis's delegation of revising the school plan. Pat then went on to express discontentment with how she and the librarian's ideas in the school plan were received by Lewis. Pat explained that Lewis provided Pat with "no feedback" about the revisions to the school plan. When asked if Pat thought Lewis even read the plan, she said "I think he read it because at one point he asked me whether or not the, uh, [assistant] principals had any input, and I told him the honest answer, 'no.'" However, even after that short exchange with Lewis, Pat still was unable to "read" Lewis's response, and commented "I don't know what his thoughts were then." Pat explained that in Lewis's perspective, she "was not a need to know [person] of Lewis... There were people in the building he [Lewis] liked and [Lewis was] apparently forthright with them, I was not one of those people... There was never

really a bond between the two of us." This lack of a relationship between Lewis and Pat would carryover from the 2006-2007 school year to the 2007-2008 school year, and Pat pointed to it as a reason for her later problems at TD.

Pat referred to the 2007-2008 school year as a "pretty ugly year" because this is the year the staff started hearing that TD was going to be restructured. Previous to the 2007-2008 school year, TD went through NCLB's school improvement and corrective actions – such as revising the school improvement plan, offering students the option to transfer schools, and offering PD to teachers. However, since TD did not achieve AYP for more than four consecutive years, NCLB required TD to restructure. To begin the year, Pat said that it was "a foregone conclusion that something was happening, and I don't think any of us were quite sure what [was going to happen]." TD's teachers responded to this lack of information by creating rumors about what possibly could happen. Pat explained that there were "lots" of rumors being passed between staff members, and the rumors included "everything imaginable." However, Pat said that the general feeling was "most people were going to come out of it [the restructuring of TD] okay." According to Pat, the staff felt that "if you were doing your job, and, you know, you were doing what you were supposed to be doing, you probably didn't have much to worry about." To help TD and LCS assess if teachers were doing their jobs, all of TD's teacher were evaluated.

During the 2007-2008 school year, Pat's teaching was evaluated twice by two separate evaluators. The first evaluator was Lewis and the second evaluator was an "outside reviewer." Pat reported that the evaluators scored her as "excellent" on both evaluations, and she was thinking that it was likely she was going to keep teaching at TD. When asked about keeping her job after being evaluated twice, Pat said "I'm doing my job, you know, doing the stuff I'm supposed to be doing. I get evaluated twice, both evaluations are excellent. I'm thinking things

look good." While the teachers were evaluated in the fall, LCS named Carmen as the leader for TD's school restructuring, and she began planning TD's restructuring. Then, in April of 2008, it was announced to TD's staff that Lewis was being replaced by Bryant as principal. As these changes were made, Pat said TD's teachers saw that "she's [Carmen] actually running the school, and he [Bryant] is the front man." Now with both Carmen and Bryant introduced as the cornerstones of TD's new administrative team, they announced that each of TD's teachers would have to undergo an interview process if they wished to keep their jobs, and Pat's interview experience was not positive.

When she described her interview, Pat said it was "one of the most bizarre interviews I've ever had." Pat explained that Bryant, Carmen, and Midge, LCS's Supervisor for Secondary English, were scheduled to interview her. On the day of the interview, Pat said "I showed up on time, the people who were interviewing me were not present." Pat then commented that when Bryant, Carmen, and Midge "finally showed up, they brought their lunches and they ate lunch while they talked to me." Pat found the actions of the interviewers to be unprofessional, and she would soon find out the results of the interview. Additionally during this time, there was a rumor that Lewis left a "list" before being relieved of his administrative duties at TD. According to Pat, the list contained names of "who they [Carmen and Bryant] were getting rid." When asked if she believed that this list actually existed, Pat said "I have some reason to believe that [the existence of the list] is true. I don't know if it's true." If the rumor that Lewis created a list of teachers Carmen and Bryant should fire was true, the relationship that Lewis and Pat had may have influenced Lewis's decision to include Pat's name on it. Regardless of the list's existence, however, Pat still was offered a chance to interview.

After all of TD's teachers went through the interview processed devised by Carmen and Bryant, the results were announced during the last "couple of weeks" of the 2007-2008 school year. Pat said that the staff "have very little notice" about how they were going to be informed if they did or did not have a job teaching at TD for the 2008-2009 school year. To inform TD's staff, Pat explained that Carmen and Bryant "literally called us into the library and gave us a large envelope in which there was a letter. The letter either said 'congratulations, you've been invited to join the new restructuring of TD' or 'sorry but you are not going to be part of our new school.'" Pat described feeling "pretty confident" about being invited to be part of TD's school restructuring before opening the envelope. Pat further justified her feelings of confidence by saying "I'd been evaluated, I'm thinking, you know, let go of the person you evaluated, you gave good evaluations to? If you got somebody who is troubled, that is the person you let go." Unfortunately for Pat, she did not receive a letter that welcomed her to the new TD; rather, Pat was fired. Additionally, Pat was still required to teach out the remaining few weeks of the 2007-2008 school year.

Accepting the news that Pat was no longer wanted at TD was hard for her, but she described having to report to work as something worse. Pat said the experience of teaching at TD after being informed that she was fired was "demoralizing." Pat questioned "why would you want to get up and go to a job where you aren't wanted, I mean, you know? It's pretty hard to take." When asked why she did not just decide to walk away from TD at that time, Pat said "I don't really work that way. I had a job to do, and I'm doing my job. I'm going to be responsible for my end of things." In this instance, after receiving the news that she was no longer wanted at TD, Pat demonstrated professionalism during an adverse time in her career.

Towards the close of her interview, Pat reflected on why certain teachers were kept and others teacher let go. During this reflective time, Pat ruled out age citing that the oldest and youngest English teachers were the ones fired. At this time, Pat hypothesized that "a couple of the people who stayed, stayed because they were people who cultivated a relationship with Lewis." Again, Pat returned to Lewis's influence of determining which teachers were worthy of staying. Pat did not believe the decision of whether a teacher was asked back had anything to do with their teaching; rather, she pointed to the relationship the teacher had with Lewis and the interview with Bryant and Carmen. When asked how many of the English teachers were ultimately let go through this process, Pat identified only herself and another English teacher who she described as "a young woman who arrived at TD as a new teacher, who struggled with some issues while she was there. Part of it was she was perceived as being kind of disagreeable." However, Pat additionally said that not all of the English teachers who were invited back accepted their positions. Pat said that "two or three" other teachers left resulting in the English department returning only 50% of its teachers for the opening of the 2008-2009 school.

At the time of her interview, Pat still kept in contact with some of TD's current teachers. When asked how she thought TD's current teachers enjoyed teaching at TD, Pat said "there are a lot of unhappy people there, and that, uh, there are a lot of people who would like to go somewhere else." Pat then went on to explain that "there are not good feelings about whatever it is they are doing there... They [TD's current teachers] tend to fall into two categories, uh, there are people that basically forthright tell me 'this is miserable, it's awful. I can't imagine doing this much longer' or those people who tell me nothing." By nothing, Pat explained that when she asked teachers about TD, they would "basically dodge the question and never really answer."

When asked to physically describe the teachers who were hired to replace the fired teachers, Pat simply said "they are young."

To close the interview, Pat discussed having some "unanswered questions" and said it would be telling to see the district's restructuring plan for TD. Pat said that it would be interesting to see LCS's plan because there were some tactics used by LCS that she found to be "disconcerting." Pat offered the example of when a member of the Superintendent's Team came out to TD and spoke with the school's faculty on an in-service day as a disconcerting move made by LCS. Regarding the comments made by the Superintendent's Team Member, Pat said:

> I can't think of a speech that was more offensive to the faculty in any moment in time. You know, here is this outside person from the Superintendent's Office coming and reaming us about we are not doing our job? We are in here every day! ... I don't remember [exactly] what she said, I remember it was just all very accusatory, it was very, uh, you know, 'you guys are not doing what you ought to be doing, you're not doing your job' essentially, which, you know, assuredly, there are some people in the building who were not doing a great job, but there were also people who were, and to make that blanket statement to the entire faculty was just unfounded, and, and unnecessary, and I think really hurtful.

Pat found the comments made by the Superintendent's Team Member to place the blame for TD's low performance solely on TD's teachers. Pat viewed the Superintendent's Team Member as a person who was not familiar with TD's culture or challenges. Instead, Pat saw this person as an "outsider" who came by with the explicit purpose of lambasting TD's teachers in hopes of motivating them to do their job. The overall effect of this person's comments according to Pat was "people started dodging in-service," which she saw as a commentary on TD's work

environment. Pat explained that in-service days are "not usually a tough day, okay? And if it's so abhorrent to you that you've got to take a sick day, then there is something really wrong about what you are doing on those in-service days." Pat's last unanswered question goes back to LCS's plan for TD.

It is Pat's belief that LCS had a master plan for TD in place. To support the belief that LCS had a plan, Pat said "I'm not saying the plan is a good one, I'm not saying the plan is well thought out, but there is plan." Pat then satirically jested that LCS's plan may be just that they are "going to get rid of these yahoos and troublemakers and put in some young wiper snappers." Pat then explained that the district strong armed and bullied teachers to implement its agenda, which she internalized as the district not really valuing its teachers' ideas. Pat saw the restructuring of TD as a way that the district effectively bullied her out of a job. "There aren't a lot of choices, and the best thing that happened for me out of TD when I left is that I went to [another LCS] school, which was a lot of fun." For Pat, the journey teaching at TD ended bitter-sweetly. The bitter part was how he was treated by Lewis, Carmen, and Bryant that ultimately ended with Pat being fired. The sweet part was, however, that Pat wound up in another LCS school where she has enjoyed teaching.

A Story of Disempowerment

Throughout her interview, Pat reflected on her time at TD and critiqued the school reform and restructuring initiatives that were implemented. As such, I chose to label Pat's interview as a story of disempowerment because she offered several criticisms of how TD restructured and its impacts on her. Additionally, I found Pat's comments to be a fair critique of TD's restructuring because she only spoke for herself. At no point in the interview did Pat speak for anybody else. At times Pat did hypothesize as why other people took certain actions – such as when she named

slavery as potentially being a factor in why TD's faculty did not use first names to address one another – but she never concluded that hers understanding was the absolute, correct way to interpret the situation; Pat always left room in her comments for other perspectives. In this way, I found Pat's criticisms of TD's restructuring to be bounded to how she was impacted, and I, therefore, felt comfortable in naming her narrative as a story of disempowerment. To express how disempowerment was found in Pat's story, I found three major topics of criticism in her comments.

The first area of disempowerment in Pat's interview related to school change policy in general. Pat opened the interview by talking about how she saw school change policy as always being a top-down decision making process. Pat critiqued using a top-down process for school change because the only people who had a voice in this process were the few stakeholders at top. In education, Pat named these stakeholders as policymakers, business people, and affluent citizens. Pat saw teachers as being people on the bottom of the top-down school reform policy who received their orders of how the school change policy must be implemented from the "powerbrokers" on the top. As such, Pat critiqued this top-down school change policy because she saw teachers as being powerless and without a voice in creating the very policies that they must implement. Moreover, because she worked as an English teacher in a restructuring school and opened the interview by commenting on the problems of school change policy, Pat aligned herself with the powerless teachers who were charged with implementing a school change policy that they did not have a voice in creating. As her story progressed, Pat continually returned to how she was affected by this top-down school change policy process.

Next, Pat was critical of Lewis as a principal. From the moment she introduced Lewis during her interview, Pat expressed reservations about Lewis's agenda for TD. For example, Pat

was skeptical about Lewis's goal of making TD one of the premier high schools in the state. Pat dismissed Lewis's vision as a comment "a young, ambitious principal" would say. However, Lewis's use of top-down policy making caused Pat to be additionally skeptical of Lewis's ability to administer. For instance, Pat used Lewis's decision to change the English teachers' schedules after his first year as principal for an example of Lewis using his authority to push his agenda. Pat did not agree with how Lewis made his decision. In her interview, Pat said that if Lewis had come to her and asked if she would be willing to teach different classes, she might have been willing to do so. However, Lewis did not and that impacted Pat's opinion of him as a principal. Secondly, Lewis undermined Pat by allowing her student to not be accountable for her class. Instead of requiring the student to complete Pat's class requirements, Lewis allowed the student to take Credit Recovery instead and graduate with her class. In her interview, Pat said that she worked hard to motivate this student to be successful in her class; however, the student took it upon herself to be insubordinate and not complete the work she asked her to do. By Lewis allowing the student to take Credit Recovery instead of satisfying Pat's class requirements, Lewis did not support his teacher. Additionally, Pat pointed to Lewis's emphasis on increasing TD's graduation rates as to why Lewis made his decision. In this instance, Lewis's top-down decision making about what was best for TD again left Pat without a voice in the process.

Pat's third criticism of TD's restructuring process came when Carmen and Bryant implemented their plan for restructuring. Similar to Pat's critique of Lewis, Pat felt that Carmen and Bryant did not involve TD's teachers in their decisions of how to implement TD's restructuring. For example, when Carmen and Bryant decided which teachers would be asked to be part of TD's restructuring and which teachers were fired, the only voice teachers had in that process was through the interviews conducted by Carmen and Bryant. Even though the teachers

were evaluated during the same year, the individuals who evaluated them were not Carmen or Bryant. In fact, Carmen and Bryant never saw Pat teach and primarily used her interview to determine if she would or would not be part of TD's restructuring process. As such, the process Carmen and Bryant used left Pat feeling voiceless and disempowered.

Introducing Floyd

Floyd was a White male in his mid-thirties. Floyd moved to Henley, TN in 2001. In 2003, Floyd earned his master's degree in literature from Crockett University in Henley. Then, also from Crocket University, Floyd earned his master's degree in education in May of 2005. Over the summer of 2005, Floyd was hired to teach English courses at TD, and began his teaching career in August of 2005. Floyd continued to teach English at TD until August of 2009, when he became a Lead Teacher at TD. As a Lead teacher, Floyd was responsible for providing support for TD's teachers and monitoring student data while having a reduced teaching schedule. Floyd continued serving as one of TD's Lead Teacher through the 2010-2011 school year. Over the summer of 2011, Floyd left TD to become a Master Teacher in the TAP program at North Ash High School, another LCS school. As the 2011-2012 school year opened, Floyd was working in this new capacity. At the time of this study, Floyd was still working as a Lead Teacher in North Ash High School.

Floyd's Story

Floyd told a story of confliction. During his interview, Floyd discussed his experiences teaching at TD before and during its restructuring. While reflecting on his experiences, the role Floyd had at the school changed. When originally hired by TD, Floyd was a classroom English teacher for his first four years before becoming one of TD's Lead teachers. As a Lead teacher, Floyd still taught English courses, but he was then also made responsible for mentoring teachers

and analyzing student data. Because Floyd was part of TD's restructuring as a classroom teacher and a Lead teacher, he experienced TD's restructuring on both an instructional and building level. The instructional level allowed Floyd to feel the tensions of teaching English in a high school where test scores and graduate rates were highly stressed, and his role at the building level gave him the opportunity to observe the effectiveness of teachers' instruction from across the curriculum while predicting graduation rates based on student data. After spending two years in his role of Lead teacher, Floyd applied for a new position with LCS and was subsequently transferred from TD to another LCS high school. As such, Floyd spent the first six years of his professional teaching career at TD, and he spoke proudly about some of TD's accomplishment while also being remiss about what was sacrificed by TD to earn those accomplishments. Now, as a teacher working in another LCS high school, Floyd used his interview as a place for him to reflect on his time at TD.

Before coming to TD, Floyd wanted to be an English professor. To begin credentialing himself to be an English professor, Floyd earned a master's degree in English literature in the spring of 2003. However, after earning his English literature master's degree, Floyd had a change of heart. "After going through the master's program in literature...I realized that college students... had already learned who they were... and I wanted to be, uh, involved in kids' lives at the points where they were making critical decisions." For Floyd, he wanted to be part of young people's lives during their formative years. Floyd felt that he could be a positive influence on young people, but he saw the impact college professors have on students as being limited because students have already created their own identity once they are in college. As such, Floyd saw working with high school students as offering him a better opportunity to become an influential person in young people's lives. In his interview, Floyd joked and said "Now that I've

taught at high school a while, I am starting to wonder if I need to be in middle school, so I keep working my way down." After being a high school English teacher for six years, Floyd is beginning to feel that high schoolers have already created a strong identity, and he saw working with middle schoolers as an opportunity to be a larger influence on their lives because of their age. Moreover, since deciding he wanted to become a public school teacher, Floyd has targeted inner city schools.

When making the decision to become a teacher, Floyd specifically wanted to teach in an inner city school. Floyd explained that although he did not attend an inner city school as a high school student himself, he felt that he shared a lot of the characteristics of students who attend inner city schools. Floyd said "I identified with a lot of the, uh, rebellion and resistance, and, uh, the courage inner city kids tend to have." Floyd did not share any of his own childhood experiences with rebellion, resistance, or courage, but he did say that his mother was a special education teacher in Detroit, Dallas, and Los Angeles for over 40 years. Furthermore, Floyd explained that "whenever I got suspended from high school, I'd have to go to work with my mom to her school with her class. That was kind of like my 'punishment' but that was when I sort of fell in love with teaching." In this instance, Floyd alluded to him being a student who was occasionally suspended from school. By his mother bringing him to work with her when he was suspended, Floyd experienced firsthand the challenges inner city school teachers and their students face. In reaction to these experiences, Floyd said "I felt like I could relate to the kids and have an impact with that population." As such, Floyd decided that if he was going to teach, he was going to teach in an inner city school.

As part of his teacher preparation program, Floyd was required to complete classroom observations. To fulfill this requirement, Floyd chose to observe two English classes at TD. In

his interview, Floyd noted that these observations were his first experiences inside of TD, and he paused to tell a story. To begin, Floyd explained that he is an avid biker rider, and he rode his bike to TD when he came to complete his observations. After chaining up his bike to a rack at the front of the building, Floyd went inside the building and observed a sophomore English class and a senior English class. Floyd commented that the classes he observed were "great" and he also met King, TD's principal at the time, who made him feel very welcomed. When leaving TD to return home, Floyd said "I came back out to get on my bike, and someone had deflated both my tires, so that was my first experience at TD." After telling this story, Floyd explained that he did not see the deflating of his tires as an omen of what may happen if he chose to teach at TD. Instead, this story illustrated Floyd's good-natured ability to laugh off what went wrong – his tires being deflated – and focus on his positive experiences – observing two English classes and meeting King. Moreover, that story served as a form of foreshadowing because, throughout his interview, Floyd continued to focus more on the positives of his experiences in education and with TD's reform efforts without dwelling on the shortcomings. For instance, another example of Floyd being able to focus on the positives of his experiences instead of getting bogged down with negativity comes from his teaching internship experience.

Part of Floyd's teacher education program required him to complete a sustained internship at a high school teaching English classes. For his internship, Floyd was placed at Holmes High School under the supervision of Lydia McCombs. When describing his internship, Floyd said "that year was so difficult. I was so involved with me and with what I was doing and trying to survive." While interning at Holmes High School, Floyd was responsible for teaching three classes over the course of that year while concurrently taking graduate education courses at the university in the evenings. Additionally, during the year he was interning, Holmes High

School collapsed all its tracks – honors, college-placement, fundamental, and basic – into just offering one college-placement track. This move resulted in students of all different ability levels being placed into one class. On the classroom level, Floyd explained that collapsing the tracks resulted in the students having a "huge range" of ability levels in one class. Instead of focusing on the negatives associated with having such a wide range of student ability levels in one class, Floyd spoke about how he admired and learned from his mentor teacher's ability to use differentiation in her teaching. "Lydia was really good at identifying those struggling kids and working [with the] supports and interventions [for students] on an individual basis... She really helped me be able to spot a kid who needs differentiation and then showed me how to do it." As Floyd's internship progressed and he became responsible for his classes, he said that he had "a lot of challenging kids, who, um really tested me," but he used what he learned from Lydia to do the best he could. When asked about the effectiveness of his teaching during his internship, Floyd said it "was just so crazy [between completing the requirements of his teacher education program while teaching at Holmes] that it is really hard to say much about my impact." Nevertheless, Floyd satisfied all the requirements of his teacher education program, graduated with a master's of education in spring of 2005, and was quickly hired to teach at TD.

When applying for jobs, Floyd said that he targeted TD and Holmes High School. According to Floyd, TD fit the description of an inner city school of where he would like to teach. As for Holmes High School, after completing his internship, Floyd said he was attracted to teach there because "it has such a diversity of students... from all different demographics and populations." As such, Floyd applied to both schools, and TD offered him a job first.

Floyd said he was "thrilled" about being hired by TD during the summer of 2005 and was "terribly excited" to teach English there. When he reported to TD to begin the 2005-2006 school

year, Floyd described the English department as being "really, really tight-knit." Floyd explained that TD's English department consisted of about 10 teachers when he was hired, and that he and another person were new English teachers that year. To welcome him and the other new English teacher to TD, the English department threw a party, and Floyd said that the party made "everybody feel comfortable... and it was just a really relaxed environment." Because of the party, Floyd felt welcomed into the English department, and that added to his excitement of being a new teacher at TD. As the school year opened and students arrived, the English department continued to do several small things together that added to Floyd's impression of them being tight-knit. Floyd explained "there were just little things that we always [did like] ate lunch in the same room, we had the same plan, and uh, we talked about kids and our experiences." Floyd felt those actions gave him a lot support; however, the support was limited. When asked what forms did the support he received from the English department take, Floyd said:

> It was encouragement largely. And they would share stories of things so I knew what to expect when I walked into that classroom, you know, they would tell me stories, and you know, I know it gets a negative slant sometimes, but we would go through rosters and they would tell me about certain kids, and not always in a negative way, like 'here's what you need to watch out for with this kid. Here's what might happen, things you need to be prepared for.' I remember particularly I was trying to come up with a classroom, uh, management, classroom rules and things like that and all the teachers shared with me what they do, and how they do it.

The support Floyd received from his colleagues in the English department was limited to encouragement. Floyd did not cite curriculum guides, pacing guides, books, or classroom

materials when naming the types of support he received. Instead, he was given insider information about students and TD that shaped how he would potentially see a student before allowing the student to create an identity in his own classroom. Additionally, by the English department eating lunch together and being scheduled for the same planning times, the English teachers formed a community of support for one another. This community of support gave the English teachers a safe place to share their teaching experiences with one another. When looking back on being part of TD's English department during his rookie year in the classroom, Floyd said "the school felt a little fragmented, but that department... was just really, really tight." Again, Floyd does not focus on the negativity of TD being what he considered "fragmented." Instead, Floyd found contentment in the fact he was part of a department that he saw as being close. Additionally, Floyd did not lament about not getting instructional materials from his colleagues in TD's English department; rather, he discussed the positive attributes of being able to share stories of his teaching with his fellow teachers in the department.

As a new teacher, Floyd was assigned to teach an ACT prep class and English classes. According to Floyd, Lewis – TD's newly installed principal in 2005 – assigned a guidance counselor to begin an ACT prep class. Floyd said that he did not understand why an English teacher was selected to teach this course because it required expertise not only in English but also math and science. Nevertheless, Floyd was assigned to teach the ACT prep course because the more experienced English teachers "didn't think the preparation was there." The lack of preparation Floyd referred to included the guidance counselor being only able to secure a class set of standard ACT prep books and nothing else. As such, Floyd explained that "it [the ACT prep class] kind of came down on me as the new guy, um, and I took it." When describing what it was like to teach that class, Floyd said it was "a preparation nightmare because I just... was

scrambling for resources every single day, and I didn't just have to do the English, I did the math and science too." Additionally, about the students in the ACT prep class, Floyd said "it was populated with kids who didn't want to be in there. They were forcing these seniors to take it their senior year. So the attitude of those kids coming in the door was just wrong." As the new principal, Lewis likely thought an ACT prep class may better prepare students for college entrance exams and he thus charged a guidance counselor with creating the class. Floyd was then recruited to teach the class because the more experienced English teachers turned it down while students who did not want to take the class were placed in it. Floyd described preparing lessons each day for that as a "nightmare" because he did not have the content knowledge needed to effectively teach the class while also being challenged to engage students who were placed in that class against their will. As such, Floyd found himself spending large amounts of time preparing that class's lessons. About the situation, Floyd said "I mean it about killed me, I was there so late every night, it was just ridiculous." However, Floyd produced results. Floyd explained "we took a, like, a pre-test, ACT test in the beginning, and a test at the end... but it was like big gains, and the guidance counselor couldn't believe it." In this instance, Floyd concluded his story about the ACT class with the gains his students made. Interestingly though, the guidance who was assigned the responsibility of ensuring the class existed had low expectations for the students. However, because of the effort Floyd put into teaching that course, the students' scores on the ACT-style post-test were considerably higher than the guidance counselor originally projected. The high scores made by his students allowed Floyd to be satisfied with the effort he put into that class. However, Floyd told the guidance counselor after presenting her with the post-test scores that he was not willing to teach that class again. Outside of the ACT prep course, one of Floyd's English classes presented him challenges as well.

During his first year, Floyd was scheduled to teach an English II regular class. Floyd commented that the 30 students in his English II regular class were "sweet and patient," but the physical classroom they were assigned to was too small. Floyd said "there were all kinds of discipline issues just because of the sheer number of kids that were crammed into that room." When describing the condition of the room, Floyd said "I didn't even had room for an overhead [projector] to shine on the front, I mean we were just wedged in this room, and my air conditioner was out pretty much through the middle of September in that room." According to Floyd, the size of the room they were in was about 15 feet by 15 feet. The room was so small that Floyd was unable to even have an overhead projector in the room because there was no where to put it, and it was hot because the air conditioner was not working. The environment, Floyd hypothesized, was responsible for the breakdown in his classroom management that resulted in physical altercations between students. To describe the scene of one of those instances, Floyd said:

> I hate to always bring up physical conflicts when I talk about TD, but it was reality of that class. One day, um, two kids got into an argument in the class, and somehow the class divided where half of them were backing up the one kid and then half the other. And, it all happened so fast before I could even get in and separate things, the two kids started fighting and then the whole class. It was like a rumble, and I don't know how I did it, but I got them – the class – out into the hallway, everyone that was fighting, somehow I pushed them out to the hallway, it was kind of blur, the principals came and broke it up, and that really frightened me and that was, you know, that was before the air conditioner was fixed, so I was convinced that the heat was part of the issue.

That example showed that although Floyd felt he was getting some support from TD's English department, TD's administrative team was making the physical arrangements he had to teach in very challenging. The fact that Floyd class was "wedged" into a very small classroom with no working air conditioner pointed to either TD's administrative team being out of touch with the situations they were putting their classroom teachers in or no other alternatives for the situation they were putting Floyd in existed. However, Floyd did mention that after the fight broke out in his classroom, an assistant principal did recommend a classroom management plan that Floyd still used a version of today. Floyd described the classroom management plan as "kids earned a certain amount of points each day for their behavior, and they got... a certain number of warnings and [then] 'this' would happen as consequence [if they got too many warnings]... I really started to learn about immediate consequences and how to discipline kids individually." To Floyd, even though he felt his physical environment affected his students' behavior that resulted in a fight, he was able to look past that feeling and learn a new style of classroom management.

When looking back on his first year teaching at TD, Floyd saw his effectiveness in the classroom on two different levels. The first level was based on his students' test scores. According to Floyd, the value-added growth metric used to evaluate the effectiveness of TD's teachers reported that he had no discernible difference on his students' learning in one of his English classes and only a one point gain effect on his other English class. On the other level, Floyd discussed the value of building relationships with students as a method to analyze his effectiveness in the classroom.

NCLB does not recognize relationship building as part of effective teaching; however, Floyd claimed that building relationships is part of what an effective teacher at an inner city school does. When articulating his argument, Floyd said "I think a lot the kids who give you

trouble at those kind of [inner city] schools... can learn, but I don't know that they are ready to learn, but if you build that relationship with them when they are ready to learn, they'll come back to you." According to Floyd, a lot work goes into building relationships with students in inner city schools since these students may come from an inconsistent home life, do not trust adults or teachers anymore because of too many broken promises, and subsequently have low expectations for their own academic success. In reflecting back on his first year, Floyd used Trevor Bates as an example of why building relationships with students is so important.

> Trevor Bates is one kid's name I remember well, who when I got him, he was in my English II fundamental class, and when I got him, he was one of those kids who refused to work, refused to work, refused to work, I made a little bit of a gain that year, but I built a relationship with him, and I got him again his junior year and he worked his butt off and he did well and went on to community college and is doing pretty well. He's comes back to visit me, or used to, when I was at TD and he wants to be a teacher and football coach now.

To Floyd, Bates represents that which is most important to teaching in inner city schools, building relationships with students. In his anecdote about Bates, Floyd had Bates in his English II class and worked to develop a relationship with him. After developing that initial relationship, Floyd purposely made sure that Bates was again scheduled to be in his English class again the following year. By laboring the first year to create a relationship with Bates, Floyd was rewarded the next year by Bates working hard in his class. Additionally, Bates and Floyd have maintained their relationship, and Floyd got a great deal of worth from his relationship with Bates. Therefore, when comparing the evaluation of teachers by test scores as compared to student relationships specifically in relation to his first year teaching, Floyd said "as far as scores

go, I didn't show a lot of gain, but as far as the relationships and helping kids just get through some stuff where they could learn, I feel like I made big gains." As his first school year came to a close, Floyd was satisfied with the work he was doing at TD. As the 2006-2007 school year came and went, Floyd said it passed similar to his first year with the biggest difference being that he was teaching all English II courses, and the ACT prep course was dropped from TD's curriculum. Also during his second year at TD, Floyd said he continued to be rated as having a very low or no discernible difference on students' learning according to the value-added metric used to evaluate TD's teachers. However, the 2007-2008 school year would mark the beginning of change at TD.

The 2007-2008 school year was the first time Floyd recalled an increased emphasis placed on bringing up TD's test scores and graduation rates. As threats of school restructuring loomed, Floyd recalled that an official from the state department of education visited TD with the purpose of calculating the exact scores TD's students needed to earn on state assessments for the school to make safe harbor. The visit from the state department of education acted like a catalyst tor TD being at-risk for state takeover, and soon rumors about restructuring began spreading through TD's staff. Floyd said "we started hearing about it [school restructuring] a lot then. Following the official's visit from the state department of education, Carmen was transferred to TD.

Floyd had a positive response to Carmen's arrival at TD. By the time Carmen arrived, Floyd believed TD's students were able to achieve on a higher academic level then they were currently performing. Floyd said "I had seen that the kids were capable of change and improvement..., and that I was ready for something to come in on a building-level to really start making some big changes." Since he saw the potential of TD's students, Floyd was "very

excited" about Carmen's arrival because he thought she was the individual who could bring about the change he wanted. Once Carmen arrived and went to work planning TD's restructuring, Floyd said that he "talked with her about her vision, and she wanted to increase AP enrollment, ... she was already... talking about... dividing the school into... SLCs, and all those things I read about and heard about it, and thought they might work too, so I was very excited." At the time, Floyd recognized Carmen as being a person who could bring the building-level change he wanted for TD. Through PDs and reading research, Floyd learned about school initiatives that TD could take to improve its students' learning such as creating SLCs within the school. However, Floyd felt that to implement these initiatives, the reform had to be lead by TD's administration. As such, Floyd identified Carmen as being the person who could implement these changes, and he said "in a lot of ways, she was," and that gave Floyd hope for TD. Moreover, as Carmen was planning TD's restructuring, the school experienced another change in leadership.

Towards the close of the 2007-2008 school year, LCS decided to replace Lewis as TD's principal with Bryant. In reaction, Floyd said "I had negative feelings not towards Bryant, but towards Lewis's leaving because I felt that he was really starting to make some changes that were good for the school." One of the changes Floyd referred to was Lewis's rule that all students who wanted to be eligible for athletics must maintain a 2.0 GPA. When he discussed Lewis's rule, Floyd said that it caused a lot of controversy. On the one hand, Floyd explained, the rule was good because "a lot of kids are really motivated by sports to do whatever they got to do to stay in them." On the other hand, parents and teachers "felt athletics were the only thing those kids came to school for and that if we took it away from them, then they wouldn't even go [to school] anymore." Floyd personally felt that students "would come and work harder... if that

[Lewis' rule] was the standard." Floyd never went on to definitively say whether or not Lewis's athletic eligibility rule was effective; rather, Floyd pointed to the rule and said "it was at least partially instrumental in Lewis being removed. It was a big deal." Because Floyd supported Lewis's rule in requiring TD's athletics to maintain a 2.0 GPA for athletic eligibility, that was one reason he was upset about Lewis being transferred out of TD. Another reason Floyd did not support LCS's transfer of Lewis was because of his ability to govern TD.

According to Floyd, effective inner city school teachers and administrators are masters at "walking the fine line between being the disciplinarian and being someone the kids can confide in." By the "fine line," Floyd meant inner city school children need to know they are supported, but they can also lose that support if they try to take advantage of a situation. When discussing Lewis, Floyd said "Lewis was a master at balancing... the kids knew that at the end of the day, he was there to help them..., but they also knew that he'd be firm and stern if he had to be." In Lewis, Floyd saw somebody that put academics before athletics, and Floyd also felt Lewis was fair and supportive of TD's students while still not allowing students to take advantage of him. In contrasting Lewis to Bryant, Floyd said "Bryant [is] a wonderful, sweet man, but he doesn't have that stern side that I really think that this school is hungry for all the time, even you can see it in the kids." Although Bryant was compassionate towards kids, Floyd felt that Bryant lacked the ability to be "stern" and discipline students when needed. Overall, Floyd said "I think TD was hurt by his [Lewis's] leaving."

Once Carmen and Bryant were both installed as the leaders of TD's new administrative team, they began implementing the first stages of TD's restructuring. To begin TD's restructuring, Carmen and Bryant decided to require all of TD's teachers to interview if they wanted to keep their current jobs. In response to being told all of TD's teachers had to interview

for their jobs, Floyd said it changed TD's environment. In comparing TD's environment at the time he was hired to when Carmen and Bryant took over, Floyd said "I came into... a cordial and supportive environment, and now people are wondering if they're going to be able to work there anymore." Floyd felt that by requiring TD's teachers to interview for their jobs, the dynamic of the school shifted from being more of a school community to being one of anxiety. About his interview, Floyd said he only remembered Carmen and Bryant being in the room, and the actual interview "went well... It was a pretty standard interview; in fact, they asked me a lot of the same questions they asked me in my original interview." Floyd said that he did not recall how exactly Carmen and Bryant notified teachers that they were invited to be part of TD's school restructuring; however, he does recall that the teachers Carmen and Bryant did not want received a letter telling them they are not invited to return to TD the following school year. Floyd explained:

> We were all in the library for a larger faculty meeting, and then they [Carmen and Bryant] asked these certain teachers to stay as we were going... I do remember seeing the teachers who got the letters go up to the desk and get a letter as I was leaving... They [the teacher receiving the letters] were pretty upset about it [receiving a letter in this manner] because it was obvious to everyone who was getting fired by the way they [Carmen and Bryant] did it. And that created a lot of negative feelings, and from me too. I mean, I just didn't think that was the best way to handle that situation.

As Floyd left the faculty meeting held in the library, he saw some of his colleagues being handed letters. The letters informed the teachers that they were not going to be part of TD's restructuring, and subsequently they were no longer going to be teaching at TD after the end of the year. Because the letters were handed out during the last weeks of school, Floyd explained

that there was a fear that the dismissed teachers would "stop teaching." By "stop teaching," Floyd meant that the teachers would come to school and do nothing in their classrooms. Floyd further explained "that's what was everybody's worry... I remember one teacher in particular who said he was going to stop teaching, but none of them ever did. They all taught as far as I know right up until the last day." According to Floyd, the teachers who were told they no longer had a job teaching at TD the following year still showed great professionalism and taught the reminder of the 2007-2008 school year. When asked about which teachers were released, Floyd commented that teachers who openly voiced their opinion that did not align with the administration's vision were released. Floyd explained "There was one particular English teacher... who I was sad to see go, and I think some of those... teachers were let go because they were very vocal about things, you know. I've always resisted a little, but I've always done it very quietly, very politically." Floyd felt that Carmen and Bryant may have dismissed some teachers who openly dissented from the vision Carmen and Bryant had for TD. Instead of teachers quietly voicing their concerns in a private setting, the released teachers chose to openly and loudly speak against the vision of Carmen and Bryant had for TD in a public setting. Because these teachers chose to publicly voice their opinions, Floyd said he "felt like those teachers got punished." By the time the 2007-2008 school year closed, Carmen and Bryant were installed as the cornerstones of TD's new administrative team and all the teachers they no longer wanted to be teaching at TD were released.

When the 2008-2009 school year opened, TD's teachers were required to attend 10 days of PD before teachers in other LCS schools were required to report back to school. To open the 10 days of the PD, it was decided that the first three days would be at a faculty retreat held in a hotel by the Smoky Mountains. About the retreat, Floyd said "it was impressive that we were

there and there were a lot of new staff members, and I remember being happy that there were a lot of new, younger staff members." To Floyd, the retreat represented a fresh start for TD. It is likely that having the retreat off campus where teachers stayed at a hotel gave the PD a more professional feel than just having it all at TD. Moreover, the amount of new hires also gave Floyd hope for improving TD. About the new hires in the English department, Floyd commented:

> In the English department we had, uh, Marie and Gwen, we had at least two new, young teachers right out of college... and I always thought that was good. I felt like we needed more... teachers who were up on their research, who were willing to try new things, were enthusiastic and wanted to be there, which, um, I remember being particularly excited talking with both of those teachers and they said they wanted to be there and they chose to be there, and they had other offers that they turned down to be there. Um, so I was excited about that.

The new teachers motivated Floyd. He felt that the new teachers could bring in more current teaching methods and were more current on their research than TD's returning teachers. Additionally, Floyd was pleased Marie and Gwen communicated to him that they wanted to teach at TD and actually turned down jobs at other schools so they could be at TD. When asked how the other TD teachers reacted to the new teachers and if the older TD teachers held any grudges against the new, incoming teachers, Floyd said "No. I kind of remember feeling after we came back after all the firing..., people were really coming in and starting fresh... I don't remember a whole lot of negativity or grudge holding from what happened in the past." TD had been through a lot following the change of administrators and dismissals of teachers at the end of

the 2007-2008 school year; therefore, Floyd felt like he and the rest of TD's staff were ready to usher in a new era for TD starting with this Smoky Mountain retreat.

TD's retreat was led by Ed Works. Floyd noted that he was somewhat familiar with the Ed Works facilitators because he saw them coming in and out of TD towards the end of the 2007-2008 school year. When asked about the quality of the PD the Ed Works facilitators offered TD's staff, Floyd said it was "awesome." He then elaborated that the PD "made me even more excited... because they were teaching the whole staff new [instructional] strategies." The particular strategies that the Ed Works facilitators taught according to Floyd were how to do Gallery Walks and all of Marzano's strategies[2]. Floyd then talked about how his enthusiasm for TD's restructuring continued to grow during the beginning of the 2008-2009 school year. Floyd said:

> It was really just exciting, we are all sharing new ideas and... Um, the teachers were actually using the strategies in their classroom, I mean, you'd see gallery walk posters in the hallway, you know, almost every hallway. Uh, yeah, it was great. And, I, I saw immediately a difference in the students because they would come into class, first of all they would know how to do the strategies already because they had done them in three or four classes, so they, they knew the process and the protocol, um, so management I noticed was better.

As the 2008-2009 school year opened, teachers were using the strategies they learned about during TD's 10 days of PD. Additionally, since his students already knew the procedures for the new strategies he wanted to use in his classroom, Floyd felt that most all of TD's teachers were

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[2] Marzano (2004) is an educational research who released a book of nine effective teaching strategies that LCS adopted.

using the strategies in their own classrooms as well. Floyd also felt that the administrators were doing their part in holding teachers accountable for using the strategies. Floyd explained:

> [During the] first month or two of that school year, I must have had five visits from principals... Not full on observations, they just walked through and looked at what strategies we were doing. We were hanging our lesson plans on the door, we had to put which Marzano strategies we were going to use those days, and they would come and look and check, and I mean, it was amazing. I was like 'yes, this is the change.'

However, after the good start to the 2008-2009 school year, Floyd noticed that the principals quit walking through classrooms and doing quick observations of teachers. As a result, the teachers stopped hanging their lesson plans on the doors, and they were no longer held accountable for using the strategies they learned. However, after saying that the administrators lacked consistency in performing their jobs, Floyd quickly said "they were so overwhelmed... there were so many changes and interventions and supports that everyone tried to throw at the school at the same time... It was too much too fast." Floyd felt that the school reforms efforts being suggested by Ed Works, LCS, and by TD's administrative team were just too much for TD to handle all at one time. As such, "there was just enormous backslide" in TD's administrative team's monitoring of school improvement efforts. In his interview, Floyd suggested that only a "manageable number of [school improvement] strategies [should be selected], and make sure all the teachers mastered them" before moving on to the next school improvement strategy. However, that was not what happened. Floyd said because so many school improvement strategies were tried at the same time, teachers would "get overwhelmed by the new thing and stop doing the old thing." Additionally, because TD's administrators were unable to continually monitor all of the reform efforts, teachers quit doing them.

During the 2008-2009 school year, TD's administrative team collapsed TD's four tracks of core classes – fundamental, regular, college-placement, and honors – down to only offering college-placement level courses. Floyd found this move odd because he felt that a class can be called a "college-placement" class, but if there are students who are only able to work on a fundamental class level, the rigor of the class is not on a college-placement course's level. At that time, Floyd was teaching junior and senior level English classes. When asked about his effectiveness in the classroom during the 2008-2009 school year compared to his effectiveness the previous years, Floyd said "I was better at relating to the kids and getting them to do what I wanted them to do... but I don't feel like I was greatly more effective... [However, with the] Ed Works strategies... I did feel like I was growing and did have a better effect on the kids." Yet, even though Floyd felt that he was doing a better job in the classroom, his students' scores on the EOCs did not reflect an increase in his teaching performance.

At the end of the 2008-2009 school year, Floyd reported that he had only one student pass the EOC out of the six classes he taught during that school year. Additionally, another teacher who also taught 11th and 12th grade English classes reported to Floyd that she only had three or four students pass the EOC. In response to these "miserable" scores, Floyd questioned how well the EOC was aligned to the curriculum for 11th and 12th grade English courses. Floyd explained that a large part of the curriculum for 11th and 12th grade English courses was centered on how the history and culture of different time periods were reflected in the literature. For example, Floyd explained that when he taught 11th grade English, which is a study of American literature, his goal was for students to understand the "pendulous nature of human thought in American history, how it swings from radically religious to radically scientific and back and forth." According to Floyd, after discussing the different periods of American history and

reading the literature connected to those periods like the curriculum required, his students understood "the pattern of human thought in American history." Sadly for Floyd, however, was the fact that questions about different time periods in American history were not asked on the EOC even though the curriculum required that the time periods were taught. Floyd explained that the curriculum was aimed at students learning about the "culture and history and big picture" of certain time periods while the EOC did not have "one question about human thought" on it. So, Floyd claimed "it was not like I wasn't following the curriculum; [rather,] that part of the curriculum is just not assessed." Instead the "EOC is very grammar-based, literary terms, and things like that, so my scores on the EOC... did not reflect my students' learning." As such, Floyd said that he felt "deflated" when he received his EOC scores because he had been using all the strategies presented by Ed Works and supported by TD's administrative team. Additionally, Floyd used his struggles on the EOC to express why he endorsed the value-added system to evaluate teachers instead of an EOC-type exam. With the value-added system, Floyd argued that improvements in student learning can be seen; whereas, "with this [EOC test], sometimes you wonder if you made the kids dumber just by looking at their test scores." To explain, a value-added metric would show the amount of learning made by a student over a year. For example, using the value-added system, if a student started the year on the 42nd percentile and the same students grows to the 49th percentile point by the end of the year, that student's teacher would be responsible for a seven percentile growth. Using the EOC, the teacher would not get credit for making gains with a student; instead, the teacher would only get credit if that student passed the EOC. Since his students performed poorly on the EOC, Floyd felt that his students would have shown growth using a value-added metric and that would better prove his impact on student

learning. However, Floyd's students' low scores on the EOC did not overly bother him because he did not see them as being a factor in if TD would be taken over by the state.

As the 2008-2009 school year closed, rumors that TD could be taken over by the state continued spreading among TD's staff. When asked about how he was affected by the state takeover rumors during the opening of the 2009-2010 school year, Floyd said "I never paid much attention to it, but I guess it was a threat with graduation rate, and making safe harbor, and writing scores." Floyd then explained because he was teaching junior and senior level English, he was not concerned about the 10th grade EOC, which was the primary assessment used by the state to determine if a school made safe harbor. Rather, Floyd said that he remembered "being very concerned about graduation rate, especially with my seniors." Floyd did not then comment on if he felt pressured or not to graduate seniors. Instead, Floyd discussed how he became one of TD's Lead teachers starting in the 2009-2010 school year.

When Carmen divided TD into SLCs starting in the 2008-2009 school year, she assigned an administrator and a Lead teacher to each SLC. According to Floyd, each SLC "had roughly 35 teachers... and 200 kids." Originally, Floyd explained that he did not apply for the Lead teacher position that first year because "I wasn't sure I wanted to be out of the classroom." However, following the 2008-2009 school year, one of TD's Lead teachers left, and a Lead teacher position was left vacant. As such, Floyd applied for the position and was named one of TD's Lead teachers for the 2009-2010 school year. When asked about what responsibilities Lead teachers have, Floyd said the responsibilities "were vague... The first responsibility I had was to observe teachers on a more regular basis... The other responsibility I had was to track student achievement in my SLC." Of the two responsibilities, Floyd found working with teachers as more rewarding.

When working with teachers, Floyd did not conduct formal observations. Instead, Floyd would just "drop in and see that they [classroom teachers in his SLC] were using [Marzano's] strategies, and if they weren't using some of the Marzano strategies, I could sit down and help them plan ways to incorporate them." Floyd valued this aspect of being a Lead teacher. In this role, Floyd did not force any teachers to change their instruction based on his recommendations, and he said "all the teachers [in Floyd's SLC] didn't take me up on that because it was strictly a volunteer thing." Because Floyd limited his work with teachers to a volunteer basis, it made him more approachable. As such, out of the 35 teachers in his SLC, Floyd said that he worked "pretty intensively... with four or five teachers." When a teacher would ask him for help, Floyd explained that he would "watch her class, then go and sit down with her and talk to her about different things she could do, and she tried them [Floyd's suggestions], and I could comeback." Although he did not offer any specific examples of teachers experiencing increased level of classroom success as a byproduct of his mentoring, Floyd did say that he found those experiences "rewarding because I had direct rewards for my helping teachers." Floyd found the other aspect of being a Lead teacher less appealing.

The second responsibility Floyd had as a Lead teacher was to track student data. About his second responsibility, Floyd identified pressure put on TD to improve its graduation track as the "motivating factor" of why and how he was tracking student data. Floyd said, "the way I tracked students was strictly by their credits, how many credits they earned or failed to earn, and how at-risk they were for graduating or not graduating and then I had to get them into reading interventions or Credit Recovery... to help them keep their credits." Floyd found this part of being a Lead teacher problematic because the pressure put on him and the other senior English teachers to pass kids resulted in students realizing that if they failed senior English, a class

required for graduation, they would be placed in a Credit Recovery class and still graduate. To explain this dynamic, Floyd said "I had a student like in my senior [English] class who became obviously a huge discipline problem because he knew he didn't have to pass my class at all; he was earning the credit somewhere else." Because the student knew that he did not have to pass Floyd's class, it empowered the student and ultimately resulted in him becoming a classroom management problem for Floyd. Since he was a classroom management problem, it is likely the student's poor behavior distracted other students in Floyd's class and took away from their learning and Floyd's teaching. When asked if senior English teachers lowered their expectations to help TD improve its graduation rate, Floyd said:

> I don't feel like those teachers lowered their standards, um, uncomfortably, they did a lot of, uh, support that I don't know if they were initially comfortable with, like letting kids go way back into the semester to make up work that they just refused to turn in before, not that they, you know. So they did, teachers made concessions like that, but I don't feel like the teachers I knew really sacrificed any of their most important standards, but I do feel like the kids were given alternate ways to earn credits that were much easier than doing what they needed to do.

Floyd felt that teachers overall did not lower their expectations to help increase TD's graduation rates; however, Floyd said teachers did make compromises that they would not have normally made. Again though, Floyd came back to the fact that TD itself used its Credit Recovery program to allow seniors who were failing their senior English class to make up the lost credit, and Floyd was a critic of this tactic because he felt TD's Credit Recovery programs were less rigorous than a senior English class. As such, Floyd was not supportive of this move, and he found this part of tracking data as part of his Lead teacher responsibilities troublesome.

When the 2009-2010 school year closed, Floyd decided to continue being one of TD's Lead teachers for the next school year. However, when the 2010-2011 school year opened, Floyd's Lead teacher responsibilities were limited to only tracking students based on their class credits; he was no longer responsible for helping teachers improve their classroom instruction. One likely reason for the increased focus on tracking students by the credits was that the 2010-2011 school year was the last TD could make AYP or safe harbor. If TD failed to make either AYP or safe harbor, it risked being taken over by the state the following school year. Because TD's administrative team did not think it was likely TD could achieve AYP in math, they instead focused on students' 10th grade English EOC and 11th grade state writing assessment scores plus TD's graduation rates to make safe harbor. When discussing the 10th grade English EOC and 11th grade writing assessment, Floyd said "I had mixed feeling about those two [assessments]." About the 10th grade EOC, Floyd said "I know that those teachers had to put things aside, um, so that they could teach more to the test." In this instance, Floyd referred to the fact that TD's 10th grade English teachers narrowed their curriculum to only testable skills. Because the 10th grade English teachers had to reduce their curriculum to only the skills that might appear on the 10th grade EOC, Floyd felt that students were not getting "the culture, and the story's context, and... a lot of those higher order skills" that he valued students learn as part of their literary education. About the 11th grade writing assessment, Floyd felt that since students' experienced a narrowed curriculum in 10th grade English, they never had to develop their writing skills. Therefore, TD's 11th grade English teachers subsequently stripped their curriculum almost bare of literature and culture again to specifically focus on developing students' ability to write a five-paragraph essay. About this dynamic, Floyd said "I have mixed feeling about the 11th grade writing assessment; I thought it did great things for our juniors because they needed to learn how to write... They

came into junior English not really strong writers at all, while they are all writing formulaic five-paragraph essays, at least they can do that." In this instance, Floyd conceded that writing a formulaic five-paragraph essay is not necessarily preparing students for success outside of the 11th grade writing assessment; however, he does feel that students just being able to write a five-paragraph essay is better than not being able to do even that low level skill.

As the 2010-2011 school year closed, it was announced that TD produced the scores it needed on the 10th grade reading EOC and 11th grade writing assessments while graduating enough seniors to make safe harbor and avoid being taken over by the state. In response to the announcement, Floyd said "everybody was pleased, but I don't remember it being, you know, woooo-hoooo. No ticker-tack parades, and um, which it, I thought was a little surprising, and in fact, I knew, I knew that it was a great achievement, I mean, especially being an English teacher." Floyd found the response by TD's faculty to the news that the school would not be taken over by the state a little disheartening. Whereas he realized that a tremendous amount of work by the English teachers went into TD achieving safe harbor, Floyd felt the recognition and congratulations for the achievement were lacking.

Following the 2010-2011 school year, Floyd applied for a master teacher's position in LCS because of TN's and LCS's adoption of TEAM and was offered the position. However, in accepting the position, Floyd understood it meant it was likely he would be transferred out of TD because "Bryant seemed set initially on not having master teachers from TD be [master teachers] at TD." As such, Floyd was transferred to North Ash High School as the 2011-2012 school year opened. In his role as master teacher at North Ash High school, Floyd explained that was where he felt he got the recognition for TD's success on the writing scores. Floyd said:

> It's funny because I come to other schools and they're talking about our writing scores [at TD], which I've never heard before, you know, it, it was when I was at a meeting here [North Ash] and Mr. Berry [North Ash's principal] said he wants our writing scores to be like TD, and it was the first time I heard TD talked about that way [in a positive, academic sense]. [In response to Mr. Berry's comments,] I felt great, especially since I was part of that, you know, the writing program over there, it really made me feel good.

For Floyd, it took his leaving TD and joining the faculty of another school to realize how impressive the results of TD's writing scores really were. When hearing Mr. Berry's comments about wanting to emulate the success TD had on its writing scores, Floyd felt prideful that he was part of the effort to increase TD's writing scores, which also helped better TD's academic reputation in LCS.

Floyd closed his interview by talking about how TD changed during his time there. Floyd commented that "the TD I left was not the TD I came to." Floyd felt that the TD he first came to was a close community of teachers and students. In Floyd's perspective, he believed that "a huge part of an inner city school success is that family feeling that we are all in here... together, we all have the same purpose and vision." However, Floyd saw the actions required by the restructuring of TD as dividing the school. Initially, Floyd thought the restructuring efforts were "going to [result in TD becoming] even more focused..., but I feel like, in a lot of ways, the most important part of that vision was lost in that transition." By releasing the staff that Carmen and Bryant felt were not going to effectively contribute to the "new" TD, it sent a message to TD's staff that teachers were expendable. Because teachers no longer felt as secure in their jobs according to Floyd, the family feel of TD's faculty was lost. About whether that feel will return to TD, Floyd said "I don't know, maybe it will come back... [when I left]... we weren't, um, a

family or a unified group anymore, and maybe that is one reason I wanted to change too... I felt like that was gone." For Floyd, TD's higher test scores did not replace the school community that was lost because of the restructuring.

A Story of Confliction

Floyd told a story of confliction about his time at TD. However, Floyd rarely seemed aware of how conflicted he felt about his time at TD. When he discussed teaching at TD, Floyd identified numerous incidents where he wanted to be a team player and talked positively about TD. However, when comparing Floyd's comments about TD against the actions he described happening at TD, it was evident that the actions Floyd described did not match his comments. For example, when Floyd first came to TD, he felt he was welcomed and supported by the English department, and Floyd referred to the English department as being "really tight knit" and supportive to him. However, the support the English department offered Floyd was not overly meaningful. Whereas Floyd expressed gratitude in his fellow English teachers offering him information about students and giving bits of advice about what to be prepared for in the classroom, the English department did not offer him teaching materials or supplies. Additionally, when Lewis and the guidance counselor wanted an English teacher to instruct an ACT prep class, none of the English teachers stepped up to teach the class. Rather, they let the ACT prep class fall down to the "new guy" and that resulted in Floyd having to work extremely hard to teach subjects – math and science – that he was not prepared to teach. In this way, Floyd claimed to be supported by the English department even though their support was very limited, and they allowed a first year teacher in their department to teach a class that would have been challenging even for a veteran teacher. Therefore, even though Floyd talked highly about the

English department, it is suspect about how supportive they really were. Moreover, Floyd also identified TD's administration as offering limited amounts of support.

When he was hired, Floyd claimed that TD's administrative team "was very supportive" to him in the classroom. However, the only support Floyd mentioned during his entire interview that he got from any of TD's administrators was the classroom management plan an assistant principal explained to him following a fight that happened in his classroom. In response to the fight due to cramped conditions in the classroom and a broken air conditioning unit that made the classroom very warm according to Floyd, the administrators did not try to find Floyd a new classroom, attempt to transfer students to other teachers' classes who may have more room for students, or even fix the air conditioner. Instead, the administrative team sent an assistant principal to his classroom and taught Floyd to become a better classroom manager. In fact, Floyd agreed that TD's administrators acted more like cheerleaders than instructional coaches. Furthermore, even as the administrators changed from Lewis to Carmen and Bryant, Floyd felt that no administrative team actually provided the support that he wanted in the classroom. For instance, Floyd was excited that Carmen and Bryant instituted a walk-through program to check on teachers using the strategies they learned about at TD's retreat; however, that administrative support quickly flew by the wayside. Aside from these examples of confliction, Floyd did directly address his feelings of confliction with TD's restructuring.

When he discussed what TD had to sacrifice in hopes of improving its test scores so it would not be taken over by the state, Floyd was aware that TD's English teachers stripped their curriculums down to skills that were tested on the 10th grade English EOC. As a proponent of literature and culture being taught in English classes, Floyd found himself "torn up" about English teachers focusing so much on the testable skills and so little on literary skills. On the

one hand, Floyd definitely did not want TD to be taken over by the state and supported whatever must be done to avoid that calamity. Yet, on the other hand, Floyd lamented the narrowing of the curriculum down to testable skills. As such, Floyd was conflicted between what had to be done so TD would avoid state takeover versus teaching students a curriculum that he thought was valuable. However, Floyd did find it easier to make peace with the narrowing down of the 11th grade English curriculum. In 11th grade, TD's students' writing skills were evaluated using a mandatory state-wide writing assessment. The writing assessment required that students were able to write a formulaic, five-paragraph essay. Floyd expressed concern that the five-paragraph essay format was not "real" writing; however, Floyd settled that concern by believing it was better that students were at least able to write a five-paragraph essay than no essay at all. In this instance, Floyd was referring to previous years when students were not even able to compose a satisfactory five-paragraph, and Floyd took pride in other LCS schools wanting to reproduce the writing success TD had with it 11th graders during Floyd's final year at TD.

The last way Floyd exposed feelings of confliction about TD was in his leaving. Floyd ended his interviewing by discussing how the TD that hired him was not the same that he left. Confliction is part of this comment because the TD that hired Floyd was a low performing school. Although he said that the English department was tight-knit, Floyd also said that the entire school felt "fragmented" and not unified. When Floyd left TD, he left a school that had increased its performance levels so that it was satisfying NCLB's safe harbor measures. However, Floyd's lack of comments about the closeness of TD's English department following the school's restructuring was curious. Because Floyd omitted making comments about the unity of TD's English department during his final year, it was likely he felt the accountability demands put on the 10th grade English teachers by the EOC, the 11th grade English teachers by the state

writing assessment, and the senior English teachers by having to meet graduation requirements resulted in the English department being fragmented. In this instance again, each of TD's English teachers had their own concerns about making their course's specific contributions to help TD stave off being taken over by the state. Because each grade-level teacher had specific concerns, it resulted in Floyd feeling TD's English department lost the closeness it had when he was hired.

Introducing Marie

Marie was a White woman in her mid-twenties. When the 2007-2008 school year opened, Marie was enrolled in Crocket University's Master of Education program. As part of her program, Marie was required to complete a yearlong internship, which she completed at Holmes High School during the 2007-2008 school year. Marie graduated with her master's degree in May of 2008 and was soon hired by TD. Marie began teaching English at TD during the 2008-2009 school year, and she continued to teach there through the 2010-2011 school year. Marie left TD in May of 2011 for an English position at LCS's STEM Academy. Marie began teaching at LCS's STEM Academy in August of 2011. At the time of this study, Marie was teaching at LCS's STEM Academy.

Marie's Story

Marie told a story of division. In her interview, Marie focused on how TD's staff was divided because of the school's reconstitution. Since Marie was hired as a replacement for English teachers who either lost their job as result of TD's reconstitution or did not want to be part of TD's restructuring, Marie was put in a situation where she had to navigate tensions. The tensions Marie experienced were between what Marie referred as Old TD and New TD. During her interview, Marie identified Old TD as being comprised of the teachers who worked at TD

before the school was reconstituted and were resistant to changing their instructional methods. On the other hand, Marie referred to the teachers who were hired following the reconstitution of TD's staff as New TD. When telling her story, Marie began by discussing why she wanted to begin her teaching career at TD.

Previous to being hired by TD, Marie earned a bachelor's of English literature degree in May of 2007 from a university located in Henley. After being awarded her degree, Marie returned to her undergraduate university the following fall semester as a graduate student in its master's of education program. As part of her graduate teacher education program, Marie was required to complete a yearlong internship at Hills High School – LCS's highest achieving and most affluent secondary school – over the 2007-2008 school year. After completing her internship, Hills High School offered Marie a position teaching English, but she turned down that job offer. Marie explained that since Hills's "graduation rate is 95% and their college acceptance rate is 90%," she did not feel that teaching at Hills would require her "to push myself professionally." Based on her comments, Marie viewed Hills High School's teachers as not having any meaningful impact on their students. Since Hills High School's graduation rate and college acceptance rates were already so high, Marie did not feel that Hills High School's students needed excellent teachers to help them be successful. In fact, Marie said "mediocrity was accepted [at Hills] because the students had a pass to get to college through their parents." To Marie, the advantages Hills High School's students had because of their parent's involvement in their academic lives and financial resources to ensure their scholastic success guaranteed that they would graduate from high school and attend a college. Therefore, when Marie was looking for her first teaching job during the summer of 2008, she wanted to be hired by a school where her teaching would make a meaningful impact on her students' lives and education. Because

Marie knew TD had released portions of its staff during the 2008 spring semester, Marie saw TD as offering her the opportunity she wanted. Subsequently, Marie applied for an English teaching position at TD in May of 2008 and was quickly hired.

Immediately after Marie was hired, she was required to attend AP training for language arts teachers so she would be certified to teach 11th grade AP English. According to Marie, TD wanted to raise the rigor of the classes it offered its students by eliminating lower tiered classes and requiring students to enroll in college-placement or AP classes. However, raising the rigor of the classes also meant raising the numbers of students enrolled. For example, Marie explained "the year before I was hired, there were, I believe, 11 AP students [in 11th grade AP English], and they [Carmen and Bryant] wanted that number to be 50. Why 50? I'm not really sure, and they told me that that was going to be my job." Therefore, in addition to having to attend the AP training for English teachers preceding her first year at TD, Marie also had to select students for her AP classes without actually having met the kids. To select the students, Marie said "I sat down with the guidance counselors and we basically pulled anyone that had any sort of work ethic, um, had a writing score above 8th grade level, and, um, that had experience with teachers in the building, and they had not been suspended." Because she did not knew the students, had never taught an AP English class before, and the students she selected did not know they were slated for an AP English class, Marie felt she was at a complete disadvantage when she was picking her students. Additionally, Marie explained that her frustrations were compounded in the fact that she was not scheduled to teach her AP classes until the 2009 spring semester. As a result of this process, Marie felt that less than half of her students were "AP caliber kids" and that "the fact that I have AP next to my name on my door doesn't mean [I'm teaching AP]." As a newly hired first year teacher, Marie was not supportive of the way she was instructed to select

her AP students nor did she like the fact that she would not be teaching them until the second semester of her rookie year teaching. However, since she was a new teacher, Marie selected her students and did not complain to the administration because of her scheduling. Then, after completing her AP training and choosing which students were to be enrolled in her AP class, Marie had to attend 10 days of PD.

When Marie was hired, she had to sign an extended contract, but the terms of the contract were not yet clear to her when she signed it. Marie explained that she understood the contract required her to work an additional 21 days per school year, but "they didn't tell us what that [the extended time] would consist of. They just said there would be some after school time, and then come back a few days early. That turned out to coming back 10 days early for the Teacher Boot Camp." The Teacher Boot Camp Marie referred to her was a 10-day PD workshop facilitated by Ed Works. To kickoff the 10-day workshop, TD held a retreat at a hotel near the Smoky Mountains, and the retreat was the first time Marie met her fellow teachers. When entering the hotel for the retreat, Marie said "the whole staff was up on a mountain in this hotel. I mean, we were in this huge conference room, and nobody knew anyone, except for the old, the, uh, teachers that had been rehired." As she walked into the hotel for the retreat, Marie became instantly aware that there was a group of veteran TD teachers who were rehired and already knew each other. Additionally, there was another group of newly hired teachers who were yet to meet their co-workers. Because TD's administrative team and Ed Works anticipated there being a staff divide, Marie said "we did a lot of group work and bonding activities." One example activity Ed Works had TD's teachers do to build familiarity and cohesion among the staff members was a "weakest link" activity. This activity required all of TD's teachers and administrators to stand in a circle. Then Marie said:

> There is this huge ball of string, and you pass it back and forth between people, and you're supposed to hold your piece of string taunt. And then they place random things on top of the web once we get it going, like textbooks... [and we] keep passing it around and around. But then you ask one person to let their string go, and they back out of the circle, and you see a textbook fall, and then another one and another one.

Marie commented that the activity was intended to be a metaphor to explain how TD's staff must work together to support the school as it restructures. However, Marie dismissed the activity as "tacky" and referred to the entire retreat as being "awkward."

Marie explained that going into the retreat, she did not know what to expect. However, once there, Marie quickly realized that Dr. Grant, the retreat's facilitator from Ed Works, was going to be teaching TD's staff instructional methods. About being required to engage Dr. Grant's content, Marie said:

> For me, it [the PD at the retreat] really was a flashback to grad school, so everything that the other teachers were learning for the very first time, I had just finished in graduate school. So, I, I was trying to walk on eggshells and not seemed bored because I was trying to not give the impression that I was above this or anything, but at the same time I'm like 'I just had this.'

Marie did not find meaning in the content Dr. Grant was presenting to TD's staff because she had previously learned that material in her master's of education program. However, Marie found herself in a position where she did not know want to inform her co-workers that she already knew this material. Because Marie's colleagues were learning this information for the first time, Marie felt she may come across as conceited if she flaunted that she already knew Dr. Grant's content. As such, Marie tried to appear engaged in the PD. When asked how Old TD

teachers responded to the content Dr. Grant was presenting, Marie said "they were so resistant, from where they sat in the room, I mean, our facilitator, he literally had to tell people to go sit with new people. I mean, arms crossed, shoulders turned away... They looked like a kid who was just sent to the office... It was really bad." Marie's comments described Old TD teachers as not wanting to be part of the retreat, not interested in learning new instructional strategies, and unwelcoming of TD's new teachers. In her comments, Marie used the simile of "a kid who was just sent to the office" to describe how ridiculous she thought the Old TD teachers were acting. Moreover, it was the Old TD teachers' body language and actions of not welcoming the New TD teachers where Marie first recognized there was a staff divide.

Marie offered several possible reasons for the divide between Old TD teachers and New TD teachers that became apparent to her at the retreat. The first reason Marie thought the divide may exist was because the Old TD teachers may still have been bitter about the reconstitution. For example, Marie commented that she was hired to replace an English teacher who was popular with her fellow teachers but whose classroom instruction was lacking. About the teacher she replaced, Marie said:

> I heard stories about her doing crossword puzzles instead of teaching. And having students, err, she would order food and have her students drive off campus to get her food and bring it back to the classroom. I mean, I heard all these stories about these horrible things that I never ever would do and yet, the veteran teachers that stayed had a commitment to her. They were resentful that I was taking her place and that she shouldn't have been let go. She was a really nice lady, and they didn't understand why she was fired, and I didn't know what I was doing, and I'm just a young White girl.

In her comments about replacing a former TD teacher, Marie said coming into a school that was restructuring "terrified" her because of the possible rifts between the two groups of teachers. In this scenario, Marie was hired to replace a teacher who she heard was not teaching her students. Furthermore, the teacher was having students do things that Marie viewed as inappropriate. However, since this teacher made friends with her colleagues, the Old TD teachers were loyal to her and not welcoming to Marie. Then Marie explained that race did have an impact on her teaching at TD; however, in this scenario at the retreat, the Old TD teachers viewed her as "a young White girl coming straight out of college. I had no life experience and I was not going to be able to relate to the kids. I was told by several teachers to my face that I wouldn't make it more than a month." In fact, Marie learned two years later that at the retreat, "the veteran teachers had a pool going to see which of the new teacher would leave first" and Marie's and another English teacher's names were on the top of the list. When asked how she felt about Old TD teachers betting that she would be one of the first New TD teachers to quit, Marie said "honestly, it's, it's sad that I worked my butt off in grad school and take this career really seriously. And the veteran teachers' attitudes were like, they trivialize what we do here." Marie was upset that the Old TD teachers were not supportive to her because, Marie felt, she had earned the right to teach at TD because of the work she completed in her graduate teacher education program. However, one reason that Old TD teachers may have predicted Marie would be one of the first New TD teachers to quit the school was because of her internship.

As Marie continued to engage the three day retreat, Marie's internship placement the previous year became a point of contention for some Old TD teachers. Since Hills High School's students were predominantly White, Marie was approached by some Old TD teachers who, after finding out about her internship placement, asked Marie questions that she responded

to. For instance, Marie recalled "they asked me 'well, why didn't you just stay at the White school?' Because, you know, I'm White and that just makes more sense. Or, 'do you think coming here is going to save anyone?' As if my purpose to come here was to save Black children." Marie took issue with Old TD teachers confronting her about her decision to teach at TD instead of Hills High School. Marie felt that by signing a contract to teach at TD when she was offered a job to teach at Hills High School, she made a commitment to TD, its students, and its community. Moreover, Marie felt that TD's students needed quality teachers that the school did not have before she was hired. In this way, Marie felt that if she was saving TD's students from anyone, it was from the disimpassioned, Old TD teachers. Therefore, Marie was highly offended when the Old TD teachers accused her of wanting to "save" Black students.

When discussing who comprised Old TD teachers at the retreat, Marie made sure not to group all of TD's returning teachers in with Old TD teachers. Marie explained that she understood only 45% of TD's teachers from the 2007-2008 school year were asked back following the reconstitution. Marie estimated that 45% of TD's teachers accounted for about 35 people. Then, out of those 35 teachers, Marie approximated that 10 of them wanted to break from the group of Old TD teachers and help TD restructure. About those 10 teachers at the retreat, Marie said:

> You probably had about 10 teachers who looked at the reconstitution of the school as good, who thought that was what needed to happen, and they were on board with whatever the new TD was going to look like. Just 100% gung ho from day one. And those teachers, I honestly felt sorry for them as we went through professional development because they had choices to make. Do I stay with the people I've worked with for 5, 10, or in some cases 15 years who are being really resistant and I know they're

> being resistant to this change, or do I move over to this group of teachers –you know, most of us were brand new, or freshly new to the profession, and we're really just ready to do anything, probably because we don't know any better – is what the feeling was. So, we had teachers that were really caught in the middle.

Marie was sympathetic for this group of teachers who were caught between the Old and New TD teachers. On one level, these 10 teachers had formed relationships with their co-workers over several years while they taught at TD. However, Marie felt that these 10 teachers understood that the Old TD teachers' way of instructing students was ineffective since the school had to restructure. Moreover, Marie identified these 10 teachers as being very enthusiastic in their support of TD as it went through its mandated restructuring process. As such, these teachers found themselves stuck between TD's two teacher camps. When asked how those 10 teachers physically compared to Old TD teachers, Marie said they were "under 40 and White" compared to Old TD teachers who were "mostly over 40 and Black." Marie then continued to compare the Old and New TD teachers, and Table 9 captures her comparisons.

Marie then concluded her comments about the retreat by discussing how the teachers socialized after the instructional part of their day ended.

A potential reason why TD's administrative team thought it was a good idea to host a mountain retreat was to allow TD's new staff a chance to bond. Although there were collaborative activities built into the retreat's structure, the staff took the opportunity to bond after the instructional part of their day was finished. Marie explained that after the day's PD sessions ended, "we stayed in [the hotel], and there's like a block party on one of the floors. And obviously I felt like a high school freshman again, you know, trying to fit in with the cool kids."

Table 9. Comparing Old TD to New TD

Characteristic	Old TD	New TD
Motto	"We get by and no one bothers us"	"They are going to do whatever is thrown at them, and they are going to try to make the school successful however they can"
Race	"African-American"	"The majority of us are White"
Age	"45-50"	"Younger, under 35 for the most part"
Teaching Experience	"Most have over 10 years experience"	Relatively new to teaching, with five or less years experience
Education	"Do not have master's degrees and have not been through a [traditional] teacher education program"	"Everyone that was hired after the reconstruction had to have a master's degree"
Route to Certification	"Certified through an alternative license program"	Came in through a traditional college of education teacher program
Emphasis	Athletics	Academics

Note: The researcher contextually inferred the non-quoted information in the chart above from Jade's interview

To bond, TD's staff chose to not leave the hotel, but they instead held impromptu socials. Since Marie wanted to become part of TD's staff and not be viewed as an outsider, she attended the festivities, but she still felt like an outsider trying to fit in. Marie explained that while she and the other new teachers saw the socials as a way for them to begin forming relationships, the Old TD teachers were reminiscing about yesteryears while predicting how they are going to have to change their past behavior. For instance, Marie said that the teachers talked "shop, but it was old shop like 'Back in the day, we would drink before football games. Guess we can't do that anymore.'" Moreover, Marie said that the Old TD teachers did engage her in conversation; however, Marie found their conversation to be divisive. An example of how the Old TD teachers were discordant according to Marie was:

> When they did connect with us, it was comparing us to the old TD. You know, 'the students, you know, I don't know how they are going to look at you.' I got that comment a lot. I was like, 'what do you mean how are they going to look at me?' 'Well, I mean, you're just, you're just so young.'

Marie took offense to these comments. She felt like the Old TD teachers were not being kind to her, and they were trying to make her nervous about teaching. In her comments, Marie hesitated with how the Old TD teachers responded by repeating "you're just" twice before stating that she was young. It was possible that the Old TD teachers stammered on their words before declaring that Marie was young because they might have meant to say she was White, but instead substituted in the word "young." Marie did not comment on this possibility directly in her interview, but she did rub her forearm during this part of her interview as a gesture to her race. Also, Marie said that these conversations with Old TD teachers at the retreat made her feel awkward because "they are a lot older than me, they knew each other for a real long time, they drink a lot more than I do, and so there were just strikes against me. I'm young, White, female, [and] have a master's degree." Overall, Marie felt like the Old TD teachers were "keeping a tally list of all the things that separated me [from them]." At the retreat, Marie became aware of the divide between the Old and New TD teachers. Moreover, the comments of Old TD teachers to Marie made her feel the division on a personal level. As the three day retreat ended, TD's staff transitioned back to the school for seven more days of PD.

Back at the school, TD's staff continued to engage PD offered by Dr. Grant. Additionally, according to Marie, the staff collaborated on school initiatives including transforming the school into small learning communities and designing cross-curricular activities with teachers from other departments. About planning interdisciplinary lessons, Marie recalled

she was paired with TD's culinary arts teacher, and they "started talking if I was doing a certain historical literary unit, she could have her students research the food of the time and they could bake it." When asked if she and the culinary arts teacher have ever taught that unit, Marie said "no, and it's been a thorn in my side these past two years that we haven't be able to." As Marie engaged her colleagues in planning how TD could be redesigned into SLCs and teach interdisciplinary lessons, she said "[as] we went through the seven days, I made a very strong effort to connect to anyone that had been in the building before. I mean, I needed them as my ally. If I had to work with somebody, I don't want them to think that I'm not competent." In these comments, Marie stressed how important it was to her that she came across as a reliable, dependable professional. She did not want the first impression her colleagues made about her to be negative, and in return, Marie expected her colleagues to return her expectations. However, that was not the case.

Marie explained that as the 2008-2009 school year opened following the 10 days of PD, "the roaches scattered at the beginning of the year. Everything that we worked so hard on at the mountain retreat and professional development days went away and teachers became very isolated." Marie was very disappointed that the conversations about redesigning TD and collaboratively planning with other teachers during the 10 days of extended contract were meaningless. When discussing the teachers going their own separate ways, Marie did not differentiate between Old TD teachers and New TD teachers; instead, she blamed herself. Marie said "I guess I was very idealistic in thinking that everything we were planning... was going to become a reality my first year. I was really hoping that we could get everything done as far as... changing the culture of the school, and I was naive in that." Because of Marie's inexperience working in urban schools with a divided staff, she did not realize that the initiatives TD's staff

discussed implementing during the 10 days of extended contract time was only talk. As such, Marie began the school year disheartened.

When talking about her first year teaching, Marie did not discuss her classes or students. Instead, Marie continued to talk about her frustrations working with a divided staff. For example, because of their extended contract, TD's teachers were required to attend PD sessions every Wednesday after school. In the PD sessions, Marie explained that the divide between the Old TD and New TD teachers was visible. Marie explained "there's a clear divide. It's older [versus] younger. It's new to the building [versus] been in the building a long time. It's still on board with what we are doing or sit in the back and pretend the meeting is not happening. I mean, it's a very clear, clear divide of the staff." Similar to how the Old TD teachers separated themselves from the New TD teachers at the retreat, Marie identified the majority of TD's veteran teachers as not engaging the Wednesday PD sessions or working to transform TD's school culture.

Marie specifically identified some of TD's coaches as not contributing at all to TD's restructuring. About the coaches, Marie said "'Coaches,' I put this in quotations on purpose. I mean, they would make every excuse possible to get out of what we were doing, and this continues today in our professional development. They always, always leave [our meeting] for some really 'important' reason." Marie's comment insinuated that she viewed TD's coaches as valuing athletics over academics. For instance, Marie was upset that the coaches would leave a staff meeting or PD session to attend to something related to athletics. In Marie's perspective, TD had a history of valuing "athletics over academics" and the coaches' excuses for leaving a meeting worked to continue that legacy. Marie further commented that since starting to restructure TD, "there is definitely more of a school identity than we had before, and a school

identity for all students. Before [the restructuring], I think, if you were involved in football or cheerleading, or you had something to do with the school's athletic success, then you had an identity." To Marie, a large part of breaking TD down from a large, comprehensive high school into three SLCs was to show students the school valued their academic success and that students could create a school identity because of their classroom achievements. Whereas before the restructuring, students gained an identity based on their involvement in TD's athletic department, TD's transition to SLCs was supposed to give students the added attention and support they needed to excel academically and to take pride in the scholastic achievements. Since the coaches were leaving the staff meetings and PD sessions because of "important" calls, Marie viewed the coaches as working against TD's restructuring efforts. However, Marie did articulate a division even within the coaches.

When discussing where the coaches sat during meetings and PD, Marie said "coaches are in the back, except... [the sports that] are coached by the new teachers, and they don't sit with the coaches. They sit with the staff." Marie did not lump New TD teachers who coach sports into the Old TD teachers category because they do not behave in the same manner as Old TD teachers. Instead of being passive and disengaged in TD's school restructuring, Marie noted how the New TD teachers who coached sports sat in the front of the room and wanted to be part of TD's restructuring. In fact, Marie's comment of "they sit with the staff" expressed how Marie did not view Old TD teachers as even being part of TD's new staff or future. When asked to name other groups of teachers who she viewed as not contributing to TD's staff meetings, PD sessions, or restructuring process, Marie said "Band [teachers]... and pretty much anyone that interacts with the students outside of the class and not in a curriculum way. They are typically less interactive with our staff meetings." In Marie's perspective, teachers who taught a core

class – English, math, science, and social studies – were more invested in TD's restructuring and their actions proved their investment to Marie. When talking about what was going to happen to Old TD teachers who were not willing to join the New TD teachers, Marie said "We are waiting for people to get out. And that's going to happen. I know of three older teachers who are taking early retirement." In Marie's mind, it was easier to wait for Old TD teachers to decide to retire then to get them to buy into TD's restructuring.

Since the divisions in TD's staff were so apparent during her first year at TD, Marie discussed the administration's response. Marie reported that Carmen and Bryant tried to have a conversation with several members of Old TD teachers, but their efforts were met with resistance. Marie said:

> To my knowledge, they [Carmen and Bryant] have pulled in staff members and discussed with them about what we are trying to do here and we are all on the same page. I know they've pulled everyone from the performing arts wing and they've talked to them as a separate group. From what I've seen, it hasn't done anything at all, and, in fact, it has turned into a yelling match several times in our meetings where you have, um, older teachers standing up and screaming at administration.

The efforts by the Carmen and Bryant to help Old TD teachers understand what they are trying to do at TD has been met with resistance. From Marie's perspective, the Old TD teachers were not willing to work with the efforts of Carmen, Bryant, or the New TD teachers. Since all the Old TD teachers had tenure, Marie felt their tenure was why they could be so openly resistant to TD's restructuring efforts and not be fired. Marie also commented that some of Old TD teachers – specifically the band director and dance teacher – felt "that they are the only ones that want that position... and they felt they are the only ones that can do the job adequately." When asked

if Marie agreed that they were the only individuals who could effectively teach band or dance, Marie said "no, not at all." The fact that Old TD teachers had tenure was, in Marie's mind, the reason they continued to be employed at TD. Marie did not feel that the Old TD teachers were irreplaceable nor did she think they were doing an adequate job teaching; instead, Marie pointed to teachers having tenure as working against TD's restructuring. In fact, Marie had such a negative view of how Old TD teachers were abusing their tenure that it changed how she thought about it. When asked about tenure, Marie said "I don't think we need it" and then she explained:

> Because from what I thought – now this is a complete opposite view of what I had before I came into teaching – before, when I was coming into teaching, I thought this [tenure] is perfect, you deserve security, especially in a job when you never know year-to-year. Uh, but, my experience has been that tenure breeds mediocrity. Whether that is true everywhere, I don't know. But I saw the same thing where I interned. You have these young, vivacious teachers working so hard. And I don't mean young, as in age, I just mean young to the profession. And then you had teachers who would run and make copies of their 25 year old worksheets right before class starts, and I mean that's unfortunate.

Since the New TD teachers did not have job security, Marie thought tenure gave them the motivation they needed to be effective teachers and make meaningful contributions to TD's restructuring. However, Marie felt that after teachers earned tenure, they began to lose the drive they once had for their teaching. Because tenured assured teachers they had a job, they began to drift into being mediocre teachers who were complacent in their teaching. From Marie's perspective, she viewed the Old TD teachers as being poor classroom teachers without the drive

to improve their teaching because of tenure. However, in her interview, Marie did point to improvements being made at TD.

As her first year teaching came to a close, Marie did not point to any major triumphs made by herself or TD. Instead, she commented that she welcomed summer and saw it as a break to refresh before returning. To open her second year teaching, Marie said she again had to attend 10 days of PD where they covered "nothing but teaching strategies and what your classroom should look like," and all the PD sessions during Marie's second year were held on TD's campus.

When discussing her second year at TD, Marie was more positive in her comments than the first year. To explain why there was little progress her first year compared to her second, Marie said about the first year of restructuring, we did not "have the luxury of simply opening a new school and establishing brand new procedures and brand new foundations for things. We... were kind of walking a tightrope as far as holding students accountable and raising the rigor of our curriculum but also not leaving the Old TD behind." As Carmen and Bryant took control of TD in the 2008-2009 school year, they worked to establish a new culture for TD that included only offering rigorous classes and converting the school into SLCs. However, according to Marie, the efforts of Carmen, Bryant, and the New TD teachers started to pay dividends her second year. For instance, to close her interview, Marie discussed how TD has improved in comparing her first year teaching to her second.

First, Marie said the overall instruction by TD teachers – both Old and New TD teachers – has improved. Marie said "I think across the board there has been more of a focus on learning. There has been a huge difference between my first year here, and even before that, when I came to observe here and now that students are eager to get to class." In her comments, Marie

discussed how she felt students were more engaged in their classes because students were spending less time toiling in the hallways between classes. Marie pointed to all teachers becoming more accountable for student learning as part of the TD's restructuring. In fact, about classroom instruction, Marie said now she saw "classes that have a clear beginning, middle, and end, that have times that are chunked, [and] teaching strategies that everyone across the board is using." Marie credited the 10 days of PD by Ed Works to start off both her first and second years teaching as why teachers' classroom instruction was improving. Additionally, Marie pointed to Carmen checking lesson plans as making a meaningful contribution to teachers' instruction. Marie commented "We were required to do both unit plans and daily plans, and we had to submit them to our Curriculum Principal [Carmen]... it was monitored at the very beginning of last year." Marie felt that requiring all teachers to turn in their lesson plans was meaningful, and she said "for a while she [Carmen] was really diligent about checking them... She would try to give you feedback, and, if nothing else, just a smiley face... [and] she would really try to stay up to date with that, but what do you do with the teachers that refuse to turn them in?" Although she appreciated Carmen's comments and pointed to it as helping to improve TD's instruction, Marie was disappointed because Carmen did not sustain this initiative past the opening months of the 2008-2009 school year. Additionally, Marie recognized that Old TD teachers continued to rely on their tenure and decided not to turn in their lesson plans like Carmen required. The refusal of Old TD teachers to submit lesson plans to Carmen angered Marie, and Marie sympathized with Carmen in having to work through that problem.

The second improvement TD has made because of its restructuring related to school pride and identity. Marie noted earlier in her interview that before the restructuring, students who were involved in TD's athletics were the only ones who took pride in TD. However that

dynamic was changing. Marie said "I think teachers feel that they can be [seen], that they are not afraid to wear a TD t-shirt I guess, you know, in public. I guess it [teaching at TD] isn't so much a stigma anymore." Previous to the restructuring, TD's teachers were not prideful that they taught at TD. One likely reason is the lack of academic success that TD's students had while in high school or after they graduated. According to Marie, that dynamic was changing because "now we have students being recognized for their academic achievements, for their [academic] scholarships they are getting." Marie then explained TD's media concepts class ran "a loop with our TVs around the school, and so now, instead of just seeing athlete of the week, we're seeing this person just got accepted to [college], or this person just got a scholarship to this school and before, I know that wasn't happening. They are celebrating the academics." Marie again keyed on TD's restructuring as shifting the focus of the school from only honoring athletes to recognizing students' academic successes. This shift was meaningful to Marie because, as a junior English teacher, she has worked hard to develop her students' literacy skill sets to prepare them for post-secondary school education. By her students being recognized for their success, Marie was also indirectly recognized for her work and she took pride in that.

Marie pointed to TD's Student Leader Program as a third indicator that TD was making strides in its restructuring. Marie explained that since TD was geographically the closest high school to LCS's District Office and the school was restructuring, TD had frequent visitors. Because they had such a high volume of visitors, "a couple of teachers and one of our guidance counselors got together and said 'we want a group of students, 9th-12th grade, that will represent our school." Out of that conversation, the teachers and guidance counselors worked to create TD's Student Leader Program. This group of students, according to Marie, focused on greeting

visitors and supporting school initiatives. One of the school initiatives that the Student Leaders helped support was ensuring all of TD's students were present for test day.

In the 2009 fall semester, TD successfully tested 100% of its students. To ensure all of its students were tested, Marie noted that it was a joint effort between TD's staff members, students, and volunteers. Marie explained that "community members were called in, and staff members were involved, and volunteers, and they went out and did what they called 'drive bys' – an interesting term to use – and they literally went and picked up kids from their houses, from whatever convenience store they were hanging out" and brought them into TD to test. Marie credited TD's Student Leaders for promoting to their peers that they attend TD on test day, and she commented that without the Student Leaders' involvement, she was uncertain if TD would have been able to report such a high student attendance rate on test day.

At the conclusion of her interview, Marie returned to her decision about accepting TD's job offer to begin her teaching career. Marie said:

> When you take someone who is full of zest and ready to begin a career, and you put them in a difficult situation, two things are going to happen. One, they either flourish for whatever reason, or they end up hating their job. If you had a teacher in classroom who really wanted to be there two years ago and now doesn't want to teach ever, anywhere, I mean, that to me is a mark of failure.

In Marie's closing comments, she talked about how school restructuring should not be only assessed based on student achievement. In Marie's perspective, the quality of a school's working conditions for teachers including support systems, school culture, and staff unity needed to be considered when evaluating a school's restructuring. To survive her first years teaching,

Marie said "I have learned to celebrate the small things. You know, a student went from throwing a dictionary at me at the beginning of the semester to doing the work I ask by the end of the semester, little things in the classroom every day." To Marie, the small victories she has had in her classroom allowed her to look past the bigger issues TD was facing with its restructuring and to enjoy pockets of success.

A Story of Division

By discussing the challenges she and TD's school community faced because of a divided staff, Marie told a story of division. In her interview, Marie made it clear that she saw the New TD teachers and the Old TD teachers as two distinct factions of TD's staff. Whereas Marie made it clear that she aligned herself with the New TD teachers, she pointed to the Old TD teachers as causing TD problems.

The first problem the Old TD teachers caused Marie was being unwelcoming to TD's newly hired teachers. When Marie first arrived at the retreat, she said she was "terrified" in having to meet and work with the Old TD teachers. In her interview, Marie explained that some of TD's teachers were very upset with the new teachers because they were replacing TD's veteran teachers' friends who had lost their job. Marie made it clear that the woman she was hired to replace was an incompetent teacher who put her wants in front of her students' needs. In response to hearing these stories, Marie was aghast that a teacher would be so irresponsible in performing her job duties; however, the Old TD teachers supported the teacher Marie replaced because they viewed her as a friend and were loyal to her. As such, the Old TD teachers were quick to question what skills Marie brought to her classroom and TD because of her lack of teaching experience. Since the Old TD teachers made it known to Marie that they supported their friend and not her, Marie felt very uncomfortable around the Old TD teachers.

Next, the relationships that the Old TD teachers had formed with one another over a series of years gave them the appearance of being a tight-knit group with a history. At the retreat, Marie explained that she felt rebuffed when she tried to talk with the Old TD teachers. For example, during the off times at the retreat, Marie went to socialize with her future colleagues. As she tried to become acquainted with them, Marie felt hurt when they told her she was too young and that her students would not connect to her. Additionally, it was at this time when the Old TD teachers were wagering on which of the New TD teachers would quit first. Therefore, as the school year started and Marie found out that the Old TD teachers were incorrect about her abilities to teach and connect with her students, the success Marie had likely increased the animosity between her and some of the Old TD teachers. In fact, during her first school year at TD when it became apparent Marie was experiencing success in her classroom and in TD's school community, Marie reported that "some of them [Old TD teachers] resent me... I have veteran staff members that will not speak to me in the hallway. I mean, if I say, 'good morning,' ... they definitely give me a dirty look first and walk past." The animosity between Marie and the Old TD teachers that started at the retreat before her first year teaching has been sustained over Marie's first two years at TD. In response to the animosity, Marie has not let it get to her; instead, she keeps greeting her colleagues each morning.

Thirdly, Marie made it apparent that the Old TD teachers were openly resistant to engaging in any of TD's school restructuring initiatives. For example, Marie discussed how at the retreat Dr. Grant had to ask the Old TD teachers to sit and intermingle with the New TD teachers. Marie felt that it was ridiculous that Dr. Grant had to ask the Old TD teachers to move and meet their new colleagues. By not sitting with the New TD teachers, Marie felt the Old TD teachers were sending the New TD teachers a message that they were uninterested in working

with them to restructure TD. Additionally, Marie reported that as TD continued restructuring during the next two school years, the Old TD teachers continued to physically separate themselves from the New TD teachers at staff meeting and PD sessions. By the Old TD teachers continually separating themselves from the New TD teachers, Marie no longer valued working with the Old TD teachers. Furthermore, Marie did not value the jobs that the Old TD teachers were doing for TD. For example, Marie discussed how certain members of the Old TD teacher felt irreplaceable because no one else could do their jobs. Marie did not agree that these teachers had such challenging jobs and that nobody else could effectively do them; rather, Marie believed that the only reason these teachers continued to be employed by TD was because they had tenure and could not be fired. As such, Marie became disappointed that these teachers were part of TD's staff, and she decided to no longer even try to associate with them.

When discussing how TD could resolve the divisions in its staff, Marie made it clear that she did not think that was possible. In fact, Marie felt that the only way for Carmen and Bryant to move forward with their entire restructuring agenda was to wait for the Old TD teachers who were unwelcoming of change to retire. For Marie, it was unfortunate for her to believe that because it gave significant amounts of power to the Old TD teachers during the school's restructuring process. As such, if TD continues to be unable to mend its divided staff, the division may hamper school's ability to hire quality teachers because of its divisive teaching environment.

Introducing Gwen

Gwen was a White woman in her mid-twenties. When the 2007-2008 school year opened, Gwen was enrolled in Crocket University's master of education program. As part of her program, Gwen was required to complete a yearlong internship, which she completed at

Riverside High School during the 2007-2008 school year. Gwen graduated with her master's degree in May of 2008 and was soon hired by TD. Gwen began teaching English at TD during the 2008-2009 school year and continued working in that capacity through the 2010-2011 school year. As TD adopted the TAP program during the spring and summer of 2011, Gwen became one of TD's TAP mentor teachers starting in August of 2011. At the time of this study, Gwen was a TAP Mentor Teacher at TD.

Gwen's Story

Gwen told a story of growth. In her interview, Gwen often used reflection to compare what she was thinking and doing in the classroom when she started teaching at TD and then contrasted it against how she has learned to meet the needs of both her students and TD's accountability demands. When Gwen was a first year teacher, she was more concerned about learning the culture of TD and trying to fulfill her teaching obligations. As her story progressed and she gained experience teaching, Gwen's interview turned into a story of how she evolved from being only concerned about her classroom responsibilities to becoming an active part of TD's restructuring. At the time of her interview, Gwen did not see herself as a classroom teacher; rather, she saw the work she and her fellow 10th grade English teachers do as being the linchpin in TD's success.

Gwen opened her story with her college graduation. In 2005, Gwen earned a bachelor's degree in English literature from a university in Henley. While earning her degree, Gwen worked as a nurse in a hospital, and she continued to be a nurse following her college graduation. When talking about being a nurse, Gwen emphasized her care for challenging patients. She said, "I had a really close connection with difficult, I guess, clients." Gwen then elaborated that these "difficult clients" were patients who were dying. Working with these patients took a toll on

Gwen, and she explained "I wanted to get out and, uh, do something for beginning of life." As such, Gwen decided to leave the hospital and not continue with her original plan of earning an advanced pharmacology degree. Instead, Gwen chose to earn her master's degree in education (MEd).

When discussing her decision to return to school to pursue her MEd, Gwen said she was interested in becoming either a middle or high school English teacher. Gwen explained "I feel like I was a good, caring type of person, but I was also very deliberate, and I really like the process of teaching. So I made a logical decision that I wanted to go into teaching." As such, Gwen returned to her undergraduate university and began taking teacher education courses in the spring of 2008. As part of the requirements to earn her MEd program, Gwen had to complete a yearlong teaching internship, and she was placed at Riverside High School. Gwen described Riverside High School as being "mostly White... some middle-class, but... 70-80% free/reduced lunch. So very homogenous, but, you know, poor." When asked how she liked interning at Riverside High School, Gwen said that she "loved it" and explained "I felt like I had an easy and automatic connection. I actually grow up in Riverside, so it was kind of like going home, and I actually didn't want to do that." Gwen explained that she grew up in a rural community zoned for Riverside High School, but her family moved to a neighborhood zoned for TD following her 8th grade year. However, Gwen's father did not want her to attend TD for high school. Because TD was a low performing school at the time, Gwen's father used NCLB's school transfer provision that allowed for both Gwen and her sister to attend and graduate from Hills High School. Moreover, Gwen's experience at both Riverside and Hills high schools affected her decision of where she wanted to teach following her internship.

In spring of 2008, Gwen was completing her internship and began looking for teaching jobs. When deciding where she wanted to teach, Gwen said "I decided that if I want to teach, then I want to be at the hardest place possible." To elaborate on what she meant by "the hardest place possible," Gwen explained that she viewed teaching students of another culture as being challenging. Gwen commented that there "were challenges of comfort for me socially, and me, like, culturally. I didn't want to just become a, I guess, a WASP is what I would call it. Just a middle-class, White teacher... who is just interested in how to teach middle-class White kids." Gwen felt that teaching at a school like Riverside or Hills would limit her growth as a teacher because she would be teaching kids who were culturally similar to her. Instead, Gwen was attracted to TD because it had a large minority student population, and Gwen attended a teacher's job fair during the spring of 2009 in Henley to make initial contact with TD.

At the job fair, Gwen said that TD was "very aggressive about hiring me." Specifically, Gwen met both Carmen and Bryant at the job fair, and they said TD "was the best place to work and that, um, I could basically teach whatever I wanted and I would have small class-sizes, and I, um, wouldn't be constrained by like teaching the canon, and uh, um, having to teach a really, really traditional curriculum." When asked if Carmen or Bryant mentioned that TD was undergoing school restructuring and subsequently had released 40% of its staff at the end of the 2008-2009 school year, Gwen said that they did not mention that. However, Gwen commented that they told her "they were hiring a lot of new teachers and that they were more interested in hiring the new teachers because they knew they could shape them to become what they needed." Gwen further noted that Carmen and Bryant said "it was more difficult to take older teachers [because] they were more resistant [to change]." In response to Carmen's and Bryant's explanation of why they were targeting early career teachers, Gwen said "it didn't bother me

because I'm the type of person who thought 'of course I can become what they want me to become.' So I began my journey." In this instance, Gwen accepted Carmen's and Bryant's explanation of why they were hiring so many new teachers without question. Additionally, Gwen internalized that she could become what she needed to be in order to satisfy what Carmen and Bryant wanted out of her. At the time of her hiring, Gwen still had not been inside TD nor did she realize TD was implementing NCLB's mandatory school restructuring policies. Instead, Gwen saw an opportunity to teach students of another culture and quickly took it. Additionally, Gwen's use of the phrase "began my journey" in response to her being hired by TD is significant because Gwen metaphorically equates teaching with being on a trip or pilgrimage. Since a trip and pilgrimage both have a starting and ending point, it relates back to Gwen telling a story of growth. For Gwen, her growth as a teacher did not start until she began her "teaching journey" by being hired by TD.

Gwen's first experience in TD was not a positive one. Previous to the start of the 2008-2009 school year, Gwen was recruited by TD's Project Grad program to teach an English skills course for rising 9th graders known as an English Bridge course. According to Gwen, a Bridge course was supposed to help middle schoolers transition to high school by teaching them additional skills – such as note taking and reading strategies – that they will need for high school success. Gwen described her first impressions of TD as being "very disorganized," and it was at this point in time that Gwen started to realize the impact of TD's restructuring.

To teach her English Bridge class, Gwen was assigned to a former teacher's classroom who was recently released because of TD's reconstitution. To describe the state of the room she was in, Gwen said that it looked like the teacher "had just abandoned his classroom." Gwen then went on to say:

> Like a lot of teachers, because of the restructuring, were very, um, what I heard, were very hurt, left without really taking care of some things. Like books were in the hallways, books were piled up in closets, and like office rooms were just huge messes of just stuff. It was like a natural disaster had happened.

As she went about the work of preparing her classroom for her English Bridge class, Gwen began to understand the meaning of what happened the previous year at TD. In response to being let go, the released teachers simply left TD and did not concern themselves with preparing their classrooms for their replacements. Gwen then went on to additionally explain that TD's restructuring did not leave just the school in physical disarray; rather, TD's day-to-day operations were left in disrepair. To explain, Gwen cited that the school's "communication about basic things, like beginning of the year" was affected by how the teachers left. Because Carmen and Bryant were new to the school and they replaced 40% of TD's veteran teachers, there was a breakdown in how the administration communicated essential information to the staff. Additionally, pacing guides and curriculum materials were lost because of the disorganized way that the released staff left TD following the close of the 2007-2008 school year, and it affected Gwen.

When preparing material for her English Bridge class, Gwen felt stranded and desperate. She explained "I assumed [I would have] some sort of curriculum, a book, some materials. What I got was... here's a classroom, um, it was just a whiteboard and some desks, and you're about to have four classes of 25 kids in them each for four weeks, just figure it out." At this point in her teaching, Gwen felt isolated, unsupported, underprepared, and overwhelmed. After being aggressively pursued at the job fair by Carmen and Bryant and told that she would have the freedom to use alternatives to canonical texts with small classes, Gwen found herself working

hard to just string together the materials she would need to teach 100 kids a day for four weeks. In response, Gwen said, "I didn't have any materials so I just went and dug through some closets [at TD] and found some things, and I went on the internet. I went to my [teaching] methods courses I just finished [for my MEd]... I had no idea what I was doing." Nevertheless, Gwen was able to overcome the complete absence of materials and was able put together 20 daily lessons for her students. When asked about how effective she thought her teaching was that first summer, Gwen said "not very." She then told a story about how she lacked reasoning for her teaching.

Gwen explained that she could not teach a novel during that summer because the English Bridge class was geared towards teaching students skills they would need for high school success. Therefore, Gwen decided to teach levels of questioning. To teach levels of questioning, Gwen explained that she and her class would "just read short texts and then we would, um, create questions and we would answer questions, we would try to analyze the text from these levels of questioning." Gwen commented that students in her class at times made progress in identifying the different types and levels of question and she felt like "'wow, this is really working, but I wasn't really aware of why or how this fit into their lives as 9th graders." For Gwen, she felt successful with her English Bridge students when they were attaining the concepts she was trying to teach in her lessons; however, Gwen reflected on her lessons' lack of relevancy. Gwen felt like her students were not making personal connections between her lesson's objectives and their lives. When reflecting back on her experience teaching that initial English Bridge class during the summer of 2008, Gwen said "so now knowing how much I know about that curriculum and how little I knew when I started, I, I'm a little amazed that they threw people into teach that class." Because of Gwen's experience teaching that English Bridge class

as a teacher with her only practice in teaching coming from her internship, Gwen felt unprepared and was surprised that TD's administrators and Project Grad were willing to put her in a position where she felt unsupported. However, neither TD's administrators nor Project Grad made any changes to how they staffed their summer Bridge courses. Gwen said that the following summer of 2009, she returned to teach the English Bridge class and that year she felt more prepared. In comparing her experience in teaching the English Bridge class in the summer of 2008 compared to the summer of 2009, Gwen said she felt like an outsider her first year and an insider her second. However, Gwen said she saw herself in a new hire they brought in to teach another section of the Bridge curriculum for the summer of 2009. Gwen commented "they had a new person to teach summer Bridge who had never taught at TD before, and that they were in a similar situation, a new hire. And I just thought 'oh dear, you know, that's exactly what I had just experienced.'" Even as TD worked through its first year of restructuring after releasing 40% of its old staff, TD and Project Grad continued to repeat ineffective ways of staffing its summer Bridge courses.

After Gwen completed teaching her English Bridge course during the summer of 2008, she reported back to TD early for 10 days of PD because of her contract. When Gwen signed her contract to teach at TD, she accepted a $2,000 signing bonus plus an extra month's pay. In return for the added money, Gwen agreed to work an additional 22 days per year and that she would teach at TD for at least three consecutive years. If she broke the terms of her contract, then Gwen had to pay back the $2,000 and was ineligible to be hired by another school operated by LCS. Moreover, the 22 additional days Gwen agreed to work were dispersed throughout the school year. The first 10 days required TD's teachers to report back to TD two work weeks before teachers in other LCS schools had to report back to school. This time was used for PD.

Additional time was made up on Wednesday afternoons when TD's teachers stayed late for PD and for time to plan in their professional learning communities (PLCs) and SLCs. This additional time on Wednesdays equated to 11 extra days spread throughout the school year. The final day was made up by TD's teachers spending one additional day at TD after teachers in other LCS schools left for summer break. All of TD's teachers who were hired between the 2007-2008 school year to 2008-2009 school year had to sign a contract with these stipulations. As such, Gwen found herself reporting back to TD early for the opening of the 2008-2009 school year. However, since the 2008-2009 school year supposedly marked the beginning of a "new" TD, it was decided that the teachers would report to a hotel in the Smoky Mountains for a school retreat.

TD's faculty retreat was scheduled to last three full days – Monday through Wednesday – and it was how TD's administrative team wanted to jumpstart the "new" TD. Gwen said she arrived at the hotel on a Sunday evening, and before arriving she thought the purpose of the retreat was to develop a plan for TD's school restructuring. However, that was not the case. Instead of dedicating the three days to planning the new TD, Gwen found herself in a situation she had not expected. Gwen said that she met the entire staff on Sunday night, and then she assumed Monday that "we will all come together for, um, what I thought was going to be like... 'how are we going to do this [restructure TD]' but it totally blew my mind because someone had forgot to tell us that our restructuring was going to be owned and led by Ed Works." Ed Works is the Ohio-based educational management organization that LCS and TD contracted with to provide TD's staff with PD and support TD's administrative team in developing TD's restructuring plan. According to Gwen, TD and LCS spent $100,000 to hire Ed Works, but no one communicated to her that Ed Works was going to be leading TD's restructuring.

To open the retreat on Monday morning, Ed Works had its consultant greet TD's staff and begin 10 straight days of PD. When recalling her first impression of Ed Works at the retreat, Gwen said "it was this man and he said 'today I need you to sip from the fire hose.' I remember that keenly, and I, I was thinking 'what is this fire hose? What are you talking about?'" The "fire hose" the Ed Works consultant wanted TD's teachers to "sip from" was a metaphor for them to be open to the PD he was going to teach them. When discussing the PD that Ed Works offered TD's teachers during those 10 days of PD, Gwen was dubious about its quality. She described the Ed Works trainer as "just unloading all sorts of really, really, really vague methods... He acted like think-pair-share was the newest and hottest thing." Gwen said it seemed like the purpose of his methods were "to encourage kids to think about what they are learning [and] to communicate or share what they are learning." Overall, Gwen critiqued the Ed Works trainer's methods as having "huge gaps in relevancy." The gaps Gwen referred to were how the generic strategies and instructional methods that the trainer presented to TD's staff were not content-specific. The trainer did not focus on connecting a specific learning strategy to an academic discipline. Rather, the trainer just presented a generic strategy – such as think-pair-share – to all of TD's teachers at once and did not provide them with differentiated examples of using the strategy in an English, math, science, or dance class. Another memory Gwen has of TD's staff retreat was a divide between teachers.

According to Gwen, TD's staff divided itself during the retreat and throughout her first year teaching. The staff was largely divided between teachers who taught at TD before it began restructuring and those who were hired as part of TD's restructuring process. Gwen referred to the staff that taught at TD before the restructuring as "Old TD" and used the term "New TD" to describe the teachers who were hired as part of TD's restructuring plan. At the retreat, Gwen

recalled walking into a large ballroom on Monday morning and the two sects of TD's staff had separated themselves by either sitting at Old TD tables or New TD tables. On the first day of the retreat, Gwen remembered the Ed Works trainer and TD's administrative team had to encourage the Old TD teachers to welcome the New TD teachers. About being received by the Old TD teachers, Gwen said:

> I don't think that they received me badly, but they [the Ed Works trainer and TD's administrative team] pointed out the beginning of that day 'this is your new staff. Welcome them,' and there were so many new people, and it was kind of apparent that we all had something to prove, I guess. You know, we were supposed to come in and save the school. And that we are supposed to save it from them.

Because Carmen and Bryant released 40% of TD's staff at the end of the previous school year as part of TD's restructuring, Gwen understood that action as a commentary of the Old TD teachers' effectiveness in the classroom. The message communicated to Gwen was that the Old TD teachers were the individuals responsible for TD's low performance. Therefore, Gwen saw it as the New TD teachers' responsibility to raise their students' performance and subsequently improve TD's standing according to NCLB's policies. To Gwen, returning TD to good standing with NCLB qualifies as "saving TD" and it would also prove the New TD's teachers' worth. As for the remainder of the retreat, Gwen found both positives and negatives.

When reflecting back on the retreat, Gwen found just having the staff spend time together was the most meaningful part of three days in the Smoky Mountains for her. Gwen explained "it wasn't what we were doing together, it was we were getting to spend time together... we were building fellowship." Bonding with her colleagues and breaking down barriers between Old TD and New TD teachers was what Gwen most valued about her experience at the retreat. Gwen

then went on to explain some of the challenges she encountered at the retreat related to Old TD teachers lack of wanting to even talk about changing TD, let alone restructuring.

> What we were aggravated by was some of the things we're having to do... I remember just being at some tense tables sometimes, and they would give us some random numbers, and I would be at a table with a teacher who maybe had been there for 35 years, and I was supposed to be really, really vocal about my opinion about how we should structure classes, or how we should structure advisory, and there would just be this teacher, and it was like all the frustrations she felt kind of, I remember specifically just very tense altercations and we were both in disagreement... I quickly realized there were five or six teachers who had been there a very long time, and I needed to really watch out for [them]. To just not, um, upset them, not say anything that was too, um, revolutionary for the school. That certain things were said in that meetings, or that if they were said, those people got very tense and offensive, and soon I was like some of those teachers would like walk out of meetings, or they would like almost verbally just attack our presenter.

During the retreat, Gwen found herself in some very awkward situations. The Ed Works trainer divided TD's teachers up by assigning each of them a number. Then the trainer would call out different numbers and assign the teachers with the corresponding numbers to sit at a table where they were to discuss different aspects of how TD should restructure including whether the school should continue to use a 4x4 block schedule and how teachers should advise their students. The trainer then encouraged all of the teachers to really be forthright in presenting their opinions about what they think is the optimal direction TD should take. When Gwen was at a table with teachers who had decades of teaching experience at TD, she found these teachers resistant to

change. Instead of presenting their opinions and collaborating about new directions TD could take to resolve some of the challenges the school faced, the more experienced teachers just became hostile. These reactions by the more experienced teachers resulted in their unwillingness to cooperate in TD's restructuring and it created negative experiences at the retreat. When asked if Carmen invited these experienced teachers to be part of TD's restructuring the previous year, Gwen said "She didn't invite them. I think she couldn't get rid of them." As the retreat wound down, these tensions were not resolved and continued to fester through Gwen's first years at TD. Nevertheless, the remaining seven days of TD's pre-planning for the 2008-2009 school year resumed at TD.

Following the three day retreat, TD's teachers reconvened at TD for the remaining seven days of PD. Gwen described the staff's response to the PD as at first "we were happy for about five days, and [then] it was very, very stressful after the fifth or sixth day. We were always in this room together, and it's just like 10 days of intense training." Even though she was trying to have a positive attitude about the PD, Gwen was becoming increasingly stressed about being required to sit through the PD because she felt like the PD was wasting time she could use in preparing for the upcoming school year. Gwen said "we still didn't understand how this [the PD] was to fit into the fact that I was supposed to start a class in... five or six days that I had never taught before." After sitting through the PD for six days and having four more to go, Gwen grew increasingly anxious about having to teach her English II college-placement class, a course she had never previously taught. As the PD eventually ended, Gwen finally got into her classroom and being in her classroom started to settle her anxiousness.

The classroom Gwen was assigned to for the 2008-2009 school year was not the same classroom she had during the summer when she taught the English Bridge class. Instead, it was

a new classroom. When Gwen finally was given the key to her classroom, she said it felt like she "got to kind of make it a little home" and that gave her comfort. At the same time, Gwen was also frantically searching for the materials she needed to plan for her class, and she began questioning "is there not a pacing guide or curriculum guide? Or does anyone have these things? Nobody has ever had those things at TD? There was nobody I can go to that was like 'this is what 10th grade looks like.'" Since TD's English department experienced a high turnover rate from the 2007-2008 school year to the 2008-2009 school year because of the restructuring, if materials that Gwen needed even existed, there was nobody who knew about them or communicated the materials' whereabouts to Gwen. Subsequently, Gwen would have to make those materials for herself and TD over the coming years. Another challenge Gwen had to overcome when planning and teaching her English II college-placement class were the multiple ability levels of her students.

When TD's administrative team planned and began implementing its school restructuring strategy, one of the tactics they used to increase the rigor of all the core classes – English, math, science, and social studies – was to eliminate the bottom two tiers of fundamental and basic levels classes and also the honors-level track. So, instead of there being four different levels of each core class – basic, fundamental, college-placement, and honors – TD collapsed its tracks and only offered college-placement level classes to students. This move resulted in Gwen teaching an English II "class that was totally mixed in ability." Gwen commented that her lowest performing students were reading on an elementary-level and her higher performing students struggled to read grade-level texts. The diversity in her students' ability levels left Gwen feeling "really confused about how... to meet all their needs." In response to the mixed ability levels of the students in her class – and to teachers who struggled with the same

challenges as Gwen – the administration instructed their teachers to differentiate their teaching. Moreover, it was explained to the staff that they "can meet all their [students'] needs through differentiation." Gwen responded to the directive by saying "differentiate? Whatever that means." Gwen then commented that "differentiation was something I've always heard about, and, you know, loosely attempted in my internship... No one tells you or prepares you for how to differentiate for every student in your classroom." Gwen then defined differentiation as "just trying to meet the needs of various groups in my class." Because of the directive that teachers differentiate for the mixed ability levels of students in their classrooms, Gwen did what she felt was the best she could to meet her students' needs; however, her problems in the classroom were not confined only to having to differentiate for her students. Instead, student behavior was another part of Gwen's job that challenged her.

When reflecting back on her first year teaching at TD, Gwen recalled two incidents of student behavior that undermined her efforts to be an effective classroom teacher. The first incident involved a student who would not participate in a differentiated activity Gwen designed.

> It was the second week of school, and I asked a girl to, you know, to get into her group, and I had color-coded their worksheets, they had a colored dot, it was based on their ability to go in their groups. And she just said, you know, 'no.' And I didn't know how [to get her to cooperate], and I was like 'yes, you're going to get in your group.' And she stood up on this huge air conditioning machine and told everyone in the room that she is going to shoot me.

In response to the threat, Gwen called an administrator who immediately came up to her room, but by the time Gwen reported what happened during her class and the Assistant Principal responded, the students had left Gwen's room for lunch. The Assistant Principal told Gwen that

she should have called him while the students were still in her room, and Gwen responded by telling the Assistant Principal that "You all could have told us how to handle, you know, what we are supposed to do when [a situation like this happens]." The Assistant Principal then left Gwen's room, found the student in the lunchroom, and suspended the student for the rest of the year. In this situation, Gwen felt that TD's administrative team did not tell her the procedures for when a student threatens her or severely disrupts her classroom. Gwen would again experience with extremely insubordinate student behavior a few months later.

Gwen's next example of poor student behavior happened when she was teaching her third block, college-placement English II class during the 2009 spring semester. In her class, Gwen had seven Black males, and all of the males were involved in gangs. Gwen said, "They were all in two separate gangs, and so they were all enemies, like half and half." As their teacher, Gwen recognized that there was often tension related to her students' gang allegiances, but Gwen said "it wasn't clear yet in the school what supports I should, you know, who I should go to." Gwen explained that she informed TD's Principal about her concerns regarding her students' gang affiliations, and the Principal came to observe her class twice. After observing her class, Gwen explained that the Principal said "they're an okay class, things are tough around here, you'll get used to it." However, Gwen felt that her students were on their best behavior when the Principal came to observe. Therefore, the Principal did not get an authentic read of her class, and one day the tensions between the students in Gwen's class came to a head.

Gwen explained that one day while she was teaching her class, one of her 15 year old student's phone rang. Against Gwen's classroom cell phone policy, the student answered his phone. To describe the events that followed the student answering his phone, Gwen said:

> This is a 15-year old kid, and he just stands up and starts screaming at another boy, and he says he's going to kill him, he's going to kill him tonight. And what I found out was, um, that there had been this shooting the night before, and it was rumored that some of the kids in my classroom had been involved in this, and that nobody notified me.

At this point, Gwen said that all her students began yelling and threatening one another with violence. In response, Gwen started "screaming 'my classroom is a safe place! Get out of my classroom!'... I was like 'get out! Get out!'" Additionally, Gwen called the administrators to notify them of the situation, and she said TD's entire administrative team came running to her room in response. According to Gwen, after regaining control of her students, the administrators told Gwen "I guess we should have told you there was a shooting [last night]... there's been some talk about retaliation tonight." According to Gwen, that next night there was a revenge shooting. The shooters, however, attacked the wrong house and their mistake ended up killing a military veteran who was resting on his couch, and two of Gwen's students were arrested for the shooting. Gwen said "I never saw two of those students again. They were arrested." Yet, the arrest of her students did not leave Gwen with a peaceful class. Instead, Gwen explained that she had one student who "was very upset with me for the rest of the semester because he said that I, you know, snitched, and we had an altercation at the end of the year where he threw a desk at me." The student, however, did not get disciplined for throwing a desk at Gwen because the school's security camera did not record the student's action, and Gwen was unable to prove what happened. Gwen told those two stories about extreme insubordinate student behavior for two reasons.

The first reason Gwen told those stories was to exemplify how challenging the students were to teach her first year. Gwen was challenged not only because of the violent actions of the

students, but also because TD's administrators did not give her information beforehand that could have helped her diffuse the situations, or at least be aware of them. When looking back on those situations of how she would handle them differently, Gwen said:

> I probably would have been more demanding of what I needed support-wise, and I was, I am definitely now, those types of things tend to happen less because I know how to, uh, deescalate things. I know how to, I know when things are clear signs to get people out of my classroom, when to call someone in. But in that first year, I, I didn't, it was like no one can prepare you to experience it.

Gwen saw these two incidents as helping her to grow professionally. Gwen valued those incidents not because of what happened to her students; rather, the incidents allowed her to understand the warnings signs of a potentially disastrous classroom situation and how to diffuse them. The second reason Gwen told these stories was to point out how challenging it was for teachers and administrators to plan concurrently the restructuring of a school while still educating students.

When TD began restructuring during the 2007-2008 school year, LCS first assigned Carmen and Bryant to TD. Next, Carmen and Bryant interviewed all of TD's teachers and decided which teachers to include in TD's restructuring and which teachers to release. After releasing 40% of TD's teachers, Carmen and Bryant went to work hiring new teachers to replace the teachers they released. Additionally, over the summer and into the 2008-2009 school year, TD's administrators were working with Ed Works to plan how the newly restructured TD would function during the 2009-2010 school year. According to Gwen, because TD's administrators were busy planning for the upcoming 2009-2010 school year, it shifted their focus away from the current 2008-2009 school year. Gwen said "I felt like all the principals were so busy doing

restructuring, that they had forgotten that, like there are teachers in the classrooms... Like they were meeting with Ed Works and planning next year... and they forgot that, they had so many new teachers in the building who had major issues." The incidents with student behavior were some of the "major issues" Gwen alluded to teachers having, and she pointed to TD's administrators being spread too thin between having to plan for TD's future while still fulfilling their administrative obligations for the current school year. However, these challenges during her first year did not make Gwen regret signing her initial three year contract with TD. When asked about if she would sign her contract again, Gwen hesitantly said "yes, because I wouldn't be like the teacher I am today if I hadn't gone through all that... I feel like I could, I can offer so much experience. I feel like I got 20 year of teaching experience, you know, packed into three or four [years]." As her first year wound down, Gwen valued the challenges she faced because those challenges helped her grow into being what she viewed was an effective teacher. Gwen further articulated the value she got from her first year at TD when she said "it's like, just different situations, and you can't... read about them or see them in a classroom. You have to actually experience them." After having experienced some very difficult challenges her first year, Gwen found herself more prepared for future situations with insubordinate students.

When comparing her first year at TD to her second, Gwen highlighted her English II honors class and EOC scores as being the two biggest, notable differences. To begin, since TD condensed all of its core classes to just college-placement level courses, there were no honors level classes offered at TD during the 2008-2009 school year. However, TD expanded the tracks to offering college placement and honors level classes starting in the 2009-2010 school year, and Gwen was scheduled to teach an English II honors. In response, Gwen recalled feeling very excited that she was slated for an honors level class. Gwen said "I was like 'oh my gosh! I'm

going to have an honor's class!'" Then she quickly added "it was the worst class I ever had, ever had, [even] still today." Gwen then explained that TD's honor students did not have an honor's level skill set; instead, Gwen found that TD's honor students were "honor students just by title." Moreover, Gwen found that because TD placed these students who did not have the prerequisite honors-level abilities in TD's honors classes, the students developed "a sense of entitlement; like they own honors." To unpack what she meant by TD's students having a sense of entitlement, Gwen said "it was just, they were very, very demanding in like a very, um, childish sort of way. Like I owed them more. That I owed them more, um, if they were behind, if they weren't getting something." Because TD labeled students as "honor students" who did not have the necessary skill set to do honors level coursework, her students grew frustrated when they were unable to adequately complete Gwen's classroom assignments. Instead of working to building their academic skills, the honor students in Gwen's class blamed her for their lack of ability. In return, Gwen blamed TD for labeling unqualified students as honor students for this problem, and the dynamic resulted in Gwen's honors English II class being the worst class Gwen had ever taught. However, Gwen did say that some of her honors students fit an honors student's profile. Out of her honors class of 25 students, Gwen said "there would be a couple, maybe four [or] five kids who were honors kids," and Gwen treated those students differently from the rest of her students.

When describing how her honors students behaved in her class, Gwen noted how the few students that were capable of doing honors level coursework removed themselves from the other students in their class. Gwen said "The kids who were true honors [kids] stuck together, and I let them stick together." By letting them "stick together," Gwen meant that she physically let her "true" honors students sit and work together. Gwen followed the mindset of "if they can go

further and they can write a better paper, or they can get further on this project, or they can read that much with[out me] saying 'hold on' to the other 70% so for the class to catch up to us," then so be it. Gwen's reasoning for allowing her "true" honors students to learn ahead of the rest of the class was that "they had already been held back enough by not having honors the year before." To Gwen, she saw TD's decision to condense the tracks of the core classes down to only the college-placement level during the 2008-2009 school year as a move that limited the learning of TD's honors students. Whereas TD's administrators thought the move would raise the level of rigor for TD's students who were enrolled in its fundamental and basic core classes, the level of rigor was dropped for students who were performing on the honors level. To make up for not being able to learn a rigorous curriculum the previous year, Gwen encouraged her "true" honors students to learn at a pace that was challenging to them while she taught the majority of her other "honors" students. Gwen also pointed to her second year as the time when she began to understand the importance of her students' EOC scores.

As TD began implementing its restructuring strategy during the 2009-2010 school year, her students' EOC scores became more emphasized. Gwen commented "my second year... my CP classes were a lot more focused on passing the EOC because it just became more and more of the focus in the restructuring." According to Gwen, TD's goal for her English II class was to have 80% of her student score "proficient" on the county's EOC exam. However, Gwen was not expected to make that gain overnight; rather, the percentage of her students who were supposed to score "proficient" on the EOC was raised incrementally over a course of five years. For example, during the 2008-2009 school year, Gwen said she was supposed to have 34% of her students score as "proficient" on the EOC. In 2009-2010, the percentage increased to 48%. During the 2010-2011 school year, the percentage was again raised to 57%. At the time of her

interview, Gwen was expected to have 68% of her student score "proficient" on the 2011-2012 English II EOC. Gwen then predicted she would be required to have 80% score "proficient" on the EOC during the 2012-2013 school year. In response to the annual increases in the amount of students who are supposed to score "proficient" on the EOC, Gwen said "the county or state likes to make really big jumps." During her interview, Gwen said she understood that increasing the percentage of students who scored "proficient" on the EOC was part of her job, and she was not resistant in accepting the annual hikes in percentage. However, Gwen did lament the waning amount of information the county provided her about her students.

> At the end of the year [2008-2009], it was a really, really bizarre year because they took the test and I, what I normally noticed is that I got my scores the year before and knew how many of my kids had missed [certain questions], and I got an [test] item analysis. After that [school year], Leigh county and the state no longer does that. Now they don't even send me a raw score. They just send me, um, a score that is a percentage for what their grades would be.

According to Gwen, the county would send her a test item analysis of her students' performance on the EOC after they took the test during the 2007-2008 school year. The test item analysis indicated how Gwen's students performed in response to certain types of questions – such as inferring the authors' main idea, using vocabulary words, and identifying literary devices. Gwen was then able to assess her own instruction and make necessary changes to improve her teaching based on evaluating her students' test item analyses. However, the county and state stopped providing her with that information, and they additionally quit giving her a report of how many questions her students got correct or incorrect. Instead, the county and state now only provide

Gwen with an overall score for each of her students, which she must calculate into her students' final grade. About no longer having the item analysis available to her, Gwen said:

> It means that I don't have any feedback. The test isn't really feedback... When I see a kid got basic or below basic, or proficient, um, you know, it tells me sort of what I kind of felt I already knew... [If] there's no item analysis, it doesn't help me... [because] there's almost 90 skills [on the EOC, and I need to know] which skills they are weak in... [So, I end up feeling] like I have to do everything really, really well.

Since the county took away the test item analysis, Gwen was unable to see how her students performed on their English I EOC the previous year. Therefore, because that information was not available to her, Gwen felt even more pressure to teach her students every possible skill that could be tested on the English II EOC. Additionally, because the test item analysis for the English II EOC was not provided to her, Gwen was unable to access her own effectiveness in teaching each individual skill. Gwen said that she was provided with pre-tests by the state, but she found those tests problematic too. Gwen explained that she has "these single state created pre-tests that they give us that students score horribly on." Gwen then cited the reason that her students score so poorly on the pre-tests was that restructuring has caused them to be over tested.

TD's restructuring has forced TD to continually test its students for accountability purposes. If student test scores rose, TD would able to show the state and county that the school was making improvement. Therefore, TD used several pre-tests to measure students' ability levels before taking either state assessments in 11th grade required by NCLB or the county-made EOC exams. As such, Gwen reported that TD's students do not put forth an earnest effort on the pre-tests; instead, Gwen said that her students tell her "'I'm not going to try on them [the pre-tests] until it is the real test because I am going to pass the real test.'" Additionally, Gwen said

that her students themselves critiqued the testing culture that NCLB created by saying "some of them [Gwen's students] claim that their score doesn't represent them." In both of these situations, Gwen had to overcome her students' resistance in preparing them for the English II EOC, but she has been successful in meeting the rising expectations of her students EOC grades set by the state and county.

As the 2010-2011 school year opened, it was explained to TD's teachers that the school would close the following year if they did not meet NCLB's AYP requirements. Gwen said it was explained to the TD's teachers that "this was going to be like the last year... we really could prove ourselves or else it was done. We were going to be taken over by the state." Gwen then explained what "being taken over by the state" meant. Gwen said it meant "we are going to be in the Successful School District. We are probably going to all lose our jobs. We would, if we got rehired, we would get a cut in pay, and that this year we had to make it in graduation, writing, and English." The specific targets TD had to reach according to Gwen in order to avoid the state takeover was 87% of its senior class had to graduate, 58% of its 10th graders had to score "proficient" on the English II EOC, and 90% of its juniors had to score "proficient" on the 11th grade writing assessment. Gwen then said that there was an 80/20 split between the English II EOC and 11th grade writing assessment in determining if TD satisfied its AYP requirements. To explain the split, Gwen commented that "20% of our AYP in English comes from the five paragraph essay [on the 11th grade writing assessment], and 80% is based on the English II EOC." Gwen further commented that she has "no idea how they calculate the writing in with the EOC... they [officials from the state department of education] go away to a secret room and take all your scores." According to Gwen, when the state officials emerge from that secret room, they announce if the school did or did not make AYP; however, they never make public the formula

they used to calculate the scores. Nevertheless, after being told that the 58% of the 10th graders needed to score "proficient" on the English II EOC, Gwen and Oscar, TD's other 10th grade English teacher, went to work in creating a strategy of how to increase their students' scores.

When the 2010-2011 school year started, Gwen said that she was feeling "really settled." By this time, she and Oscar had developed a curriculum and pacing guide for English II, and they had created their own PLC. When comparing how she started the 2007-2008 school year to the opening of the 2010-2011 school year, Gwen said "I had gone from a curriculum with just a list of standards to like... what I'm going to cover these weeks, these are the skills I'm going over, this is how we are going to test them." Through collaboration with her one fellow English II teacher, Gwen and Oscar were able to develop the materials they needed. Moreover, after receiving the directive that 58% of their students had to score "proficient" on the English II EOC assessment, Gwen and Oscar had a conversation where they discussed that they "can either teach them how to read and write or... teach them how to pass the EOC." Gwen reported that "we chose to teach them how to pass the EOC." When asked how she felt in reaching that decision, Gwen said "I'm not exactly hired to do what I think is ethically correct." Gwen then further explained:

> I'm hired to work for LCS and to meet their goals, and Mr. Bryant made it very plain. He would come into my classroom and say 'oh you are teaching this act from this play, how does this work into the EOC?' And there was always moments where you realized everything I did should be working towards my EOC goal, and the better I got as a teacher, it would also be helping my students, but it wouldn't necessarily be the way I would go about it if my goal wasn't for them to pass the EOC.

Because Gwen and Oscar aligned their instruction to the EOC, 57% of their students earned a ranking of "proficient" on the EOC. In response to being one percent shy of the 58% "proficient" mark, Gwen frantically started asking herself "'who have I not given it [the English II EOC] to? Is there anybody in jail? Has anybody not come? What's going on?'" Gwen explained that she and Oscar were nervously reviewing their class roles when Carmen came to them and said "'don't worry about it [being one percent below TD's target of 58% "proficient" on the English II EOC].'" Gwen then explained that since 95% of TD's 11th graders scored proficient on the writing assessment, the state gave TD the additional one percentage point it needed to show proficiency on the English II EOC. When asked how she reacted after knowing that TD hit its test targets for the 2010-2011 school year, Gwen sarcastically said "I was like 'super, we did it! We SAVED the school.'" Gwen's sarcastic response to the news that TD hit its accountability targets because of the work she and Oscar did with their 10th grade English classes was due to her lack of belief in test-based accountability.

The effect of having to teach to the English II EOC has influenced what Gwen prioritizes as a teacher. Gwen said "working at TD has sort of confused a little bit of what I value as a teacher." Whereas Gwen wanted to prepare students with the skills they need for college success, being held accountable for her students' performance on the English II EOC forced her to focus on test taking skills. To elaborate on what she was teaching as compared to what her students need, Gwen said:

> I know how to have kids reflect about their learning, I know how to guide them, I know how to structure everything so that at the end, they have really mastered that skill, and they will master it on the EOC, and I just constantly give them EOC type questions and EOC type scenarios, and the lessons are going really, really well. It is a lot of work on

> my part. It is a lot of work on their part. When I sit back and look, these, these kids are doing amazing, they're getting all these questions right, they are able to write in different modes, I'm thinking these are 10th graders, like, they are supposed to be getting ready to go to higher education in two years, and I just spent two weeks teaching them how to answer questions on the EOC about mode, audience, and purpose because that's how long it took.

Because Gwen was forced to teach her students the skills they needed on the EOC, she was not preparing them for success in college. Gwen then found herself conflicted over doing what she believes was the best thing for her students versus doing what her job asked of her. This confliction was then compounded because Gwen's students were only successful on the EOC and they were not academically successful when they went to college. When asked about what happens when TD graduates go to college, Gwen explained "they go [to college], and, I mean TD is notorious for a lot our students don't make it. They are not prepared to go to college." Gwen elaborated that TD's students were not ready for college because:

> They are not autonomous, they are not self directed, they are not able to solve their own problems. They have received all these supports because of the restructuring money and the money from Project Grad,... the SLC principal,... they have a Lead teacher, they have someone to come get them and say 'turn in this work to Mrs. Gwen' they don't have that [when they go to college]. They have it all through their, their senior year [at TD], we do all this work to get them graduate and then they go to college, and, uh, they struggle because there are none of the supports in college. It's figure it out for yourself, you know? Like, here's the map, here's orientation, they have these classes on-line.

Gwen further explained that the reasons she listed for TD's graduate not being successful at college also includes finances. When asked how long TD's graduates last in college, Gwen commented that "some kids make it for a semester, some kids make it for a year, um, some kids don't [even last that long]." As Gwen watched her former students drop out of college, she felt helplessly conflicted in doing what she believed must be done for students to achieve at college compared to what TD needs those same students to do.

> I think when you have a whole school who is fighting for the same goals that are wrong, that you are not going to, just because I decided to be a rogue candidate, doesn't mean that I'm, that I'm going to affect their lives, I'm going to get fired. Then they are not going to have me at all, and I do really care about them. So, I mean, I guess I try to reach the school goal, and do what I can on the side, build relationships with them, feel like they feel supported.

To settle her internal conflict of doing what was best for her students while fulfilling her obligations to her job, Gwen tried to integrate the skills her students will need for college success into the curriculum she and Oscar developed for TD's English II classes. As of the 2010-2011 school year, Gwen's students have been successful on only the English II EOC and not college. When looking towards the future, Gwen placed a lot of hope in a new initiative endorsed by LCS, the state, and TD.

At the end of the 2009-2010 school year after the students have gone home for summer break, Gwen said TD's staff was told it was likely the school would be taken over by the state because of its low test scores. In anticipation of being taken over by the state, Gwen said TD's administrative team called a meeting and told the staff that they needed to vote for a school initiative to begin during the 2010-2011 school year. According to Gwen, TD's administrative

team told the teachers "you have to pick something. These are your options: You can choose TAP or you can not choose TAP. But, if you don't choose TAP and we get taken over by the state, they are going to make you do TAP anyways." In response to being told this information, Gwen recalled the meeting broke down. "We had one of those meetings where everyone yells and screams. People left. Um, people were like 'this isn't a vote! I'm not voting!' They said 'this isn't enough information. You can't just spring this stuff on us.'" Overall, Gwen said that "a lot of people refused to turn in votes." Nevertheless, Gwen said that "Mr. Bryant just announced at the end of the day that we have voted for TAP." As such, the selection process for teachers who wanted to be involved in TAP as a mentor or master teacher began.

During the 2010-2011 school year, Gwen was chosen to be a TAP mentor. Gwen said because she has become a TAP mentor, she has attended numerous TAP training sessions where she has learned to integrate the TAP model for teaching into her classroom instruction. When asked how the TAP model has affected her teaching, Gwen said:

> I'm trying to make sure the kids understand what we are learning, why we are learning it, and how we are learning it. And they are aware that the decisions they make are affecting what they learn, and that I want to be aware of what they learn that week, and if they learned it well, and what they need me to reteach, and why they learned it well, like what was working for them.

Because Gwen has attended the TAP training sessions, she has bought into TAP and felt that it has improved her own teaching. When the 2011-2012 school year began, TAP's teacher assessment model called TEAM was implemented at TD, and Gwen was dubious about how her colleagues' response to it. Gwen felt that TD's teachers have seen a lot of reform efforts tried at TD before and during its restructuring; therefore, she was worried that TD's teachers would not

be receptive to TAP's teaching model. Instead, Gwen thought her colleagues may view TAP's teaching model as just another reform effort that would not be sustained. Gwen said:

> Because of TAP, we are doing this year [2011-2012] what we should have been doing the last four years [of restructuring], and I don't know why it took four years to get there, and all that money and all that time and all those programs that have made all the teachers very, very, overly restructured. So now they are not ready to start this new thing, which is amazing because they are just, they've done it [participated in school reform efforts] so many times, they are just like whatever.

Moreover, since Gwen was chosen to be a TAP mentor, she has had the responsibility to teach her colleagues about TAP's instructional rubrics that will be used to evaluate their teaching performance in the classroom. Gwen was also charged with using the TEAM rubrics to evaluate her colleagues' teaching. This responsibility put Gwen in a position of authority. When explaining her new role due to TAP and reflecting back on her first experiences with Old TD teachers who were hostile to her at the Smoky Mountain retreat, Gwen said "now I have some of those teachers, um, actually under me as I am their mentor. And, I never knew what they were being so defensive [about], and... when I see their classroom even now, this is four years later, I, you know, I don't see effective classroom instruction." TAP has put Gwen in a situation where has been trained in TAP and was evaluating her colleagues' instruction. Knowing what she knew then, Gwen felt that a large reason why the Old TD teachers were so resistant to change at the retreat was because they were ineffective classroom teachers. Moreover, because TD was required to restructure, it was possible that the Old TD teachers were so resistant to change because they knew their instruction was inadequate. Additionally, it was likely that these

teachers who were also the ones who "yelled and screamed" in response to being told they had to choose a new initiative for TD at the close of the 2009-2010 school year.

As a TAP mentor, Gwen has had the opportunity to work with teachers to improve the quality of their instruction according to TAP. Through working with teachers, Gwen said the major criticism of TAP was that it would harm teachers' relationships with their students. In response, Gwen felt like the "harm my relationships with students" claim was just an excuse, and she referenced TD's struggles with test scores and the lack of TD graduates who experience success at college as evidence for her counterclaim. Meaning, if strong student-teacher relationships were so important, TD should have been academically more successful in the past before TAP was implemented and not have been required to restructure. Furthermore, Gwen said since TAP was implemented that her "student relationships... are better [and] that I had fewer problems with student behavior." Specifically, since using the TAP model in her teaching, Gwen was better able to engage Black males in her class. "The oddest thing has happened that I have never ever had happened is that I feel like I'm reaching a higher number of Black males." To explain, Gwen said "TAP has just, I've just learned certain things that I can do regularly that make my males proud of themselves, and that make feel like they are being successful, but... it is not like fluffy successful, it is 'I know it, I beat you, I am better than you, I'm going to college.'" When asked to offer a specific example of this dynamic in her classroom, Gwen said:

> I constantly, um, every day I have just a really structured "do-now" but before I thought a "do-now" was just a bellringer, and that we just came in and we wrote a journal, or we did something that is going to... be relevant to what we are talking about, and usually it was something from like an article. What I used to do is just sort of make them thinking better..., but now it is to show them what they learned the day before – that they got – is

> that they are the best at, so it is reinforcing... exactly what they ended yesterday with. Then I choose my experts. I go around and see who is clearly getting them [the do-now questions] right, who's clearly, um, justifying correctly, or who is using their right word clues, or using their vocabulary, and I say 'Today, I need... Bryan, Jay, and Quincy to be my experts, because I already noticed you guys are totally successful, you're on track, you got it' ... and then I let them come up and show... everybody else 'this is my answer.' It's not like an 'A, B, number one is expository' they come up [and explain their work to their classmates]... Boys are competitive, and TAP has just, I've just learned certain things that I can do regularly that make my males proud of themselves.

For Gwen, TAP has changed the way she teaches her kids. Instead of just using a bellringer to activate her students' schema in preparation for their upcoming lesson, TAP has influenced her to connect the do-now she planned with the end of the previous day's lesson. Then, when students create their responses to complete the do-now, Gwen would walk around her room and monitor her students. While walking around the room, Gwen identified students who were correctly completing their do-now, and called on them to present their responses to the class. The students were proud when Gwen selected them to present their response to the class. Gwen said the overall result was "people now tell me my boys tell them that I'm their favorite teacher. Or that my boys will says 'I'm really proud of myself in English. I'm really doing well in English.'" As such, Gwen used this evidence to argue back to teachers who claimed TAP ruined their relationships with students.

Gwen closed her interview by looking towards the future. For the 2011-2012 school year, TD must graduate 87% of its seniors and 68% of 10th graders must score as "proficient" on the English II EOC if they are to remain off the state takeover list. Gwen said in order for TD to

satisfy NCLB's AYP requirements, "we can only aim for safe harbor – graduation and English. We can aim for math if we want, but there's no way... if we only made 20% [proficiency on the algebra I EOC] last year [the 2010-2011 school year], we know that statistically our children won't be making the 60% this year." Because TD's math teachers were unable to improve their students' scores to "proficient" levels, Gwen felt intense pressure that she and her fellow 10th grade English II teachers will be able to produce the scores TD needs. When asked about that pressure, Gwen said:

> I would tell you this, I don't think it puts pressure on the English teachers, it puts pressure on the 10th grade English teachers. It's kind of like the 10th grade English teachers, it sometimes feels like the people I teach with, we are like holding up the world. And everyone else is just pseudo holding it up because they have the graduation rate. But everyone will know if we don't make our scores.

Gwen felt that 80/20 between the 10th grade English II EOC and 11th grade writing assessment minimized the contributions that the 11th grade English III teachers were asked to make. To explain, Gwen said "the 11th grade writing assessment is, you know, 20%, so I feel like it is a small piece of the pie..." When asked about the 11th graders English III EOC scores, Gwen added "the 11th grade curriculum is American literature, and they're supposed to be able to write a five-paragraph essay, so our kids are failing the 11th grade EOC... like failing it because they are not getting the American lit[erature] curriculum, they are almost doing pure persuasive writing prep all year." Since TD was held accountable for its students learning English by the 80/20 split, Gwen saw the split as holding TD's English II teachers more accountable than any other teacher in the school. When asked if she thought TD's 10th grade English II teachers would be able to meet the rising expectations required by the English II EOC – from 58%

proficiency for 2010-2011 school year to 68% proficiency for the 2011-2012 school year – Gwen said "I think we are going to make it." Gwen then elaborated by saying "we have two really quick butt people teaching 10th grade English. I feel like... conflicted about this, but... we are test prep machines." Because Gwen and her colleague were experienced English teachers, Gwen felt they can draw on that experience to meet the proficiency mark TD needs on 2011-2012 English II EOC. In fact, Gwen said instead of just having 68% of her students score "proficient" on the assessment, "I would like to make 70%, [and] I feel like we are probably going to make it."

A Story of Growth

Weaved into her story, Gwen discussed how she professionally grew from a novice teacher to a professional educator. At no point during Gwen's interview did she self-identify as growing; however, the actions required of her to be a successful English teacher at TD that resulted in her promotion to being a TAP mentor required her to develop as a professional.

First, Gwen's professional growth started when she taught the English Bridge course during the summer of 2008. When Gwen began to prepare her curriculum for the course, she was not provided any class materials or an organized classroom. Additionally, Gwen self-identified as an outsider to TD. In response to these conditions, Gwen formed a curriculum by relying on what she had learned in her pre-service teacher education courses at the university and materials she found in closets at TD and on the internet. Although Gwen admitted her effectiveness as a teacher was not as strong as it could be when she taught that first bridge class, it did mark the beginning of her teaching career at TD. Additionally, when Gwen returned to teach that same bridge course during the summer of 2009, Gwen then saw herself as a TD insider and felt comfortable teaching that class. Over a 12-month period, Gwen went from an

unprepared, novice teacher who saw herself as an outsider to a prepared teacher with a year's experience.

Secondly, when Gwen was initially hired by TD, Carmen and Bryant targeted teachers who were just graduating from their teacher education programs. Carmen and Bryant recruited these teachers for TD because they saw each of them as a "blank canvas" that they could mold into the type of teacher they wanted for TD. Since Gwen fit their ideal description, Carmen and Bryant actively pursued hiring her. As Gwen reflected on her first years being in the classroom and part of TD's school community, she commented that she felt that she "got 20 years of teaching experience... packed into three or four." The events that Gwen experienced over spending her last five years teaching at TD has changed Gwen from the "blank canvas" teacher that Carmen and Bryant aggressively recruited into an experienced teacher who was confident about her instructional abilities.

Next, Gwen's professional growth was recognized by her being chosen as a TAP mentor for TD. TAP mentors were given a tremendous responsibility at TD for ensuring its teachers were using the TAP rubric to guide their instruction. To make Gwen a TAP mentor, LCS monetarily invested in her by sending her to several TAP training sessions and also adding a stipend to her salary. Moreover, the decision to promote Gwen to being a TAP mentor was not made on seniority in the school; rather, Gwen's instructional ability in the classroom was the reason. As such, Gwen has now been put in charge of mentoring and supervising teachers who were originally resistant to the school reforms being discussed at the TD's retreat to open the 2008-2009 school year. Therefore, LCS and TD recognized Gwen's professional growth by promoting her to being a TAP mentor and placing teachers who they saw as not adequately performing in the classroom under her supervision.

Finally, Gwen showed professional growth in her response to meeting the ever increasing test scores required on the English II EOC. When Gwen began her teaching career at TD, she was given the target of having only 34% of her students score as "proficient" on the English II EOC. Each subsequent year, the percentage of Gwen's students who must score "proficient" on LCS's English II EOC rose by 10 or more percentage points. In response to the rising proficiency target scores, Gwen has not backed down or complained; rather, Gwen has worked to meet the challenge of getting an ever increasing percentage of her students to score as "proficient" on LCS's English II EOC. By meeting the targets set for her students, Gwen demonstrated professional growth as an English II teacher.

Introducing Kristy

Kristy is a White woman in her late twenties. In May of 2004, Kristy earned her undergraduate degree in literature from Crocket University. Following her graduation and through December of 2007, Kristy worked as a receptionist and for a medical supplier in Henley. In January of 2007, Kristy enrolled in a master's of education program at Crocket University that required a yearlong internship. Kristy completed her internship at TD during the 2008-2009 school year, and she was hired by TD in April of 2009 before her internship was complete. As the 2009-2010 school year opened, Kristy began her English teaching career at TD. At the time of this study, Kristy was teaching English at TD.

Kristy's Story

Kristy told a story of concern. Because she has been involved with multiple school improvements initiatives attempted at TD, Kristy continually voiced her concerns that TD's school improvement initiatives were more aimed at TD regaining its good standing with the state rather than effectively preparing its students for college or a career. Additionally, for being an

early career teacher with two years of instructional experience, Kristy was steadfast in her beliefs that preparing students for college and the work force cannot be sacrificed while TD completed its restructuring. Throughout her interview, it was clear that TD's focus on satisfying NCLB's accountability policies bothered Kristy and that she prioritized her ability to develop and maintain strong relationships with her students over anything else. However, that was not to say Kristy was against school change and improving TD. To the contrary, Kristy avidly supported TD's school improvement initiatives that improved her teaching, increased student achievement, and helped TD meet NCLB's accountability demands. However, Kristy did not support school improvement initiatives that focused only on TD satisfying NCLB's accountability policies or were haphazardly implemented. When Kristy spoke about her experiences teaching at TD during its restructuring, her story did not begin once she became a classroom teacher. Instead, Kristy opened her story when she graduated from college.

In 2004, Kristy completed her undergraduate studies and earned a bachelor's degree in English literature. Over the course of the four years that followed her graduation, Kristy worked as a receptionist, a medical supply purchaser, and in Leigh County's health department before deciding to become a teacher. Kristy explained that with an English degree, "it is difficult to do much of anything if you're not in education." To elaborate on why she held off on entering the field of education following her graduation, Kristy said "I needed to experience Leigh County in the way it worked as far as bureaucracy to know if it [education] is something I even wanted to go into and fight with." For Kristy, deciding to enter the field of teaching was a decision she did not easily make. It was important to Kristy that she experienced the work force and understood its bureaucratic nature before deciding to be a teacher. At the time, Kristy's experience in the work force resulted in her becoming professionally unsatisfied, and she said about her situation,

"I was unhappy, and it finally sunk in that life is far too short to be unhappy." By the time Kristy had come to this conclusion, she felt she had adequately experienced the bureaucracy of Leigh County's health department, and was ready to prepare herself for the "fight" of education. As Kristy discussed her decision to become a teacher, she told a story about how she first got inspired to teach.

In 2001, Kristy visited a friend who attended a different college than Kristy, and during her visit, Kristy went to observe two classes. At the time, Kristy explained that she was considering becoming an elementary school teacher simply because she "loved kids." However, that changed after she observed an elementary school education class. The elementary education class that Kristy sat in on was meeting for their first class of the semester. About the class, Kristy said that the professor came in an immediately started berating his students. Kristy explained that "he broke everybody down the first day, and he said that he was weeding out the people that didn't need to be there." Kristy did not find this professor's style positive and commented "So, I guess, I really didn't need to be there." Kristy's experience in that professor's class was so negative that she questioned herself about becoming a teacher. However, the second class Kristy observed that day inspired her.

The next class Kristy observed was an English literature class that was also having its first class meeting of the semester. About the professor, Kristy said she was an "amazing woman" who talked passionately about her subject and showed that she cared for both her course's content and her students' learning. When she walked out of that class, Kristy said she knew "that's what I want to do and that's how I want to do it." The experience Kristy had while observing that English literature professor had a profound effect on her. The English professor modeled a teaching style that Kristy wanted to emulate in her own classroom. Thus, seven years

later when Kristy began her teacher preparation program, Kristy was still inspired by that professor's approach to teaching.

To earn the credential she needed to be certified to teach high school English, Kristy applied to a traditional teacher preparation program at a major university located in Henley. Kristy chose a traditional teacher preparation program instead of an alternative teacher certification program (ATCP) because she found understanding the ATCPs as being "overly complex and confusing." Specifically, Kristy found the requirements, guidelines, and program outlines of the ATCPs as being disorganized and hard to follow. Furthermore, Kristy said that "I enjoy school so much, especially in my later undergraduate year; I just decided to go straight back in and get everything." Kristy found a traditional teacher education program offered through a university as more appealing because its format of taking classes was familiar to her, and she also felt that even though she could earn a teaching license by completing an ATCP's program, she would not earn a master's degree in education. Therefore, Kristy applied and was accepted to a traditional teacher preparation program in Henley, and she began classes in the spring of 2009.

As part of Kristy's teacher education program, she was required to complete a yearlong internship at a Henley-area high school. To help her decide where to intern, Kristy observed classes at TD. About her observations at TD, Kristy said "I really loved working with the kids, and I am from Henley. I know the 'reputation' of TD." In LCS, TD was seen as a low performing school populated largely by low-income, minority students. The school had a reputation for physical violence, gangs, disimpassioned teachers, and unmotivated students. Kristy did not agree with TD's reputation and she chose to intern at TD and help in "eradicating

that reputation." A major part of Kristy's attraction to TD was the similarities she and her students shared. About their similarities, Kristy said:

> The financial situation of where they are growing up, single moms, um, raised by their mothers was very similar to what I had with a very young mother, so we connected very well with that... Granted we are of different racial situations, but it just doesn't seem to matter as far as when you go 'yeah, I was a kid, and I was really poor and I understand where you are coming from.' Or, 'my mom was a single mom too.'

Because of her background, Kristy felt she would able to connect with TD's students as an intern teacher. Kristy did not see the racial difference between herself and her students as being problematic. Instead, Kristy felt that the similar experiences she and her students had in growing up in a single parent household would allow for her to make meaningful connections to her students regardless of anything else. Additionally, when Kristy found out she was placed at TD, she said "I was happy, I was really happy actually. I knew that if I could make a difference in at least one kid's education... success!" In response to being placed at TD for her internship, Kristy was excited. Going into her internship year though, Kristy set a low expectation for her teaching by aiming to only make an impact in one student's education. Instead of aiming to affect the education of multiple students positively, Kristy identified success as making "a difference once a year in a kid's educational process." In my opinion, Kristy's low expectation at the time was likely due to her lack of teaching experience.

Kristy was an intern at TD during the 2009-2010 school year. For her internship, Kristy's mentor teacher was Floyd, and they co-taught an 11th grade writing seminar class together during the fall semester. About their teaching styles, Kristy said "He [Floyd] can be absolutely no more different – night and day – to what I am personality wise. I am neurotic, I

like to have my organization, I have clipboards that have charts and checklists, and Floyd is a fly-by-the-seat-of-his-pants kind of guy." Because Kristy and Floyd had different teaching approaches, Kristy reported that Floyd "got to learn things for that class he never thought of and I got to structure a class that had no structure whatsoever, which was amazing. It came out as a pretty beautiful creation." In her experience co-teaching with Floyd, Kristy was allowed to design the majority of the classroom procedures, assignments, and learning activities. In response to this responsibility, Kristy thrived and commented that she felt fortunate to be given that opportunity. Kristy said that Floyd "gave me free reign and really let me come in and take over from the get go... I got lucky in being ready and having a teacher that let me." Since the writing seminar class had no mandated EOC by the state or county, Kristy and Floyd collaborated in creating one. According to Kristy, the course was project-based, and she and Floyd designed a portfolio-style EOC that infused "many different styles of writing." After creating their portfolios, Kristy and Floyd required their students to present their portfolios, and Kristy reported that their students "did great" when presenting their portfolio and "were very engaged" in the whole portfolio creation process. Unfortunately, Kristy's experience teaching in the spring semester presented challenges that she did not encounter in the fall semester.

For the spring semester of 2010, Kristy was assigned to teach an 11th grade AP English course and a freshmen college-placement English class. About the 11th grade AP English course, Kristy was not allowed to be the lead teacher and "takeover" the class because she was not AP certified. As such, Kristy co-taught the course with Marie. About the experience, Kristy said:

> There again... was a lot of free reign... we did a lot of different things, independent book projects, word of the days... That was again... a dream class because I got to fix everything to where I wanted it. If I wanted to study a particular short story, we ran with

> it that week. If I wanted to focus on poetry, we had two weeks of poetry, there was no ordained schedule.

For Kristy, teaching in collaboration with a mentor in an environment where she was given the freedom to set the schedule of the class, decide the learning opportunities, and develop units that she wanted to teach allowed her to thrive. The support and freedom Kristy received from both Floyd and Marie allowed her as she was learning to teach was invaluable, and Kristy appreciated their support and freedom. However, that support was absent when Kristy took over the freshmen college-placement class.

When teaching the freshmen college-placement English course, Kristy's mentor was largely unavailable to her. Kristy said that her mentor "unfortunately had multiple issues going on... She [Kristy's mentor] was out quite a bit with illness and family issues." Kristy expressed no anger towards her mentor for being out because of those personal reasons; however, her mentor's absences resulted in Kristy having a hard time transitioning from teaching 11th graders to freshmen. Kristy said "from working strictly with 11th graders and [then] going into handling freshmen, it was a different world." According to Kristy, whereas the 11th graders she was used to teaching came into class and were ready to work when the bell rang, the freshmen had "a lot of energy and [required] a lot of coddling." Kristy elaborated that some of the freshmen are still transitioning to high school even into the spring semester. Therefore, learning how to respond to the needs of freshmen without a mentor teacher consistently being in the classroom was a challenge to Kristy, especially after having only taught 11th graders in both her writing seminar class and AP English class. Additionally, the lack of having a consistent mentor in the room created problems for Kristy when creating a curriculum.

As Kristy was adjusting to teaching freshmen, she was concurrently struggling in creating a curriculum. In her other two classes, Kristy's mentor teachers either gave her a curriculum to follow that they had used to teach the class before or they collaborated with Kristy in developing a curriculum they would use to co-teach. Unfortunately, because Kristy's mentor for her freshmen English class was often absent from school, Kristy did not have any materials to use in developing a curriculum. In desperation, Kristy discussed her problems with two other interns also learning to teach at TD during the 2009-2010 school year who had both taught freshmen English in the fall. As a result of those discussions, Kristy said that those interns became her "saviors in knowing how that class was supposed to be structured." To help her organize the class, Kristy's fellow interns gave her curriculum guides and a pacing calendar that their mentors gave them to use when they taught their freshmen English classes in the fall. These materials allowed Kristy to improve the structure of her course and give her comfort when she thought about her students having to take an EOC at the end of the semester.

The first time Kristy taught a class with an EOC mandated by the either the state or county was when she taught that freshmen English course during her internship. About knowing her students would be taking a high stakes assessment at the end of her course, Kristy said "it was the first time I ever had something hanging over my head like that." The EOC made Kristy feel pressured for her students to perform well on the assessment; however, the pressure Kristy felt was not in relation to TD improving its standing with the state. Instead, Kristy said:

> The pressure actually came from the idea that someone else's name was associated with [the EOC], but it was my responsibility to teach those kids. If they passed or failed, it [the students' scores] doesn't [follow me]... it follows the teacher of record. That was my

> pressure, having the responsibility that I could mar or wreck something that was otherwise fantastic.

In this situation, Kristy was worried that her teaching may put a blemish on her mentor teacher's permanent record. Although Kristy's mentor teacher had numerous lengthy absences from school and Kristy's only guidance about how to structure her freshmen English class came from her fellow interns, Kristy's main concern about her students taking an EOC was about her mentor teacher's permanent record. Kristy's concern showed that she cared and valued other people ahead of herself. Additionally Kristy said that when preparing students for their freshmen English EOC, she did not get a pre-test until about halfway through the semester. However, because Kristy persevered through the lack of support and materials she received, her students "did well" on their English I EOC and Kristy said "I was very proud of them." In fact, Kristy pointed to her students' scores on the EOC as one reason TD hired her.

Towards the close of the 2009-2010 school year, Kristy and her fellow interns all interviewed for one position at TD. In discussing competing against her fellow interns for a job, Kristy said "it was really odd because... if you have a good relationship with them, [and] we did, you want them to have the offer... but at the same time there is the healthy competition of 'I don't know. Were my kids' scores higher than yours, did my kids write better?'" In this instance, Kristy recognized the importance of student test scores and cited them as a possible reason why she was awarded the opportunity to teach at TD instead of her fellow interns. About her interview, Kristy remembered that Carmen, Bryant, and another teacher were 15 minutes late in arriving to begin Kristy's interview. While waiting for them to arrive, Kristy said "it was extremely nerve wracking." Then, when they did arrive, Bryant told Kristy that teachers must be flexible, and Kristy responded by saying "if you can't be flexible, you really wouldn't do well in

this business... because it's based on giving a last minute 'oh by the way.'" Possibly because Carmen, Bryant, and the other teacher were 15 minutes late to her interview, Bryant tried to excuse their tardiness by stressing the importance of flexibility to Kristy. Then, even though their tardiness increased her anxiety levels, Kristy was able to keep her composure and replied to Bryant's comment about flexibility with a leveled-headed response. Kristy's only other memory about her interview was related to failing students.

Because TD historically had low graduation rates and student achievement on assessments used by NCLB to measure student learning, Kristy was asked about who is responsible when a student fails. Kristy said that she clearly remembered saying:

> It was a collaboration because education is an active, participant arena. The student can't be inactive and expected to fully learn, you have to engage, so it's up to the teacher to engage the student, but it's up to the student to actually want the education as well. So you can, you have to have a partnership, and that is where I think it is so healthy to have a good relationship with your kids. You build that relationship, that partnership is strong, they are going to get that education.

Kristy's comment about who is responsible when a student fails was telling because it divided the onus of responsibility between just the teacher and the student. Kristy did not mention the student's parents or the community being partly responsible when a student failed nor did she place the entire blame on the student. Rather, Kristy centered her comments on creating a "good relationship" between students and teachers. Through this relationship, Kristy expressed her belief that both teachers and students held a mutual responsibility to student learning. However, without that relationship, Kristy believed that students would not receive a quality education. As such, Kristy was dedicated to not letting anything jeopardize her relationships with students.

When Kristy finished her interview, she said she felt comfortable with her performance as she walked out of the room; however, she "didn't feel confident yet because there were other interns applying, and they had a great track record, and great relationships with the kids as well. It was any man's game." Nevertheless, after all the interns applied for the position, Kristy was offered the English teaching position at the end of April, 2010, and she accepted it. When asked what she thought the deciding factors were for being offered the job, Kristy said "test scores and classroom management." By the time the 2009-2010 school year closed, Kristy had successfully completed her internship at TD, earned her MEd, and landed her first teaching job. Yet, as Kristy was preparing to head home for summer break to rejuvenate herself, she received a call from TD's English department head that would change her summer plans.

On the final days of the 2009-2010 school year, Kristy was told by her department head that she needed to represent TD at a training about the state standards, and she also had to attend a workshop to become certified to teach AP literature courses. Between those two trainings, Kristy said "I spent the whole, almost entire summer doing a training or a meeting of some sort." Additionally, according to Kristy, she did not get paid for attending those trainings either. Instead, Kristy earned 70 "unscheduled in-service hours." About receiving in-service hours instead of monetary payment, Kristy commented that "it would've been worth it if I could have spread it over a few years." Because LCS teachers were only required to earn 24 unscheduled in-service hours per year, Kristy felt that earning 70 hours over a summer was overly taxing. As the trainings ended and summer concluded, Kristy returned to TD to begin her first year as a certified teacher.

Because TD's teachers are on extended contract, Kristy reported back to TD for the 2010-2011 school year before other teachers in higher performing LCS schools were required to

return. Additionally, as that school year opened, TD was required to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands or be potentially taken over by the state. When asked about how the possibility of state takeover was communicated to TD's teachers, Kristy said "there was always the... 'We know it [state takeover] is out there but we don't think it will happen,' was the general attitude; it's out there, it exists, but everyone is confident it wouldn't occur." Moreover, when asked what would happen if TD was taken over by the state, Kristy said:

> Nobody knows, and that probably was the biggest problem with it, is that nobody knew what that means, does that mean losing our jobs, reapplying again, does that mean, uh, you know, a complete overhaul of the status quo and move forward and see what you can do now. No one knew, and no one could really tell us.

When faced with being potentially taken over by the state, Kristy made it clear TD's attitude towards that possibility was it could happen, but it likely will not take place. Additionally, according to Kristy, TD's administrators either did not know what would happen if TD was taken over by the state, or "if they [Carmen and Bryant] knew, they didn't communicate [that] to us." In either scenario, TD's teachers were not given information about what would happen to them if state takeover did occur. It was possible Carmen and Bryant did not communicate what state takeover means because they truly did not know or that they were very confident in TD making the gains in student achievement needed to stave off being taken over by the state. Nevertheless, Carmen and Bryant, according to Kristy, never officially announced what it would mean if TD was to be taken over by the state. However, according to Kristy, it was communicated to TD's teachers that they had to achievement certain benchmarks on the algebra I EOC, English II EOC, 11th grade writing assessment, and graduation rates if TD was to avoid

state takeover. Since Kristy taught only senior English during her first year at TD, she mainly focused on helping TD achieve its target for graduation rate.

As a senior English teacher, Kristy was responsible for helping TD reach its target graduation rate of 87%. When asked if the graduation rate target impacted the rigor of her class, Kristy said "it didn't affect my instruction so much as how I communicated the situation with the kids." The situation Kristy referred to was that if her students did not pass her class and graduate, TD could potentially be taken over by the state and possibly shutdown. Kristy explained to her class "that they had a responsibility not just to themselves, but if they wanted their younger brothers and sisters and cousins all to attend here... they had a part of that bargain." For Kristy, she felt that her students were directly involved in helping TD regain its good standing with NCLB's accountability policies. Kristy made it clear to her students that TD's situation could be improved by their performance in her class, and their performance would help ensure TD remained opened so that their siblings and other family members could attend TD in the future. According to Kristy, her students responded. Between the fall and spring semesters of the 2010-2011 school year, Kristy reported that she taught 60 seniors, and only two of them failed her class. Kristy explained that the two who failed her class "never wrote a single paper." However, since they failed her class, the students were given the opportunity to earn their senior English credit in TD's Credit Recovery program, a program that Kristy did not support.

TD's Credit Recovery allowed students who failed a class to take a computerized version of that class. If they successfully completed the course on the computer, students would earn back the credit that they did not get when they originally failed the class. About the Credit Recovery program, Kristy said "it does not have the rigor that my class had and, therefore, I do not feel that it should substitute for my class. I think they should have to take it [Kristy's English

IV class] over... It [Credit Recovery] is a cake walk." To explain the lack of rigor in Credit Recovery's version of English IV has, Kristy said:

> The actual paper they write, the few there are, are overly structured, a freshmen could write them. Um, the classes are workbooks, it's not going through analyzing text, it's not what we actually do to pass the class in a normal classroom environment... I don't think you should take a lesser version... and be allowed that credit.

Because TD had to achieve a graduation rate of 87%, the school placed students who failed their senior English class in a credit recover program. Kristy's view of the alternative way students were allowed to earn the credit was negative. She felt that the Credit Recovery version of her class was watered down; students were not required to engage the same quality curriculum as she offered in her class. Subsequently, Kristy felt that students were allowed to satisfy a graduation requirement without having to learn to effectively analyze a text or compose an essay. Kristy compared the rigor-level of the tasks students were required to complete in their Credit Recovery to that of a freshmen English course. As such, Kristy was not supportive of students being allowed to use Credit Recovery courses as a substitute to her class; however, Kristy did support TD's Tutoring Thursday program.

Tutoring Thursday was a collaborative program between TD's teachers and administrators that was implemented during the 2010-2011 school year. About the program, Kristy said "Tutoring Thursdays is an attempt to focus on kids that are either failing or in danger of failing... [If students] did very poorly on an assignment, they could redo the assignment and gain half of the missing credit back." The goal of Tutoring Thursdays was to make a time for students who had a D or F in a class to make up their work and earn a higher grade. To make this time, TD shortened the length of every other Thursday's school day by an hour. Therefore,

instead of TD releasing students at 3:30 per usual, students were released at 2:30. When they were released, students had the option of attending a Tutoring Thursday session if they were endanger of earning a D or F in a class or if a teacher requested that a particular student come to his or her tutoring session. However, if all of a student's grades were in good standing, that student had the opportunity to leave school by car or foot. If the student could not arrange a ride or did not want to walk home, the student was required to report to TD's cafeteria until normal dismissal time when the busses ran as usual. Kristy explained that she was a proponent of Tutoring Thursday because students "get the one-on-one time. For my kids that are just missing work, it's nothing more than a makeup session. It's not the instruction they are looking for, they need someone to sit them down and say 'do your missing work.' They need that space and structure." Then, for the students who needed the extra attention, Tutoring Thursday provided a space for Kristy to deliver additional instruction to students who were struggling with a topic. As such, Kristy was a supporter of Tutoring Thursday because it offered students the support they needed to satisfy her courses requirement as opposed to the Credit Recovery program, which gave students a less rigorous path to earn credit for the course she taught. As a result of Tutoring Thursday and its Credit Recovery program, TD satisfied the graduation rate of 87% for the 2010-2011 school year. Kristy said "we squeaked by, like 88%."

As the 2010-2011 school year closed, it was announced to TD's staff that it was likely TD earned the academic targets it needed to hit to achieve NCLB's safe harbor. Kristy said "we had meetings at the end of the school [year] that were speculative, that we did well enough, that we'd be clear." After hearing the announcement, Kristy explained that staff went home for summer break. However, when the 2011-2012 school year opened, Kristy said that TD "had multiple meetings, and pretty much at every meeting it was reiterated that we were safe [and

would not be taken over by the state]." In reaction to the news, Kristy laughed and said that the teachers "were happy and relieved the first five times we heard it, and about the 15th time, it just became one big joke, that everybody kept saying it over and over again." When asked about if any group of teachers – teachers of seniors, 10th grade English teachers, or 11th grade English teachers – were recognized as contributing more to TD reaching its achievement goals, Kristy was hesitant to identify any specific group of teachers. For example, about the teachers of seniors, Kristy said "graduation rate really doesn't get talked about past the actual graduation ceremony." As such, Kristy felt that the work done by teachers of seniors was mainly recognized only at the graduation ceremony. About the 10th grade English teachers, Kristy said "I've heard from quite a few people that the 10th grade teachers do not get the kudos they deserve." Interestingly though, when asked who those people were that claimed the 10th grade teachers were not recognized enough, Kristy said "I hear that from people who teach 10th grade." In response to the 10th grade teachers claiming that they do not receive enough recognition for their contributions, Kristy wrote off their complaints when she said teaching "is kind of a thankless job." Kristy felt that it was unbecoming for teachers to complain about their lack of recognition. In Kristy's perspective, teachers need to "do what [they] need to do" to fulfill the demands of their job. However, Kristy's tone changed when asked about the work of 11th grade teachers.

TD was required to ensure that 90% of its students were proficient on the state writing assessment during the 2010-2011 school to help ensure TD would avoid state takeover. Because TD was able to satisfy that demand by having 95% of its student score "proficient" on the writing assessment, Kristy said "11th grade had such massive gains over the past four years, that that was the one that got a lot of accolades." However, when asked about the 11th grade English

teacher narrowing their curriculum to mainly only teaching persuasive writing skills and having no students pass the English III EOC, Kristy said "well, if we spend 75% or our time getting them to write because they do so much skills work and not writing in 10th grade, the curriculum suffers [and] the actual content suffers." In this instance, Kristy was aware of what happened in the English II and III courses to produce the results TD needed to show student achievement on accountability assessments. However, because students were only learning skills required by the mandated assessments, it impacted how Kristy received the students in her senior English class.

When Kristy's students entered her English IV class, they were coming off of two years of learning a narrowed curriculum in their English II and III courses. About the condition of her students when they arrived in her class, Kristy said:

> They come in here and they don't know what [what to expect. There] is a real confusion of what is it going to be this year. It was nothing but [test preparation] skills for one year, nothing but [learning persuasive] writing [skills] for another year. [They come in and it's like] where are we, what are we going to do? And I have to somehow combine those skills and content [into my class], and then they still have to write. But it is a writing that they are not doing in 11th grade, 11th grade is straight persuasive essay, five-paragraph, and mine is analytical, 'let's look at irony, let's look at characterization,' and it takes them a good bit to adjust to that different writing style.

As her students entered Kristy's class, they did not know what to expect. Because they learned mostly test-based skills necessary to pass the 10th grade EOC and 11th grade writing assessment, students were used to learning a narrowed curriculum. As such, Kristy did not want to "throw out" those learned skills. Instead, Kristy saw it as her responsibility to bring those skills her students learned in their previous English courses into her class. Yet, Kristy did not want to

merely continue teaching her students a narrowed curriculum; instead, she saw it as her job to expand on those skills in order to prepare her students for the rigors of college-level coursework. However, Kristy was still held accountable for her teaching by an EOC.

Since Kristy taught English IV, her students had to take an EOC created by LCS, not the state. According to Kristy, about half her students passed the EOC and the other half failed. Kristy then explained that TD had a policy of only offering college-placement level English IV courses. Kristy speculated that TD only offered one track of senior English classes because it was a holdover from the decision that Carmen and Bryant made in 2008 to collapse all of TD's core classes to just college-placement level courses. As a result, Kristy had students in her class that had some "pretty thick IEPs up to kids that were in AP or worthy of being in AP." Because of this mix of students, Kristy was not overly concerned about her students' scores on the EOC. When asked how she used differentiated instruction to meet the needs of the varying abilities of her students, Kristy said "you can differentiate to a point, but some kids really need that one-on-one help... so that differentiation alone is not sufficient... Like now, I have a class of 20 and I have kids that dropped from AP [to] kids that putting together a sentence is extremely difficult." Kristy was not a proponent of only offering a CP track of English IV to TD's students, and she did not see differentiating her instruction as an effective way to educate all her students because their ability levels varied too much. As such, Kristy was a proponent of TD offering "a lower level [English IV] class to give... more one-on-one attention [to students who need it]." By TD only offering one track of English IV classes, Kristy felt she was unable to offer each of her students the instruction they needed, but she did feel that she effectively prepared students for further education.

As an English IV teacher, Kristy realized that her class was the final layer of preparation her students received before heading off to college, a trade school, or the work force. When asked if she felt she was successful in readying students for post-secondary education, Kristy felt she was. Kristy then told a story about a student she had during the 2010-2011 school year who graduated and still kept in contact with her. Kristy said that the student enrolled in a community college and has experienced success. Specifically, Kristy said that she recently spoke with her former student, and the student said that "his professor told him he is a strong writer." Kristy took a lot of pride in her student experiencing success at college because she felt that teaching "is typically a thankless job, [but] I did get some thanks that day. He [Kristy's former student] said, 'I couldn't have done it without your class.'" For Kristy, the recognition that her former student gave her was meaningful. It was neither the test scores that Kristy taught for nor was it that TD met the benchmarks it needed to be in good standing with NCLB's accountability policies; rather, Kristy taught to make her students successful after high school. However, Kristy lost track of the majority of her students after they graduated.

Kristy claimed that 40% of her students attended some sort of post-secondary educational institution or job training after they graduated. Some examples Kristy offered of where her students go following their graduation from high school included community colleges, cosmetology schools, and the military. However, about the other 60% of her students, Kristy said "I can't even keep track of them at this point to know what happened." Even though Kristy was uncertain about the majority of her students after they graduated from TD, she still enjoyed hearing from them. For example, Kristy took pride in sharing that some of her former students recently came by TD and left her notes about their college experience. Based on their notes, Kristy believed that her students were succeeding in college and that gave her motivation to

continue teaching. Additionally, Kristy cited the strong relationships she and her students have developed as the main reason why her former students kept her updated about their lives. However, Kristy was worried about a new initiative started at TD because she saw it as potentially harming her ability to form strong relationships with students and prepare them for college.

As the 2011-2012 school year opened, LCS and TD adopted the TAP model for teacher assessments. According to Kristy, TAP has negatively impacted her work in both the school community and classroom. As far as the school community was concerned, Kristy saw TAP as hurting TD's ability to function because of the amount of people involved with it. For example, during the 2011-2012 preplanning time teachers have before students arrive, Kristy was involved on TD's prom committee that was "trying to get things rolling [for prom]... and we wanted to be pro-active." Specifically, the prom committee was focused on "getting student involvement early..., activities to generate buzz for prom." However, Kristy and the committee became frustrated because all of TD's administrators had to attend TAP trainings. Therefore, if the prom committee "wanted to make decisions or get started on things, we [the prom committee] didn't have an administrator get approval from." Moving away from planning prom to more instructional-based problems with the TAP training, Kristy reported that of TD's 12 member English department, seven are directly involved in TAP. The roles of the seven English teachers included serving as either a master or mentor teacher. Kristy's frustration with so many English teachers being part of TAP was that the English department has "more of a difficult time communicating because they'll be pulled out for TAP stuff... We are trying to have department meetings and can't meet because our department can't get together. If we want to collaborate, it's difficult... because we are so spread out." Kristy was upset that the amount of English

teachers involved in TAP has limited TD's English department to work as a unit. Instead, Kristy felt that TAP had divided them into either being a TAP English teacher or just an English teacher. Additionally, Kristy was not satisfied with the implementation of TAP.

The TAP school model that TD adopted did not have a pre-implementation year. Instead, the teachers selected to be master and mentor teachers were being trained in TAP through a series of workshops that were held over the summer and into the beginning of the 2011-2012 school year. At the workshops, teachers were trained in how to evaluate teachers based on TEAM's instructional rubrics and what teachers could do to increase their scores. Following their training, the TAP teachers were instructed to go back to their schools and begin assessing teachers using TAP's TEAM teacher evaluation methods while also teaching their colleagues TAP's instructional rubrics. Kristy was a critic of this process because she saw it as "too much too quick." For example, TD held a TAP training session every week – either on a Tuesday or Thursday. According to Kristy, in the training session, the TAP mentor teachers did a good job in presenting the information they learned in their training about TAP; however, the TAP mentors presented the material at "such an extreme pace that I don't feel I've digested what has [been taught] from Week Two before we are into Week Three... I think that maybe it [the amount of information] should be more spread out." Kristy felt like the quantity of information she was held responsible for learning about TAP was too much, and the quick pace the TAP mentor teachers were following to present the information was too expeditious. Instead, Kristy wanted the TAP mentor teachers to slow down their instruction of TAP, which she felt would have allowed for her to reflect on the presented information and understand it on a deeper level. Additionally, Kristy was concerned that TAP could potentially harm her relationships with students.

When discussing TAP, Kristy described a model of teaching that she found too rigid. Kristy explained that "there is a lot of structure [in TAP] that may not fit every teacher's style." Specifically, Kristy referenced TAP's focus on teachers communicating the lesson's objective to students in a precise manner. Kristy said "when I talk to my kids, sometimes it's not in that complete structure, maybe I forget to refer back to an objective in the exact terms written on the board, but instead we talk about the objective." Because she did not use the exact protocol that TAP required when communicating the objective of the lesson to her students, Kristy was concerned that "certain stipulations that go along with it [TAP] just don't flow with every teacher." Kristy feared that she was potentially one of the teachers that TAP was trying to force into its "rigid" model of instruction. As to whether Kristy would leave TD because of TAP, she said "I truly don't know." Because TAP was forcing Kristy to teach in a manner that made her uncomfortable, she may decide to leave TD in the future. Additionally, Kristy had already experienced TAP mentors being in her classroom.

Kristy said that so far she has been evaluated by a TAP mentor once during the 2011-2012 school year. When asked about her results of the evaluation, Kristy said "I don't know because I was evaluated on the 16th [of September] and still haven't talked to anybody (Kristy was interviewed on the 26th of September)." The lag time between her observation and any feedback was frustrating to Kristy. Moreover, Kristy explained that she preferred LCS's former teacher evaluation process because it was LCS policy that the evaluators met with the teachers within 48 hours. About TAP's implementation, Kristy said "I don't how it is being presented. I'm not saying it's a bad program, [but] I'm saying it's not going smoothly." Kristy then elaborated on her comment and said "if we're going to have people still learning it, maybe they need to learn it before they come in and immediately start evaluating people who are going to be

judged by that and held accountable for that." Kristy found it unfair that she was being evaluated using a method that her evaluators were still learning and were unable to implement with fidelity. Because her evaluators were still learning the TAP system and were struggling to give her feedback in a timely manner, Kristy became upset and was resentful that she was held accountable to a system that her evaluators were still learning.

To conclude her interview, Kristy spoke about her students and her hopes for TD. For Kristy, the bonds she developed with her former and current students, and will continue to create with her future students, was what she valued. For example, when speculating about the results of her first TAP evaluation, Kristy said "to be honest, as long as I keep my relationships with my kids and I do what need to be done, I'm not worried about it [my evaluation]." For Kristy, she was not going to let her teacher evaluations impact the way she interacted with her students. Additionally, Kristy referenced her students as "the reason I come to work. It's not the pay." As she taught and fulfilled all of her obligations that go along with being a HSET at TD, Kristy did it because of the reward she got from working with her students and sharing in their accomplishments. As Kristy referenced throughout her interview, she saw teaching as a thankless job, but the relationships Kristy had with her students was the "thanks" she valued as a teacher. As for TD, Kristy wanted the school to "stop spreading itself so thin and find an initiative that we can all get behind and run with it." After spending over two years at TD, Kristy had already experienced several school reforms efforts that have been implemented at TD and then fizzled out. As such, Kristy was suspect that TAP may be just another one of those attempts. About the several failed school reforms efforts and TAP, Kristy said "we've got to possibly drop some other stuff, and if we are going to TAP, then let's do TAP." Even though Kristy was suspect about TAP's model for teaching and teacher evaluation, she was still willing

to be part of its implementation as long as it was meaningful and other school reforms initiatives were limited. In close, the meaning Kristy found in teaching came from her students, and she was not willing to let any school improvement initiative jeopardize the relationships she has developed with them.

A Story of Concern

At the time of her interview, Kristy was starting her third school year as one of TD's classroom English teachers. While she shared her experience of teaching at TD, Kristy made it clear that her mission for teaching senior English courses were to equip her students with the skills they will need for success after high school. Therefore, as TD continued to implement different school improvement initiatives, Kristy expressed concern about the agenda of those initiatives. For instance, Kristy was concerned that the underlying agenda for two of TD's three school improvement initiatives – TD's Credit Recovery program and TAP – was to only satisfy accountability demands placed on TD; she did not believe that those two initiatives were designed to increase student learning or better prepare students for post-secondary education or the work force. Because Kristy valued her students' learning over TD satisfying the accountability demands put on it, Kristy found herself concerned about the impact of TD's school improvement initiatives on her students.

The first of TD's school improvement initiative that Kristy discussed was its Credit Recovery program. In her interview, Kristy critiqued the Credit Recovery program as lacking rigor, and she viewed it as an insufficient substitute for her course. About the Credit Recovery program's curriculum, Kristy commented that the rigor of the English IV curriculum was so low that a freshman student could easily complete the course without being challenged. Because students who failed her class were given the option to retake it through TD's Credit Recovery

program, Kristy was concerned that the students who failed her class were not learning the skills she required and were subsequently not being prepared for post-secondary education. The reason, however, those students were offered Credit Recovery as an alternative way for them to earn a credit in English IV was because of the accountability pressure placed on TD. To explain, one of TD's targets that it must reach in order to avoid being taken over by the state was its graduation rate. Since Kristy was an English IV teacher, if a student did not pass her class, they would not graduate and would subsequently lower TD's graduation rate. Therefore, to help improve its graduation rate, TD allowed students to retake their English IV class through its Credit Recovery program even though the rigor level was much lowered than Kristy's class. As a result, Kristy expressed concern that TD's Credit Recovery program was more geared to allowing TD to satisfy its accountability demands instead of effectively educating its students. However, Kristy did support a different one of TD's school improvement initiatives.

Kristy was a strong advocate of TD's Tutoring Thursday program. Instead of TD's Credit Recovery program that allowed students an easier alternative for satisfying a graduation requirement, Kristy saw Tutoring Thursday as a collaborative program between TD's teachers and administrators that supported student learning. When describing Tutoring Thursday, Kristy saw the program as providing a space where students could complete their missing assignments or receive extra tutoring in an area they were struggling to learn. Additionally, Kristy commented that reporting students who had a D or F to TD's administration gave Tutoring Thursdays a collaborative feel. Because Kristy was required to report which of her students were in jeopardy of failing her class to TD's administration, she felt that communication between her and TD's administration was part of why she supported Tutoring Thursdays. As a result of the communication, Kristy did not feel that she was isolated in her classroom; rather, she felt she

was part of a community that supported both student learning and her teaching. Because Tutoring Thursdays created a time for her to provide individual instruction to students who needed it and a space that allowed for students with missing assignment to complete their work, Kristy did not have any concerns about the goals of Tutoring Thursday and was an ardent supporter of it. However, the same was not true for the last school improvement initiative Kristy discussed.

At the time of Kristy's interview, TAP was only beginning to be implemented at TD. Because it was still a very new school improvement initiative, TD's faculty – regardless if they were a TAP mentor, master teacher, school administrator, or classroom teacher – were still trying to implement the TAP program into TD with fidelity. As such, Kristy expressed concerns that TAP was requiring her to teach in a rigidly structured way; in fact, Kristy felt that TAP's instructional model was so rigid that it could potentially harm her relationships with students. Kristy explained that one part of TAP's instructional model required her to communicate a specific learning objective to her students each day. Kristy did not express concerns about communicating the objective; however, Kristy argued that she has had to differentiate her explanations of a lesson's learning objective to students. From Kristy's perspective, she felt that TAP required a set way of communicating learning objectives and her differentiating of how she communicated a lesson's learning objective to her students may have hurt her when she was evaluated by TD's TAP assessors. Additionally, Kristy was concerned about the TAP assessors themselves. At the time of her interview, Kristy's teaching had already been observed once by TAP assessors. About her observation, Kristy was upset because 10 days had already passed and she still had not received any feedback about her performance in the classroom nor had she been given a copy of the evaluator's scripting notes. About the process, Kristy felt that she is being

left “out of the loop” about her own teacher evaluation, and she was subsequently concerned that TAP was not being implemented with fidelity at TD.

Introducing Bobby

Bobby is a White male in his late twenties. In May of 2007, Bobby graduated with an undergraduate degree in English Language and Literature from a major university in Pike, WA (pseudonym). After his graduation, Bobby was hired full-time by a non-profit educational program in Pike and worked there until June of 2009. In September of 2009, Bobby moved to Henley, and he soon found work at a for-profit educational company. Bobby worked at his new job for a week before quitting. Instead of finding a new job, Bobby enrolled in a master’s of education program at Crocket University that required a yearlong internship. Bobby completed his internship during the 2010-2011 school year at TD, and Bobby was hired by TD in April of 2011. At the time of this study, Bobby was teaching English at TD.

Bobby’s Story

Bobby’s story was one of confliction. Throughout his interview, Bobby told a story about navigating tensions between doing what he believed was best for children according to his educational philosophy versus fulfilling his obligations to his job. Bobby completed a successful yearlong internship at TD during the 2010-2011 school before being hired by TD. In his interview, Bobby did not limit his feelings of confliction to just his teaching at TD; rather, Bobby has felt these tensions while teaching students at an educational non-profit center in the Northwest, a for-profit tutoring center in the Southeast, and as an intern and first year teacher at TD. Interestingly though, as Bobby has evolved from an unlicensed afterschool volunteer to a professional educator, the manner that Bobby has reacted to these tensions has changed.

Bobby's story began in Pike (a pseudonym for a major metropolitan city in the Northwest) following his college graduation. In the spring of 2007, Bobby graduated from college with a bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature. During his final semester of college and into the following summer, Bobby volunteered at a non-profit education organization in Pike that focused on developing students' writing abilities. At the center, Bobby mostly was "helping students revise essays, and helping them interpret poetry and short stories." After volunteering there for most of 2007, the non-profit offered Bobby a job in September of that year. Bobby accepted the job offer and was put in charge of the organization's afterschool programs and field trips. In this new role, Bobby continued to work with students and their writing abilities by focusing on "creative writing, supporting students... where they are, helping them find things they want to write about, and engaging them in creative pursuits." As Bobby worked for this non-profit, he started to develop his teaching philosophy that he described as "teen-centered," a term he likened to "student-centered teaching."

The non-profit that Bobby worked for had a teen advisory board. The purpose of the teen advisory board was to "advise our organization on what types of programs we should offer." During the interview, Bobby reflected on his interaction with the board and spoke about how he enjoyed "listening to their ideas, taking their ideas and helping them develop those things into programs." An example of Bobby collaborating with the board was when he and the board successfully organized and held a rock concert that raised money for the non-profit. While Bobby was experiencing success at the non-profit, he also started to receive criticism. At the non-profit, Bobby received praise for his work with students, but his ideas for improving some of the non-profit's educational programs were not taken seriously.

> I was told a couple times during that experience [working at the non-profit] that I was really good working with students and had a really good rapport, but that, you know, I didn't have any training in education. So, even though I had really good ideas, it was kind of like people were like 'well, you don't know how to back it [Bobby's ideas] up because you've never studied these things.'

At that point, Bobby felt professionally conflicted for the first time. On the one hand, Bobby was enjoying his work at the non-profit. For example, when discussing his work collaborating with the teen advisory board to put on the rock concert fundraiser, Bobby's voice became excited during the interview and I could hear pride in his words as he spoke about the accomplishment. On the other hand, when Bobby spoke about not being taken seriously regarding some ideas he had that could improve the services the non-profit was offering its students, Bobby's voice changed to a melancholy tone. This change in his speech expressed his discontent at not being a respected educator at the non-profit. To make up for his lack educational credentials, Bobby took action.

In response to not being respected as an educator at the non-profit, Bobby took and passed state required tests needed to earn a teacher's license. Bobby took those tests because he thought successfully passing them would make him more credentialed and respected at the non-profit. However, Bobby never committed to completing the teacher preparation courses necessary to earn a state issued teacher's license, and Bobby ultimately resigned from the non-profit in June of 2009. Soon after resigning, Bobby decided to relocate back to his southeastern hometown of Henley.

Returning to Henley was a purposeful move made by Bobby. In his interview, Bobby spoke about how he was aware of the lack of educational opportunities in Henley as compared to

Pike. To begin his comparison, Bobby talked about how his mother was a juvenile judge in the Henley court system and how through his mother's occupation he saw how poverty and crime affected teenagers. Additionally, Bobby discussed his volunteer work at a Club for Young People in Henley (a pseudonym for a national afterschool program and charity). Between his mother's job and his experience volunteering at the Club for Young People, Bobby "saw the kind of poverty that was in Henley." Bobby then continued by discussing the resources and educational support organizations of Henley as compared to Pike. Bobby said "I realized Pike has all these amazing resources for students that I didn't think Henley had. So, I was like 'okay, well Henley doesn't have a lot'... It [Henley] doesn't seem like it was a very progressive educational place, so I was kind of interested in coming back." The resources that Bobby saw Pike having that Henley did not have were non-profit educational organizations that supported student learning. Bobby saw Henley's support of students being limited more to offering afterschool care. The afterschool care programs in Henley that Bobby spoke about aimed at providing students with safe places where they could go following their school day, but the places was not educationally focused. Bobby named churches and the Club for Young People as the safe places that were not educationally centered. To Bobby, his decision to move back to Henley was based on his desire to support students in a city where he felt there was a definitive dearth of educational resources and support for students.

Bobby returned to Henley in September of 2009 and began a period of unemployment. After some months passed, Bobby found employment at a for-profit tutoring center and was hired to schedule students for tutoring, test students, and meet with parents about their children's progress. Bobby described his job at the for-profit as "soul crushing" and quit after a week. When asked why he described the job as soul crushing, Bobby explained "it was basically

convincing people that couldn't afford it to pay money to have their kids tested, and that if they bought into some kind of workbook/testing program their kid would become a better reader. That just felt like complete bullshit to me." In this instance, Bobby again told a story about being conflicted. In this situation, Bobby had a job in education, but he was conflicted in that he did not believe in what he was required to do by the job. Bobby did not believe in the for-profit's educational program, and "asking parents and guardians to take out a second mortgage on their house" was more than Bobby could bear. Unlike his actions at the non-profit organization in Pike where he tried to overcome criticism by becoming more credentialed, in this situation Bobby responded by quitting. In Bobby's mind, quitting was the appropriate action because he did not believe in the for-profit's approach to educating students, and he did not see any way he could better the situation for himself. To sum up his time at the for-profit, Bobby said "It was just a horrible situation; I quit."

After leaving the for-profit, Bobby returned to being unemployed. At the time, Bobby still wanted to work in education, but he felt like there were not many alternative ways he could work in education outside of public schools in Henley. Still not being a licensed teacher and ineligible to teach in public schools, Bobby decided to return to college. "I realized I needed it if I was going to, uh, like advance in the workforce or become like, be taken seriously, be a professional, I probably should earn my master's in education." Bobby was accepted in a MEd program (Secondary English) at Crocket University in Henley and began his coursework in the spring of 2010. As part of the university's MEd program, students were required to fulfill a sustained internship requirement in a high school, and Bobby was placed at TD. Bobby explained that he "chose to go to TD" because he wanted to work in a "low-income school that would be perceived as struggling or having non-traditional learners." Bobby said he was heavily

influenced by Kozol's *Savage Inequalities* and he was a "firm believer in education being able to change or offset some of the inequalities inherent in American democracy... If done right, education... can empower individuals to examine their lives." Additionally, TD attracted Bobby because he saw teaching there as a challenge.

Bobby graduated from Hills High School – an affluent, suburban high school also located in Henley. When asked for his reasoning of choosing to intern at TD instead of his alma mater, Bobby explained that TD offered a challenge while teaching at Hills High School was more like "herding cattle." Bobby used the "herding cattle" metaphor to explain that students attending his Hills High School were college-bound. "The majority of students are going to go to college or if they don't... it's because they are taking a year or two off to travel... It's like these are very traditional ways for those students to go through life." In Bobby's perspective, he saw students that attended Hills High School as taking for granted that they would be attending college. Bobby saw those students as living a privileged life where, even if they academically struggled, their family had the resources to make them successful. Conversely, the students who attended TD – a low-income, urban school – did not have these same support systems available to them, and college was not a guarantee. Another reason Bobby was "excited" to intern at TD was because two of his instructors talked about how TD's English teachers were "open to graphic novels, YA [Young Adult] literature, contemporary music... and movies" being used as part of instruction. These alternatives to traditionally taught canonical literature were not used at Hills High School. Finally, Bobby saw his internship at TD as once again giving him professional direction. Bobby commented on how after being unemployed for so long and then having a poor experience at the for-profit tutoring center, beginning an internship at TD made him feel as if his professional life was once again purposeful. Bobby said "it felt like I was back on track of

where I wanted to be in my career, and the like the type of work I wanted to be doing." Bobby carried that excitement with him into his first day at TD.

Bobby's first day at TD was in early August, 2010. As part of its school restructuring requirements, TD's teachers reported back early for 10 additional days of planning and professional development before teachers in the other county schools report back for pre-planning. To kickoff the extra 10 days of pre-planning and professional development for the 2010-2011 school year, TD's administrators called a school-wide meeting. This meeting was significant to Bobby because what was communicated in it influenced Bobby's instruction through the entire school year. Bobby explained:

> We are in the Performing Arts auditorium and they [the TD administration team] have a PowerPoint up. [On the PowerPoint], they have what we did on our tests last year and where does that put us, and how well, and it was this very positive – like our students are improving, but, but it was very weird. The students' test scores are very low still, or it seems like some of the things were being, to me, it felt like some of the numbers were being cherry picked for their success, or things that we didn't do very well were downplayed... it felt very much like a, uh, like a public relations, like why are you presenting us these, like, good-feeling success stories? ... It felt like they're talking about our students, not as individuals, people, or human beings, but already first day students' test scores, we're succeeding, we're doing better, we're improving... it was just a lot.

From his first day, Bobby again felt conflicted at TD. On one level, Bobby was excited to be interning at TD and working with students whom he really felt needed him. Bobby had a deep belief that a meaningful education can "help offset societal inequalities" that persisted in modern American society. Yet, on another level, Bobby became disheartened on his first day at TD

because of TD's administrative team's PowerPoint that reduced students to raw test scores. Bobby was additionally bothered because he felt that the PowerPoint was not truthful or genuine; rather, Bobby found the PowerPoint as only highlighting test score achievements and minimizing shortcomings. This situation resulted in Bobby feeling overwhelmed by how he should be interpreting and internalizing what the PowerPoint and administrative team were attempting to communicate. Bobby did mention that the 2009-2010 English II teachers were recognized in the meeting due to their students' scores on the English II EOC. It was announced in the meeting that these English II EOC scores helped TD "move away from being on *the list*." The "list" that Bobby referred to was the state takeover list. Bobby explained that the term "state takeover" was vague, and it was never definitively defined to TD's teachers what it meant if the school was taken over by the state. Bobby said that he understood state takeover as meaning "people would lose their jobs, or that some people would, or maybe there would be another restructuring." Additionally, Bobby explained that being taken over by the state meant that TD would not be part of the LCS system but rather be part of the Successful School District run by the state. In response to those explanations of state takeover, Bobby questioned "What does that mean? You are not part of Leigh County Schools anymore? ... It's not our community school anymore... They said we want to keep this [TD] in our community." To help further explain the chances of TD being taken over by the state, the Superintendent of Leigh County Schools came to meet with TD's staff.

The meeting with the Superintendent and TD's staff also came during the first week of pre-planning for the 2010-2011 school year. According to Bobby, the Superintendent said "if our attendance was at a certain level, if our graduation rate was at a certain level, and if our 11th grade writing assessments were at a certain level, we would be spared being taken over by the

state." Moreover, Bobby pointed out that during the Superintendent's presentation to the staff, the Superintendent made sure to highlight "how he [the Superintendent] was able to cut a deal with the state." According to Bobby, the deal the Superintendent made was that if TD's graduation rate was 85%, its attendance rate was 85%, and 90% of its juniors earned a rating of "proficient" on the 11th grade state writing assessment, then the school would not be taken over by the state. Bobby took issue with the fact that the 11th grade writing assessments was the only test scores used for accountability evidence. Bobby noted that "there is no other academic department that, uh, had that type of goal placed on them." Bobby felt that the English department was specifically more burdened than other academic disciplines, but he also said that other English teachers seemed to take the burden as "business as usual." As for why the 11th grade writing assessment was chosen as the only piece of accountability evidence, Bobby said that he heard different reasons, but all the reasons he heard came down to the 11th grade writing assessment being viewed as "a low hanging piece of fruit." This comment meant that the stakeholders who decided the criteria for TD to be released from the state's school take over watch list – the Superintendent, the State Department of Education, and the administrators at TD – saw the 11th grade writing assessment as an attainable goal. Compared to the other accountability tests used by the state such as the 11th grade reading, math, and science tests, the writing assessment was viewed as easier. Bobby explained that "it is easy to teach your kids a writing formula that can be scored highly." Therefore, with the writing assessment being the key piece of academic accountability evidence being used to evaluate if TD will be taken over by the state, the school went to work to meet its accountability demands.

When the students arrived to begin the 2010-2011 school year, Bobby was teaching an English III college placement class under the supervision of Marie, a third year English teacher

at that time. It was explained to Bobby that he was assigned this class because the administration felt having two instructors in the room – an intern and mentor teacher – would better support student learning than just having a single teacher. Moreover, Bobby's experience teaching writing made him feel "confident and comfortable going in and starting writing [instruction], and working on writing" with his students. When planning out the course, Marie told Bobby that the administration told her "to prioritize writing instruction above everything else." The administration's emphasis on writing instruction resulted in Marie and Bobby narrowing their curriculum down to persuasive writing skills. Bobby explained that Marie told him "to ignore, forget about the standards, and to teach persuasive writing exclusively." Moreover, Bobby and Marie were told that their students' "EOC scores were unimportant to what happens and... irrelevant to the writing assessment." As a result of narrowing the curriculum to writing instruction, Bobby explained that the only piece of literature his students read during the fall semester was *The Crucible*, which they spent one month engaging. Besides reading *The Crucible*, all of their other class assignments were geared to preparing students for the writing assessment.

The 11th grade writing assessment was scheduled for February 1st, 2011, and its importance was made clear to students on the first day of class. Bobby said that he and Marie shared the date of the assessment with students. "From the very beginning of the school year, we said 'we will come and get you out of bed on February 1st, or Mr. Bryant will. Somebody will come and knock on your door, get you out of bed, and drive you to school for you to take this assessment.'" However, in preparing students for the writing assessment, Bobby and Marie were not left solely responsible; instead, TD began school-wide initiatives to help prepare 11th graders for the assessment.

To help support its 11th grade English teachers prepare their students for the writing assessment, TD took five major actions. First, TD changed the 11th graders' daily schedule. To explain, TD followed a daily 4x4 block schedule. This schedule meant that students took four 90-minute classes each day during the fall semester. Once the fall semester was over, students then take four different 90-minute classes during the spring semester. The benefits of the 4x4 block schedule were that students took eight classes during the academic year as opposed to only six classes on the traditional school schedule. Additionally, the traditional schedule had students engaging learning for an hour, but the 4x4 block allowed for students to have 30 more minutes of learning time. The problem with the 4x4 block was that if a student was not scheduled to take an English class until the spring semester in January, that student would only have one month to prepare for the writing assessments. Therefore, TD was concerned that its 11th grade students who were not scheduled for English until the spring semester in January were at a disadvantage because they would only have one month in English class to prepare for the writing assessment. To offset this predicament, Bobby explained "starting in the 2010-2011 school year, Carmen had reconfigured the11th grade English and US history classes to focus on just 11th grade English to be yearlong classes, so that every student would have a full semester of English coursework before the writing assessment." The way Carmen adjusted the schedule was instead of having an English class last for 90 minutes, the block was broken into two 45 minute classes. For the first 45 minutes, students would either be in an English III class or American history class. Then, halfway through the period, the students would swap and go either to their English III or American history class for the second 45 minute block. This scheduling adjustment alleviated any problems that arose from TD's 4x4 block schedule.

The second way TD helped prepare its 11th grade students for the writing assessment was by adopting a formulaic approach to writing an introductory paragraph. To create the formulaic approach, two English teachers – Marie and Pam – were charged with its development. In his interview, Bobby explained the formulaic approach that TD adopted:

> We basically said, 'this is how you write a persuasive essay. You have a hook, which is something that grabs your reader's attention. You probably tell a little narrative, a little anecdote. You have linking sentences, which explain your hook, your little narrative then relates to your thesis. And then you should have a thesis statement' and that was the introductory paragraph the entire school adopted as the way to write an essay.

TD then created writing groups as its third method of supporting teachers' abilities to instruct writing. According to Bobby, the writing groups consisted of an English teacher grouped with teachers from other content areas. The English teacher was charged with teaching the other teachers the introductory paragraph formula. According to Bobby, having TD's English teachers teach other non-English teachers at TD this introductory paragraph was counted as PD time, and TD's teachers spent a considerable amount of time learning the introductory paragraph formula in their writing groups. When asked how the non-English teachers reacted to learning the introductory paragraph formula and being required to teach writing, Bobby said there was "dissatisfaction... teachers would openly talk about how they did not know... how to help students with this [their writing, and]... that this was not what they were trained to do." Because there were high levels of dissatisfaction among non-English teachers with having been told they must teach writing, TD tried to help them through the use of a computer grading program.

The fourth way TD attempted to support its teacher's instruction of writing was through the use of Criterion, an on-line program that automatically graded writing. Criterion was a

grading program created by Educational Testing Services. Essentially, students uploaded a piece of writing to the Criterion web-site, and Criterion automatically graded the writing using a pre-loaded writing rubric. According to Bobby, "LCS, not just TD, but LCS has paid however many millions of dollars for this on-line grading/writing software. And so, for teachers who were unable to grade student writing, or didn't feel comfortable, [they] could use Criterion." In conjunction with Criterion, TD launched a massive writing initiative as its fifth way to support student writing. This initiative required "every single class – even gym – like everybody" to have their students write. All teachers were held accountable for having their classes write by the administration, and the administration required teachers to submit student writing at the end of each semester for proof they were teaching writing. Specifically, teachers were responsible for having students write two persuasive essays per semester in their class. As TD worked to its goal of having 90% of its students proficient on the writing assessment, February 1st, 2011 grew closer and closer.

Finally, the day of the 11th grade writing assessment arrived, and Bobby said that he was "feeling good" about his students' chances of scoring proficient on the assessment. Bobby explained that the work he, Marie, and their students put into their preparation for the assessment was why he felt good on test day.

> We go for Winter Break at the end of December all feeling good. We come back in January, we don't do anything else but writing. Like, Marie needed me. I'm actually going to her third block, which is also a CP class, and... we're just breaking kids up into two groups and we are just writing. It is just practicing writing... I mean, I feel, I feel, I mean, if you showed me their writing assessment, you know, if you showed me their essay, it would not be a surprise to me whatever mistakes they made because I knew, I

> could tell, I didn't even need them to write an essay for me anymore, at the end of January, where they still had problems. I knew each students' strengths and weaknesses, they were all writing proficient, proficiently, uh, which is, uh, they are all passing the assessment.

So, on the day of the writing assessment Bobby felt confident because of the amount of practice he, Marie, and their students put into preparing for the assessment. In fact, Bobby used the metaphor of "the hay is in the barn" to express how confident he was feeling. Then, on test day when Bobby and Marie went to pick up their materials, they saw the writing prompt their students had to respond to was one they had practiced during their preparation. Bobby said when "we [Bobby and Marie] looked at the prompt, we just smiled at each other because it was like our kids are going to rock this," and they did.

Out of Bobby's 28 students, 27 of them scored proficient on the writing assessment. Out of TD's junior class, 95% of them also earned a score of proficient on the writing assessment. According to Bobby "no other school [in LCS] had 95% of their students proficient in writing." Bobby again said he "felt good" about the scores and "was happy to see the work pay off... I was happy to see TD get its, this, this thing it needed to hit." When he analyzed the scores, he said he "had a lot of fours, which is the lowest level of proficiency." Bobby explained that the writing assessment was graded on a 1-6 scale with 1-3 scoring as not proficient and 4-6 as being proficient. When asked about the school-wide reaction when the test scores were announced, Bobby said that there was a "kind of general sense that like, that we did a good job. That we did what we needed to do." One special instance Bobby recalled was when Pam – the teacher who created the formulaic approach to the introductory paragraph that TD adopted and a fellow 11th

grade English teacher – told him "congratulations, those were your scores too." However, Bobby was not overly jubilant about TD's writing scores; rather, he felt conflicted again.

Bobby has a hard time celebrating the success of his students' writing assessment because he questioned what he really taught them. Bobby explained that the skills needed to pass the writing assessment are not skills the students need to be successful in college. For example, Bobby said:

> When they [his students] go to college they will suffer from the same thing I did, which was, you'll go to your freshmen English class, and your professor will go 'why are you still writing in the five paragraph essay? How come nobody has taught you otherwise?' And they'll go, 'I didn't, I didn't know' and then I can tell them it is because TD in the 2010-2011 school year needed them to pass a writing assessment.

In this situation, Bobby reflected on his own experience as a college freshmen class who felt unprepared for college because his high school only taught him how to compose a five paragraph essay required by state writing assessments and not advanced writing skills. The skills that Bobby taught his students, he felt also did not adequately prepare them for success in college, and this resulted in Bobby being conflicted. To explain, Bobby's teaching allowed his students to be successful on the state writing assessment, which TD needed to ensure that the school would not be taken over by the state. However, Bobby did not prepare his students with the writing skills they needed to successfully navigate the world outside of standardized tests. Moreover, when asked about his students' scores on the English III EOC, Bobby said "I didn't have one proficient student on the EOC. The highest student, she scored a 60. All of them scored *basic* or *below basic*." Bobby's students' scores on the county EOC were likely caused by the narrowing of the English III curriculum to writing skills. In the conclusion of his

interview when asked if there was anything else he would like to add, Bobby made sure to express his confliction.

> As someone who has experience teaching writing and values it, it's like a very mixed bag, it's really frustrating getting your students to be like proficient at something that they are not proficient in. Like, I don't believe that the state's assessment of my students is that, like, there were students that I, I was reading their essays and it was like according to the state this is deemed proficient? But if that was, if the way they wrote is how they address emails to a boss, to their employer, that's the way they write to tell their doctor something, I mean, it's not going to be, it's like, it's not practical.

Bobby saw himself as preparing students to pass a writing test, not to be effective writers. This concern obviously deeply bothered Bobby because with this thought, he concluded his interview. In this quote, Bobby took issue with the state for requiring students to pass a test that does not require them, in his opinion, to be effective writers or communicators. Instead, Bobby saw the 11th grade writing assessment as only requiring students to learn a formulaic approach to writing and regurgitating it in response to a given prompt. Therefore, Bobby felt conflicted because his students' scores helped save TD from being taken over by the state, but the cost was his students did not learn how to effectively communicate through their writing.

In April of 2011, Bobby was hired by TD as his internship was concluding. I asked Bobby if he thought his students' test scores were the reason TD hired him, and he said "no," and then explained that "we didn't have them [the test scores] when I was hired." I then asked if he was hired because the administrative team saw him teach, and again he said "no" and that "Carmen never saw me teach." Bobby did say that some of his fellow teachers saw him teach, and that his work towards the writing test scores was what earned him his job. Additionally,

amidst the conversation about Bobby's job, he noted that TD's administrative team named Al Berman as a new assistant principal who would be joining them on the last day of the 2010-2011 school year. Nonetheless, after being offered his job and accepting it, the 2010-2011 school year ended without incidence for Bobby. However, the start of the 2011-2012 school year opened with a major change for TD.

Bobby compared the beginning of the 2010-2011 school year to the way the 2011-2012 school year started. For Bobby, the 2011-2012 school year started off with a phone call from an administrative secretary on Monday, July 25th. The secretary called Bobby to invite him to TD's new teacher meeting schedule for that Friday, July 29th. Before the new teacher meeting on Thursday evening, Bobby received another phone call. "Thursday I got a voice recorded message from Carmen telling me that she's been, um, named the principal at Holmes High School and that she is accepting that position. And that she's, she's gone." Bobby went on to explain that at the new teacher meeting the following day, no one brought up the fact that Carmen, the Leader of TD's school restructuring plan and the school's Curriculum Principal, has left. In fact, it was not openly discussed with TD's faculty until Monday, August 1st when Berman addressed the entire faculty. According to Bobby, Berman said "'well, I just found that I'm the new curriculum principal last night. Apparently I got a phone call right after you guys did.'" In comparing the way TD opened the 2010-2011 school year under Carmen as how the 2011-2012 school year opened under Berman, Bobby explained:

> The comparison between the start of the 2010-2011 to 2011-2012 school years couldn't be more different. First year we go in [to start the 2010-2011 school year], there's like the PowerPoint, how well we're doing, what we need to do to improve. This year, there is no kind of State of the School. No addressing any of the issues, it's just like, it's like,

> there are some sporadic meetings, there's a lot of, um, there's a lot of disorganization... TD is on the extended time, you know, we are on the extra contract... and it was like, I mean, it was a waste of time.

In this instance, Bobby again was conflicted. This confliction resided in his views of how the 2010-2011 school year started as compared to the 2011-2012 school year. In the 2010-2011 school year, Bobby commented early in his interview about his frustrations with students being treated like test scores, and their education being minimized down to the test scores TD needed to avoid being taken over by the state. When contrasting the start of the 2010-2011 school year to the opening of the 2011-2012 school year, Bobby was remiss as why there was not a PowerPoint showing the progress TD has made on its students' test scores. It was possible that after spending a year focusing on students' writing, Bobby became acculturated into NCLB's test-based accountability system and was beginning to see students more as test scores and less as students. This dynamic added to the tensions and conflictions Bobby felt about his students scoring *proficient* on a writing test when he did not believe they could effectively communicate to their boss or doctor in writing.

When further comparing the beginning of the 2010-2011 school year to the opening of the 2011-2012 school year, Bobby recalled how he felt Berman had already given up. Bobby explained that Berman seemed unprepared to handle the new responsibilities that came with his promotion to curriculum principal. Bobby said "He is like... literally form the very first day was like next year will be better... The students have not shown up for one day of class, and he said 'next year will be better. I'm still trying to figure this out. Next year will be better.'" During his interview, Bobby said this comment while shaking his head. It was apparent that Bobby did not

feel Berman was prepared for his new role as curriculum principal and was professionally dissatisfied with how Carmen left TD.

To conclude Bobby's interview, I asked him if TD was still on the state's list for school takeover and he said TD was no longer on that list. Bobby then explained that just because TD was no longer on that list, he would still be working to ensure at least 95% of his students scored proficient on the state's 11th grade writing assessment. Bobby said "I think we can do it. I mean, it's a formula, it's not real... I mean that would be my general take is that it is not real."

A Story of Confliction

Throughout Bobby's story, he continually returned to feelings of confliction. The first time he felt conflicted was during his time working in the non-profit in Pike. At the non-profit, Bobby enjoyed his work with students but experienced confliction on a professional level. To explain, Bobby was recognized for his rapport with students and creative ideas he was bringing to the non-profit. However, Bobby's ideas were not implemented because he did not have a background in teaching, only English literature. To eliminate the confliction between being told his ideas for improving the non-profit were good but he was lacking the knowledge to support his ideas' implementation, Bobby took and passed the state required tests to become a teacher. However, Bobby never took the necessary teacher preparation courses required to earn his teaching license. In this first instance, the confliction Bobby felt working at the non-profit ultimately resulted in him relocating back to his hometown.

The second time Bobby felt confliction was during his time working at a for-profit tutoring center in Henley. In this situation, Bobby felt conflicted on a moral level. The job Bobby accepted required him to sell the tutoring center's testing philosophy and prepackaged curricula to students to families who could not afford the center's services. The moral

predicament of selling a product that Bobby did not believe in quickly and ultimately forced Bobby to leave his job after a week because of the ethical concerns he had. As such, Bobby responded to this moral brand of confliction by doing what he believed was the correct and ethical action; he quit his job.

Bobby's third experience with confliction appeared in how he saw students. When Bobby told his experience of sitting through his first meeting at TD as an intern, Bobby was conflicted about how TD's administrative team portrayed students as test scores and not as humans. Bobby went into TD wanting to help his students learn the skills they will need to be successful after they leave his class and graduate high school – whether they go to college, enlist in the military, join the work force, or choose another to do something else. To Bobby, it was essential that his students acquired the skills they need for lifelong success. However, Bobby became conflicted with his students learning the skills needed for success after high school and helping TD stay off the state's school takeover list. In this situation, Bobby chose to help TD successfully prepare its students for the 11th grade writing test. Although it was evident that Bobby did not believe the writing test was meaningful or an accurate metric of students' writing abilities, Bobby did not want TD to be taken over by the state and join the Successful School district. Additionally, the pressure of being an intern in a low performing school also influenced his decision to help prepare students for the writing assessment, especially when his mentor teacher told him to "prioritize writing instruction above everything else." For these reasons, Bobby made his decision and effectively prepared his students for the writing assessment.

The final way confliction was part of Bobby's story was in comparing the start of the 2010-2011 school year to the opening of the 2011-2012 school year. When the 2010-2011 school year opened, Bobby was put off by TD's administrative team portraying students as test

scores. Where Bobby saw the students as humans, the administrative team projected test scores number and test score targets. This meeting had a lasting impact on Bobby's teaching throughout the school year, and Bobby eventually became part of the testing culture brought on by NCLB. The lasting effect of this acculturation into testing became evident as Bobby questioned why there was not a PowerPoint showing student test scores and testing score targets to open the 2011-2012 school year. In this instance of confliction, Bobby's experience of teaching in a low performing school actually pushed him away from seeing students as humans and more as test scores.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I opened by explaining the order I chose to present the narratives I created. I also included two charts. The first chart illustrated the time each participant worked at TD and was interviewed. The second chart displayed the intern-mentor teacher relationships that some of my participants had with one another. Next, I presented each of my participant's narratives. In each narrative, I started by telling identifying what name I labeled each story. Next, I gave background information for each participant that included demographical information and how the person came to work at TD. I then presented a detailed narrative about each participant's experience at TD. Finally, I concluded each narrative by justifying why I chose to label each story with the term I selected. Lastly, I chose to present my participants' narratives using this method and organization because it allowed for the common experience each participant had with TD's restructuring to be illustrated while also showing how each participant was differently affected. After creating their narratives, I felt that each of my participants looked at TD's restructuring from a different angle in a prism. As such, I chose this method to present their narratives to illustrate that dynamic.

Chapter VI: Findings and Suggestions for Policymakers

In this chapter, I will present how NCLB's school restructuring policies impacted my participants. I will first show how my findings support those of other educational researchers who have previously studied teachers' responses to NCLB's accountability policies (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007; Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Crocco & Costigan, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 1994; Dillon, 2007; Higgins, Miller, & Wegmann, 2006; Rosewell, 1973; Shepard, 2003; Smith & Kovacs, 2011). I then outline additional ways in which my participants were impacted by NCLB's accountability policies because of TD's engagement with NCLB's school restructuring policies. I structured this second discussion by first identifying a specific aspect of the TD's restructuring and developing a term for it. The terms I created were *turnaround, producing results, threats, student behavior, top-down decision making,* and *sustained and unsustained reforms efforts*. Next, I defined the term for my readers by substantiating the term using previously conducted research. Lastly, I drew from my participants' narratives to explain how they were impacted by TD's restructuring as related to the term.

I chose to present my findings using this method because I felt it was appropriate to recognize that each of my participants had a unique experience with TD's restructuring. Unlike thematic analysis (Glense, 1996; Merriam, 2009) where I would have looked across my participants' narratives to identify a common theme, this approach allowed for each of my participants' experiences to stand alone and not be grouped together. As such, I found presenting my findings in this manner celebrated the distinctiveness of each of my participants' experiences. Following the presentation of my findings, I included a discussion section where I analyzed how

each of the terms in my findings related back to my participants' experiences teaching at TD while it restructured.

HSETs' Responses to NCLB's Accountability and Restructuring Policies

In Chapter One, I presented research about how English teachers responded to the pressures of teaching in a high stakes testing climate. As I conducted my study, I found my participants had two major, similar experiences while teaching English at TD during its restructuring. First, Floyd, Gwen, Bobby, and Kristy all discussed how TD's English teachers narrowed their curriculum down to the skills that would be tested on either their class's end-of-course exams or state accountability tests in order for their students to be successful on the assessments. In their research, Byrd-Blake, Afolayan, Hunt, Fabunmi, Pryor, and Leander (2010) and Crocco and Costigan (2007) found that when standardized tests are used to hold teachers accountable for classroom instruction, teachers largely focused on the content that would be tested on the high stakes assessments. Because TD had to reach proficiency goals on the 10th grade EOC and the 11th grade writing assessment, the 10th and 11th grade English teachers narrowed their curriculum down to only teaching students the skills they would need to pass those assessments. In fact, Bobby reported that he so thoroughly narrowed his curriculum down to persuasive writing skills that none of his students had the content knowledge needed to pass the 11th grade EOC. Gwen also reported narrowing her curriculum down to only skills that would be tested on the 10th grade EOC.

In her interview, Gwen was aware that she was responsible for preparing her students only for the 10th grade EOC and not for college or the work force. In fact, Gwen lamented at one point in her interview about how she had to spend two weeks teaching her students mode, audience, and purpose instead of teaching them skills they would need for college. When

discussing why Gwen did not just decide to teach the skills students would need for college, Gwen said that she would just lose her job and then another teacher would be hired to fill her role in the school. In this instance, Gwen appeared to be acting like the "good soldier" Olsen and Sexton (2008) described. However, the difference between Gwen's behavior and how the participants in Olsen's and Sexton's study acted is that Gwen continued to take a good solider stance even after her classroom door closed. In Olsen's and Sexton's study, their participants did not continue to conform to the school's agenda once out of sight of administrators.

Floyd and Kristy were also aware and affected by the narrowed curriculum. Regarding Floyd, he became frustrated that his students were not scoring higher on their EOCs even though he was teaching his course's content. In his interview, Floyd explained that he was teaching all the required standards for his class, but he grew upset because certain standards he particularly emphasized were not assessed on the EOC, which caused his students to score poorly on their EOCs. Regarding knowing that TD's 11th grade English teachers were narrowing their curriculum to satisfy the demands put on them by the 11th grade writing assessment, Floyd rationalized that at least TD's students have mastered those writing skills. Kristy, on the other hand, received her students in senior English after they had gone through two years of being prepared for high stakes assessments. Kristy reported that when her students came to her, they had spent one year preparing for the 10th grade EOC and another year only learning persuasive writing skills for the 11th grade writing assessment. This dynamic affected Kristy because her students viewed English as mostly learning skills in isolation for an upcoming test. Through her instruction, Kristy had to augment her students' two previous years' worth of instruction in hopes of preparing them for college. In these examples, it was evident that TD's English teachers were narrowing their curriculum because of the pressures brought on by NCLB's high

stakes testing climate, which confirms the findings of previous studies (Byrd-Blake, Afolayan, Hunt, Fabunmi, Pryor, & Leander, 2010; Crocco & Costigan, 2007).

Secondly, my participants confirmed that high school English teachers are most often connected with a school's writing scores (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007). In my study, Bobby was my participant who most discussed how TD's English teachers led the school's writing initiative. In his interview, Bobby explained that he felt TD's non-English teachers did not have the skill set to teach writing effectively. As such, it was ultimately his responsibility for preparing his students for the 11th grade state writing assessment, since he taught 11th grade English. Bobby did discuss an on-line grading program that was made available for non-English teachers to help them grade student writing, but Bobby did not find this approach meaningful. As such, the responsibility for teaching students persuasive writing skills fell directly to TD's 11th grade English teachers. Moreover, when TD's writing scores were announced, the 11th grade English teachers were the individuals who were recognized for this achievement in student writing. Taken together, the writing initiative and the recognition of the 11th grade English teachers' work supported the findings that HSETs are most often connected with a high school's writing scores (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007).

What Was Not Said.

When conducting my study, I paid particular attention to what was and was not included in my participants' stories (Glense, 2006; Noblit, 1999; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). When making connections to previously conducted research, I thought about what was not included in my participants' stories, and I identified two topics my participants did not address. First, none of my participants directly addressed classroom instruction or student learning. When my participants would discuss classroom instruction or student learning, all of my participants

directly connected it to test scores. For example, when Floyd spoke about his students' learning, he discussed how he taught his students the "pendulous nature of human thought in American history." However, disappointing to Floyd was the fact that the material he taught his students was inconsequential since it was not tested on the EOC. This dynamic left Floyd feeling upset because although he felt that he taught his students something meaningful, his students low EOCs scores made Floyd question the content he was teaching his students.

When Gwen spoke about these topics, she discussed how she changed her instruction to better meet the needs of her students as required by the TAP instructional model. In her example, Gwen told a story about how she structured her classroom instruction so it aligned with TAP's instructional model while preparing students for their 10th grade English EOC. However, Gwen was aware that she was only preparing her students to score proficiently on the 10th grade English EOC and not for college or career success. For instance, Gwen reported that if she taught students the skills they would need to be successful in college, they would not pass their 10th grade English EOC and she would ultimately lose her job.

In his interview, Bobby told a story about a lack of student learning that was similar to Gwen's example. In Bobby's story, he spoke about how he dedicated his 11th grade English class to preparing his students for TN's 11th grade persuasive writing assessment. Bobby reported that over 90% of his students were successful on the exam; however, Bobby was dissatisfied with the results. When explaining his dissatisfaction, Bobby said the writing required to pass the 11th grade writing assessment was "not practical" and did not prepare students to communicate outside of the writing assessment. As such, even though the state of TN graded a large majority of Bobby's students as proficient writers, Bobby felt his students lacked the ability to communicate effectively in writing outside of the five-paragraph format. In

these three examples, even though my participants were aware that the high stakes testing climate created by NCLB guided their instruction, all my participants who were hired after TD began its restructuring allowed the high stakes assessments to determine what they taught and what constituted student learning.

As educational stakeholders work to improve the teaching and learning at low performing schools, it is unjust to students to let high stakes assessments guide teachers' classroom instruction. When assessments guide what students learn and what teachers teach, teachers are limited to teaching the skills students need to pass standardized assessments. When analyzing my interview data, none of my participants discussed teaching meaningful units, students having the "light bulb" moment, or measuring student success outside of test scores. In an age when we should be preparing students to think innovatively and creatively for the 21st century (21st Century Fluency Project, 2011), it is our teachers and schools who should be crafting units that require students to develop the skills they need for success after high school. NCLB's accountability policies merely limited the English teachers in my study to teaching students the skills they needed to pass high stakes assessments, which ultimately only benefitted TD in that it was not be taken over by the state.

The second topic most of my participants omitted was if they would be willing to continue to teach at TD in the future. Darling-Hammond (2007), Dillon (2007), and Smith and Kovacs (2011) all found that teachers were leaving the education profession because of the amount of pressure NCLB's high stakes tests put on them. In my study, none of my participants explicitly said they would leave TD because of the testing pressures. However, I am curious if that stance may change in the future since Marie, Gwen, Kristy, and Bobby all had less than five year teaching experience at the time of my study. Moreover, Carmen, Floyd, and Marie all left

TD after the 2010-2011 school year for another, significantly higher performing school in LCS. Their departure offers evidence that NCLB's pressures of standardized tests may have impacted their decision to quit teaching at TD.

Elements of TD's Restructuring

In this section, I have identified six specific common elements of TD's restructuring that differently impacted my participants. Since I conducted a qualitative study of TD's restructuring, I understand that drawing generalizable ideas about school restructuring is left for my readers to determine. However, the distinctive experience of TD's engagement with NCLB's school restructuring strategies does add new research about school restructuring to the current literature.

To structure this section, I first introduced the term and substantiated its meaning using previously conducted research. Next, I drew from the stories I created for my participants to offer examples of how they were impacted by the term I developed. I concluded this section with a discussion that synthesized my participant's experiences as related to the specific term I developed.

Turnaround.

Because TD was an existing school and LCS chose to restructure it instead of closing the school and opening a new one, TD's restructuring qualified as *school turnaround*. Hassel, Ayscue, and Rhim (2007) described school turnaround as "the organization's leader (usually a new leader) takes action to transform organizational performance substantially and rapidly. Though the leader may replace some staff, the hallmark of a turnaround is that it is largely the same organization achieving dramatically better results" (p. 12). In TD's restructuring, LCS replaced Lewis, TD's principal in 2007, by bringing in both Carmen and Bryant. Next, Carmen

and Bryant reconstituted TD's staff during the spring and summer of 2008 by releasing 40% of TD's teachers and hiring their replacements. Additionally, Carmen and Bryant chose to collapse TD's course offerings to only offering college-placement level classes during the 2008-2009 school year, created SLCs, and worked with an EMO to improve TD's school achievement, which are recognized as common school improvement strategies (Hassel, Ayscue, & Rhim, 2007; Learning Points Associates, 2007). These school turnaround strategies affected the work of TD's HSETs in different ways.

Carmen. After being selected by LCS's Superintendent and Director of Schools to restructure TD, Carmen felt pressured to produce quick increases in TD's student achievement. In her interview, Carmen reported that a specific timetable about when the increases of student were expected was not given; however, Carmen said results were expected "as quick as possible." As such, being the leader of TD's school turnaround put pressure on Carmen to produce these improvements. In response to the pressure, Carmen and Bryant reconstituted TD's staff in a five-month period by evaluating TD's staff based using interviews and test scores, firing teachers who they felt could not make significant contributions to the improvement of TD's student achievement, and hiring new teachers who they felt could help increase student learning at TD. Additionally, Carmen and Bryant made the decision to redesign TD into three SLCs and only offer core academic classes on college-placement level. Carmen saw these changes as needing to happen if TD was to achieve quick turnaround. Overall, these changes have helped TD increase its student achievement, but they have also put TD's English teachers in precarious positions.

Pat. When it was announced TD was going to restructure by reconstituting its staff, Pat was put in position where reapplying for her job was necessary. Pat explained that she was twice

evaluated during the 2006-2007 school year and had "excellent" evaluations both times. Pat then described that when she was interviewed, it was awkward because her interviewers were tardy and they ate lunch while talking with her. Nevertheless, Pat was still expecting to be rehired by Carmen and Bryant and join TD and her colleagues as they worked to restructure the school. However, Carmen and Bryant decided that Pat was not an individual that they wanted to be part of the TD's restructuring process and fired her. As such, the pressure to quickly turnaround TD's student achievement negatively affected Pat because she lost her job, and she did not feel that the process about how she lost her job was fair. Instead, Pat viewed her firing as her being a casualty of TD's restructuring. Because Carmen and Bryant were pressured to produce quick results, they needed to take immediate action that did not allow for them to build a relationship with Pat and evaluate her classroom performance over time. As such, it was likely the pressure to produce immediate increases in student performance that cost Pat her job.

Floyd. As Floyd talked about Carmen being installed to restructure TD, Floyd was at first very positive and receptive to her proposed changes. At the time, Floyd discussed how he was learning about different school improvement strategies that he would like to see implemented at TD including converting the school into SLCs. Therefore, when Carmen began discussing her ideas about changes she would like to make at TD with him, Floyd initially felt optimistic that Carmen was the individual who could really turnaround TD. However, Floyd did not agree with LCS's entire agenda for TD's school restructuring. For instance, whereas Floyd supported redesigning TD into SLCs and providing TD's teachers with the PD they needed to differentiate their instruction because of the decision to collapse TD's core classes into only offering a college-placement level track, Floyd did not agree with replacing Lewis with Bryant.

Floyd felt that when Lewis was replaced, it was unfortunate because Lewis was putting TD's academics before athletics by requiring TD's student-athletes to maintain a 2.0 GPA if they wanted to be eligible to play sports. As Lewis was transferred out and Carman and Bryant took over, the 2.0 GPA eligibility rule was dropped, and Floyd was disappointed. About turnaround's requirement for immediate improvements in student achievement, Floyd realized that the improvement was limited to mostly students' scores on standardized tests. Floyd rationalized that the improvement was positive because students could at least write a five-paragraph essay, a task they were unable to complete in the past. However, Floyd was dubious because only few of TD's students, Floyd felt, were prepared for college. Moreover, the material used to assess TD's students on standardized tests, Floyd argued, did not require students to understand the culture and context of the pieces of literature he taught. In this way, even though Floyd celebrated the fact TD had improved its test scores, Floyd still felt that TD's students needed to be better prepared for college.

Marie. When TD implemented its school restructuring model, Carmen and Bryant reconstituted TD's staff in an effort to rid the school of teachers who they felt were inhibiting TD from reaching AYP. As a member of the staff who was hired to replace the teachers who lost their job because of TD's reconstitution, Marie experienced frustrations with having to join a faculty who she felt did not want her there. In her interview, Marie talked at length about the staff divide she encountered at TD's Smoky Mountain Retreat and throughout her first years at TD. Kowal and Asycue (2005) pointed out that when large numbers of teachers are replaced through NCLB's reconstitution, it may cause a divide between the teachers who were hired to replace the released teachers and the teachers who survived the reconstitution. In her interview, Marie highlighted the tension of how this dynamic impacted her. Marie said she saw this rift

play out in PD sessions at the Smoky Mountain retreat and faculty meetings where teachers who were unwelcoming of the new staff members and the change associated with them did not sit with them. As such, Marie labeled the two groups of teachers as either "New TD" or "Old TD" teachers, and she compared the two groups based on how long a teacher has taught at TD and their race, education level, and attitude towards TD's restructuring. Because LCS decided to turnaround TD through the reconstitution of its staff and Carmen and Bryant replaced 40% of TD's staff in less than five months, the rift between the teachers of Old TD and New TD affected Marie in a way she did not anticipate when she was first hired.

Gwen. The decision Carmen and Bryant made to collapse TD's English classes into only offering the college-placement classes in hopes of quickly raising student learning affected Gwen because it required her to differentiate her instruction. In her interview, Gwen talked about the benefits of differentiating her instruction to "meet the needs of her students," but she was quick to point out that differentiation only works to a certain point. Gwen felt that part of her job was to serve her students, but she felt that it was unrealistic to differentiate her instruction to meet the needs of all the learners in her classroom as she was expected to do during her first year at TD. For instance, Gwen discussed how much her students varied by ability level. Gwen then explained that in the college-placement classes she taught at TD during the 2008-2009 school year as a first year teacher, it was not unusual for her to have over 10 students who all had IEPs. In her mind, Gwen did not think these students were college-bound; yet, she had to teach them a curriculum that would prepare them for college. Gwen expressed high amounts of frustration with this situation because she said TD's administrative team told her that she "can meet all their needs differentiation" but did not give her support in the classroom to do that. In fact, during her interview, Gwen was so frustrated that she said about her college-placement classes during her

first year at TD, "it's actually a college-placement class that has all special education students in it. They just forgot to put any regular ED in there." The decision Carmen and Bryant made to only offer TD's core classes on the college-placement level as part of their turnaround plan affected Gwen because she was still learning how to teach and was unprepared to meet the needs of such a range of learners.

Producing Results.

After implementing their changes of physically redesigning TD into SLCs and collapsing the tracks of the core academic classes, Carmen and Bryant had to produce quantifiable results. The results that TD specifically targeted were increases to its students' scores on the 10th grade English EOC, 11th grade writing assessment, and increases in TD's graduation rate. Additionally, following TD's failure to test 95% of its students during the 2008-2009 school year, TD also worked to ensure it tested a large enough percentage of its students to be eligible to achieve NCLB's AYP mark, which required that 95% of a school's population was tested. Researchers agree that improved test scores are one indicator that a school has successfully restructured (Brinson & Rhim, 2009; Kowal & Asycue, 2005), but other indicators for successful school restructuring include improvements in teacher planning and instruction, using student data to make school-wide decisions, and increased parental engagement among others (Redding, 2007). As TD's teachers and administrators went about the work of increasing TD's test scores and graduation rates, they used a variety of strategies; however, all of their strategies can be traced back to only working to improve student test scores and increased graduation rates. No attention was paid to ensuring students were successful after they graduated from TD.

Carmen. As she concluded her interview, Carmen used the metaphor "the ship is turning" to express the success TD was having with its restructuring after having only

implemented school improvement initiatives for 18 months. As proof that TD was starting to head in the right direction, Carmen pointed first to TD's Student Leader Program. In her interview, Carmen praised the Student Leaders as changing the culture of TD away from only athletics to also incorporating student achievement. In fact, when discussing TD's feat of testing 100% of its students during the 2008-2009 school year, Carmen recognized the efforts made by the Student Leaders to encourage their peers to make sure they attended school on test days.

Secondly, Carmen highlighted the "State of TD" presentation that TD's administrative team presented to TD's student body each semester. In the presentation, Carmen said the administrative team showed TD's students their test score data, and they discuss in what areas students need to improve for TD to achieve AYP.

Lastly, Carmen discussed the change of culture in students who entered TD as freshmen when the school began its first year of restructuring. Carmen felt that the support the freshmen students received in their SLC has spurred a change of culture for TD. Specifically, Carmen pointed out how she hears students talk about what upper level classes they can take as a sophomore because of the positive, academic experience they had as freshmen. To Carmen, these parts of TD's restructuring – the Student Leader program, the "State of TD" presentations, and the freshmen SLC – allowed her to anchor her belief that TD will achieve the tests scores it needs to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands.

Floyd. In his interview, the proof that TD achieved results because of its school restructuring did not become apparent to Floyd until after he left TD for North Ash High School. In his role of master teacher, Floyd was in a meeting with teachers and administrators from North Ash High School when their principal spoke about that "he wants our writing scores to be like TD." This recognition of the writing scores TD produced by North Ash High School's

principal while he taught there gave Floyd validation for all the work he and his colleagues at TD did when restructuring the school. As Floyd discussed the work that he and his colleagues did to earn such high scores on the 11th grade writing test and 10th grade English EOC, Floyd was aware that the 10th and 11th grade English teachers had to narrow their curriculum down to only testable skills to achieve those results. In reaction to their curricular decision, Floyd came across as understanding that certain actions, which included only teaching students the skills they needed to pass their standardized assessments, had to be done in order to produce the results TD needed. However, Floyd realized that TD's shift to focusing on only raising test scores changed the school culture of TD from the one he entered and described as "tight-knit" to one he left and recognized as not being a "unified group" anymore. In fact, Floyd pointed to that change as contributing to his decision to leave TD at the end of the 2010-2011 school year, only three years after Carmen and Bryant began implementing their restructuring plan for TD. For Floyd, TD's improved test scores represented an accomplishment made by TD's English teachers, but he was also aware that the changes made to achieve those test scores altered the culture of TD into something he found not completely agreeable.

Gwen. During her interview, Gwen made it clear that it was her responsibility – along with the staff who were hired at the same time she was – to "save the school" from TD's teachers who had been there. Because she saw it as her responsibility to rescue the school, Gwen valued test scores because it gave her quantifiable proof that she and her fellow colleagues did their jobs. To produce the results TD needed, according to Gwen, she and her fellow 10th grade English teacher made a decision to narrow their curriculum down to teaching only the skills that would be tested on the 10th grade English EOC and not teach the skills students need to "read and write." After making this decision, Gwen went to work teaching her students the skills they

needed to pass the EOC while being aware of that decision's impact. For example, in her interview, Gwen talked about her decision to take 10 days to teach students to write in different modes, which is a tested standard on the EOC, instead of preparing them for the rigors of "higher education." Nevertheless, because of the work Gwen put into preparing her students for their EOC, enough of her students were labeled "proficient" by the EOC during the 2010-2011 school year to allow TD to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands.

Kristy. As a senior English teacher, Kristy was responsible for helping TD ensure it reached its 87% graduation rate goal during the 2010-2011 school year. To ensure the school met its goal, Kristy was caught between passing students while still holding them accountable for satisfying the rigors of her class. To make her students aware of the situation she and TD were placed in because of NCLB and TD's restructuring, Kristy took time at the beginning of the semester to discuss with her students that "they had a part of that bargain," meaning that Kristy was not just going to pass students because they sat through her class. Instead, Kristy communicated to her students that they needed to put forth the effort to learn and help TD meet its graduation rate goal. In response, Kristy explained that only two of her students failed her class during the 2010-2011 school year. However, Kristy did not support how TD responded when one of her students failed her English IV class, which is a class students needed to pass to graduate. Kristy explained that when students failed her class, they had the opportunity to make-up her class through TD's Credit Recovery, which offered students a computerized version of her class. Kristy critiqued Credit Recovery on the basis that it lacked rigor and did not hold students accountable for learning. Nevertheless, Kristy realized that TD used the Credit Recovery Program to produce the graduation rate needed to release TD from NCLB's school restructuring mandates even though she was a strong critique of the program.

Bobby. The requirement that 90% of TD's juniors score "proficient" on the 11th grade writing assessment during the 2010-2011 school year represented both positives and negatives for Bobby. The positives Bobby felt included feeling that this mark was an obtainable goal and he had a lot of experience teaching writing to students. As such, Bobby felt prepared and confident that his students would be able to reach that benchmark. The negatives Bobby associated with that goal was having to narrow his curriculum to only teaching the skills student would need to pass their writing assessment and nothing else. Additionally, Bobby felt that being required to only produce results on the writing assessment was a low expectation that he alluded to someone else referring to as a "low hanging piece of fruit." About narrowing his curriculum to only teaching writing skills, Bobby discussed how Carmen instructed Marie and him to do so. As a result of narrowing their curriculum, 95% of Bobby's and Marie's students passed their writing assessment. Conversely, however, none of their students passed the 11th grade EOC, and Bobby found this lack of success troublesome. To produce the results TD needed, Bobby felt he had to compromise the content he was teaching his students to only teaching them the skills they needed to pass the 11th grade writing assessment and help TD satisfy NCLB's accountability policies. By agreeing to narrow his curriculum in this manner, Bobby did not have the instructional time he needed to teach his students the necessary skills required to pass their 11th grade English EOC. As such, Bobby felt that he was sacrificing his students' education to help TD meet NCLB's accountability demands.

Threats.

Throughout TD's restructuring, threats were continually made to TD's teachers, administrators, and students. Yet, even before NCLB was enacted, education researchers understood that "demands for accountability were viewed as a threat" (Widly, 1999, p. 3), and

researcher have continued to view NCLB's accountability demands as threatening schools with restructuring who fall short of making AYP for consecutive years (Daly, Der-Martirosian, Ong-Dean, Alison, Wishard-Guerra, 2011; Gottlieb, 2009; Hess & Finn, 2007). As such, threats were part of TD's school restructuring experience. However, the source of the threats TD experienced changed. Throughout its restructuring, the source of the threats ranged from LCS's Superintendent down to TD's English teachers. However, what remained consistent was that all the threats promised TD would close, become a charter school, or be taken over by the state if certain benchmarks were not reached.

Carmen. When TD failed to test 95% of its students during the 2008-2009 school year, LCS's Superintendent was upset. Carmen reported that the Superintendent called a meeting with TD's entire administrative team in September of 2009 and made it clear that if TD failed to test 95% of its students again, the school "will close or become a charter school." After the Superintendent made that ultimatum, Carmen responded by accepting responsibility for TD failing to test 95% of its student and also ensuring that this problem would not happen again. As such, Carmen returned to TD and immediately formed the "95% Tested" committee with the sole purpose of ensuring 95% of TD's students would be tested during the 2009-2010 school year. Then, when it was time for TD's students to be tested during the 2009-2010 school year, TD tested 100% of its students. In her interview, Carmen pointed out that the "95% Tested" committee alone was not responsible for testing 100% of TD's students. Rather, Carmen recognized the joint efforts of TD's Student Leader program calling their fellow students and encouraging them to attend school on test day, and the efforts of TD's administrators in driving out to students' homes, picking them up, and bringing them to school. The joint efforts allowed for TD to test all of its students, something that no other school in LCS's history has ever been

able to achieve. As such, Carmen and TD's administrative team and students responded to the threat made by LCS's Superintendent to test at least 95% of its students.

Pat. The threats Pat encountered while teaching English at TD resulted in her losing her job. Pat made it clear that when the 2007-2008 school year began, she and her colleagues were aware that TD was slated to be restructured. Pat said that it was "a foregone conclusion that something was happening, and I don't think any of us were quite sure what [was going to happen]." Because TD's teachers were aware that LCS was going to take action to improve TD's student achievement even though LCS did not make public their plans, the teachers at TD during the 2007-2008 school year felt threatened. First, teachers felt threatened when it was announced that all of TD's teachers' classroom instruction was going to be formally evaluated twice during the 2007-2008 school year. Then teachers' anxiety levels were further stretched when LCS made it clear that Carmen and Bryant were going to replace Lewis and lead TD's school restructuring. Finally, as Carmen and Bryant took control, they announced that all of TD's teachers had to re-interview for their jobs if they wanted to continue teaching at TD once the restructuring began. Cumulatively, these actions threatened all of TD's teachers with the potential of them losing their jobs. About Pat specifically, she made it clear during her interview that she was feeling confident she was going to keep teaching at TD; however, that turned out not to be the case. Pat was released as part of TD's restructuring. As such, the threats Pat felt about possibly being fired as part of TD's restructuring were masked by the two positive evaluations of her teaching that she received during the 2007-2008 school year. Because Pat took comfort in the positive evaluations of her teaching, it was possible that she did not perceive the threats made against TD's teachers as seriously as she should have.

Gwen. After TD's reconstitution, the threats experienced by TD shifted from focusing on individual teachers to impacting the school, and the largest threat that faced TD was the potential of the school being taken over by the state. Because Gwen, Kristy, and Bobby all came to TD following the reconstitution, they did not have the experience of teaching at TD when the threat of losing their jobs was possible. Instead, each of them talked about the possibility of the school being taken over by the state. In her interview, Gwen explained that for TD to not be taken over by the state, it required that "87% of its senior class had to graduate, 58% of its 10th graders had to score proficient on the English II EOC, and 90% of its juniors had to score proficient on the 11th grade writing assessment." Through Gwen's perspective, the threat of state takeover would be eliminated if TD achieved the scores it needed to reach safe harbor. Therefore, because Gwen taught a class that directly impacted whether TD would satisfy NCLB's accountability demands or not, the threat of state takeover impacted Gwen's decision to narrow her curriculum down to skills that would be tested on the English II EOC.

Kristy. For Kristy, the threat of TD being taken over by the state remained more of an abstract idea than a probability. In her interview, Kristy explained that TD's administrators said they understood there was a chance TD could be taken over by the state; however, they did not think that it was likely the state would takeover TD. Additionally, Kristy explained that the term "state takeover" was ambiguous. Kristy commented that nobody really understood what it meant if TD was taken over by the state, and, if somebody knew, it was not relayed to TD's teachers. Because there was a lack of clarity about what would happen if TD was taken over by the state and TD's administrators downplayed the possibility that TD could be taken over by the state, Kristy did not feel the need to change the focus of her classroom instruction to help TD achieve the 87% graduation rate it needed to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands.

Bobby. The threat of state takeover affected Bobby's instruction during his 2010-2011 internship year at TD. When Bobby spoke about his first experience at TD, he talked about how Carmen and Bryant presented a PowerPoint to TD's faculty that illustrated TD's students' test scores. In the PowerPoint, TD's administrators explained where TD's 2009-2010 test scores placed them regarding NCLB's accountability policies and what scores TD needed their students to produce during the 2010-2011 school year for TD to become in good standing with NCLB and avoid state takeover. At the meeting, Bobby said he recalled the 10th grade English teachers were recognized for helping TD not be taken over by the state after the 2009-2010 school year because of their students' test scores on the English II EOC. Additionally, Marie – Bobby's mentor teacher during his internship – explained to Bobby that Carmen directed them to teach only persuasive writing skills so their students would be prepared for the 2010-2011 11th grade writing assessment. Bobby explained that if less than 90% of his and Marie's students achieved proficiency on the writing assessment, there was a substantially increased chance that TD would be taken over by the state. As for what state takeover meant, Bobby said that no one definitively defined the term, but he thought it may mean "people would lose their jobs, or that some people would, or maybe there would be another restructuring." For Bobby, the threat of state takeover based on student test scores resulted in him teaching only persuasive writing skills to his English III students – with the exception of a four-week unit on *The Crucible*. Additionally, the threat of state takeover influenced Bobby's instruction, so that he did not teach his student the skills needed to pass the English III EOC, which none of his students passed. However, because over 90% of his students scored proficient on the 11th grade writing assessment and that assessment was one of determinants of if TD would be taken over by the state, the scores Bobby's students earned on the English III EOC were largely meaningless.

Student Behavior.

Improving the behavior of students is one of the responsibilities school restructuring leaders have (Kowal & Arkin, 2005). Additionally, Brinson and Rhim (2009) supported implementing PBIS as a way to improve student behavior. In my study, Carmen realized that improving the behavior of students was paramount if TD was to successfully restructure, and Carmen even held training sessions for teachers about how to implement PBIS in their classrooms. However, in a study about the unintended effects of school turnaround, Conway (2011) found that students' behavior actually became "more combative and disrespectful" (p. 128) because of the restructuring. Conway (2011) explained that as students returned to school following the reconstitution of the school's staff, students were dismayed when some of the teachers they anticipated having had lost their jobs because of the school's reconstitution. This disappointment led to poor student behavior. Interestingly, Conway's study differed from mine as my participants spoke about how student behavior was poor before and during the early stages of TD's restructuring; however, as the restructuring was sustained, student behavior improved.

Carmen. During her interview, Carmen told a drastic story about the day TD lost power and TD's staff was unable to control their students. In fact, the situation was so dire for Carmen that she considered quitting while fearing for her life. Carmen explained that when the power went out, it was still very early in the school year, and she and Bryant were yet to create emergency plans for the school. If they had created emergency plans, Carmen felt that they would have been more prepared to handle the situation. Additionally, Carmen talked about how her staff wanted PD about how to become better classroom managers and less PD about instructional methods. In response, Carmen arranged a two-day PBIS training session for the staff. However, Carmen reported that the training "wasn't well received" by TD's teachers.

Carmen did not elaborate on why the training was unsuccessful, but possible reasons include the staff had already been trained in PBIS and found the training a repeat of what they already had or the staff might have felt that PBIS would not end their struggles with classroom management and student behavior. Besides those two examples, Carmen did not speak negatively about student behavior.

Pat. Student behavior was also a concern for Pat. Pat first discussed poor student behavior when she started teaching at TD. Pat identified the delinquent behavior of one particular class she was assigned to teach, and she explained that the class's behavior was the reason the previous teacher decided to quit teaching at TD soon after the 2001-2002 school year opened. Because the teacher resigned from TD do to that class's behavior, Pat explained that that class felt empowered; subsequently, the class felt they could dictate the terms of her teaching. When describing the class, Pat said there "were just a lot of unusual personalities" and she explained that the class was made up of mostly magnet students. Unlike the examples of student violence made by Carmen and other teachers at TD, Pat's struggles with student behavior were based more in students having manipulative personalities. Besides commenting on the students causing Pat problems during her first year teaching at TD and then again when she had this same group of students in an upper level English course, she told another story about how a student decided to undermine her. In this situation, Pat described how a student refused to do the assignments she assigned her. When telling this story, Pat made it clear that she did everything she found reasonable to motivate this student into doing her work. However, instead of doing her work and passing Pat's class, the student brought Lewis into the situation and, with Lewis' support, failed Pat's class. The student then made up the credit through TD's computerized Credit Recovery Program. In this instance, the student circumvented her by manipulating Lewis

into letting her be a disruption in Pat's class while making up the credit through an alternative path provided by TD. In this way, TD's Credit Recovery Program actually supported poor student behavior.

Floyd. During his interview, Floyd told a story about poor student behavior that he felt resulted because of the classroom TD assigned him during his first year teaching at TD. When describing the classroom, Floyd said estimated that the classroom was only 15x15 feet and that 30 students were placed in it. Floyd explained that the classroom was so small and cramped that he did not even have enough room to place an overhead projector in it. Additionally, Floyd commented that the air conditioner in his classroom was also broken. Between the cramped conditions, the amount of students placed in the classroom, and the broken air conditioner, Floyd said he felt that these conditions contributed to why a brawl broke out in his classroom. About the brawl, Floyd said that it involved several of his students and that he broke it up by removing them from his classroom and into the hallway. After breaking up the fight, Floyd made TD's administrative team aware of the situation. Then, instead of finding Floyd and his students a new classroom or even fixing the air conditioning unit, one of TD's assistant principal taught Floyd a new classroom management plan. In this situation, TD's administration did not effectively help Floyd with the physical environment of the class; rather, the assistant principal felt that Floyd could become a better classroom manager and therefore avoid these situations in the future. Although Floyd found value in the classroom management system the assistant principal taught him, TD could have better supported him – a first year teacher at the time – by assigning him a more suitable environment for him to use as a classroom. Notably, however, the only other time in his interview when Floyd discussed poor student behavior, he referenced TD's Credit Recovery program.

When discussing his role as being a Lead Teacher at TD, Floyd told a story about his work with another senior English teacher. In the story, Floyd discussed how one in this particular teacher's class knew that he had little chance of passing the class and earning the credit he needed to graduate. However, because this student was failing English IV in the fall semester, he knew that he would have the opportunity to make the credit up using the Credit Recovery program. Because the student knew this option was available to him, Floyd reported in his interview that the student immediately because a discipline problem in the classroom. Besides these two incidents, Floyd did not mention poor student behavior and even commented that he did not like people to think of TD as a school with unruly students.

Gwen. Violent student behavior was also a problem for Gwen. During her interview, Gwen told two stories about fights that happened in her classroom during her first year teaching. In the first incident, Gwen reported that she asked a student to complete her work and the student refused. In response, Gwen firmly told the student that she needed to do her work, and the student responded by standing on top of an air conditioning unit and telling that she was going to shoot Gwen. Soon after making that threat, the bell rang and the students left Gwen's class for lunch. After the students left, Gwen called an administrator to report the incident. After hearing what happened, Gwen said the administrator told her that she should have called him while the students were still in her room. In response to the administrator's comments, Gwen said "You all could have told us how to handle, you know, what we are supposed to do when [a situation like this happens]." The administrator then left Gwen's room, found the student in the lunchroom, and suspended her for the remainder of the year.

Gwen's second instance with poor student behavior was gang related. In this episode, Gwen was teaching a class of all boys, and each boy had an allegiance to one of two gangs.

Gwen reported that the gang allegiances made the class very tense, and she asked an administrator to observe. After completing two observations, the administrator told Gwen "they're an okay class, things are tough around here, you'll get used to it." However, that did not happen. Instead, the tension came to a head one day when one of Gwen's students received a cell phone call and, in response to whatever was communicated to him, began screaming that he was going to kill another one of Gwen's students. This time, Gwen called down to TD's front office and reported what was happening in her classroom. In response, TD's entire administrative team came running to her classroom and regained control of the classroom, and two of Gwen's students were arrested. Later, an administrator told Gwen "I guess we should have told you there was a shooting [last night]... there's been some talk about retaliation tonight." In both of the incidents, Gwen felt that TD's administrators had withheld pertinent information about the students in her class from her. In each of these scenarios, the personal safety of both Gwen and her students were compromised by the lack of communication from TD's administrators to Gwen about these situations.

Top-Down Decision Making.

The literature about school restructuring points to school leaders as having a pivotal role in whether or not a school is able to restructure successfully (Kowal & Arkin, 2005; Kowal & Ayscue, 2005; Murphy, 2007; Walberg, 2007). Additionally, part of the leadership required to turnaround schools is the restructuring team's ability to share the decision making process with all the school's faculty members. For instance, Ayscue, Hassel, Hassel, Arkin, Kowal, and Steiner (2006) wrote about school leadership decision making and noted that it is important to gather the whole "staff team often and requiring all involved in decision making to disclose and discuss their own results in open-air meetings" (p. 56). In this model, the authors emphasized

the importance of sharing information with staff members and including different opinions about how an obstacle should be overcome when making decisions. Allowing multiple stakeholders a voice in deciding how schools should restructure has resemblances to distributed leadership, which Sipllane (2005) described as "leadership practice takes shape in the interactions of leaders, followers, and their situation, thus breaking new ground rather than simply relabeling old ideas" (p. 149). For Sipllane, distributed leadership is a method that requires the interaction of both leaders and followers to devise new strategies to resolve challenges. In this way, using distributed leadership as part of school restructuring would allow the administrative team to continue to be the leaders; however, teachers – who may be seen as the followers – would have also have a voice in deciding how a school could be restructured. Conversely, top-down leadership then is a traditional approach where the leader or authority figure makes a decision and the people under the decision maker follow suit (James, Mann & Creasy, 2007). As TD was restructured, a top-down leadership model was largely instituted.

Carmen. When she was selected by LCS's Superintendent and Director of Schools to lead TD's restructuring, Carmen was made TD's top decision maker in deciding how TD should restructure. Then, at different points of the restructuring process, Carmen took both collaborative and top-down approaches to setting TD's restructuring agenda. For instance, when deciding if LCS and TD should hire Ed Works to assistant them in the restructuring process, Carmen, Lewis, and other school district personnel attended one informational meeting about Ed Works' model for school restructuring. After Carmen, Lewis, and officials from LCS had all attended a meeting, they met as a group and discussed if hiring Ed Works would be beneficial in TD's school restructuring. Ultimately, they decided to hire Ed Works but not until after each person had an opportunity to offer their input. This process allowed for multiple stakeholders to

voice their ideas about hiring Ed Works. Conversely, a different approach was taken at the school level.

When planning TD's reconstitution, Carmen and Bryant decided the process that they were going to use to evaluate which of TD's teachers they were going to invite to be part of its restructuring and which teachers they were going to release. At no point during her interview did Carmen discuss consulting with TD's teachers about this process; instead, Carmen and Bryant announced the process to TD's teachers and invited them "to reapply for their jobs." In this process, the only voice Carmen and Bryant gave teachers was during their interviews where they could respond to questions posed mostly by Carmen and Bryant. However, after the reconstitution was completed, Carmen responded to teachers concerns.

One way Carmen allowed teachers to have a voice in the restructuring was by changing how the PD was delivered to open the school years. When the first PD was offered, Carmen reported that the PD was "high quality" but the approach used to deliver centered on Dr. Grant largely lecturing about different instructional methods to TD's teachers. The teachers found this method disagreeable and Carmen changed how the PD was delivered. For instance, when the teachers returned early to open the 2009-2010 school year, Carmen made sure that Dr. Grant did not just lecture to TD's teachers; instead, she redesigned the PD so there were breakout sessions were teachers could experiment with the new information Dr. Grant had taught them. Also, Carmen changed the content of the PD so that it met what the teachers wanted to learn. For example, Carmen reported that the teachers wanted to become better classroom managers, so she arranged a two-day PBIS training for teachers. Although the training was poorly received by the teachers, the fact that Carmen arranged for it does show she was listening to teachers as part of her decision making process.

Pat. Several times during Pat's interview, she spoke about not having a voice at TD. For example, Pat was very upset with how Lewis handled changing the schedules of TD's English teachers following the 2005-2006 school year. Pat felt that the way Lewis communicated to her that she would be teaching different classes during the 2006-2007 was poorly done. Specifically, Pat pointed to the fact that Lewis waited until the last day of the school year for teachers – students had already gone home for summer break – to announce the teaching schedules for TD's English teachers. Pat was also very upset that Lewis did not ask her if she would be willing to teach a different class. In fact, Pat said that she might have been willing to teach a different English class if Lewis had a conversation with her about it instead of telling her what she would be teaching. The fact that Pat had no voice in deciding what English classes she would be teaching was very disconcerting to her. Another way Pat felt that no voice was given to her was the way TD's reconstitution happened.

To Pat, the reconstitution was unjust because she felt that she received an unfair teaching evaluation. During the 2007-2008 school year, Pat reported that her classroom instruction was twice evaluated, and she received strong evaluations both times. Then, Pat reported the interview used to assess her was "bizarre." Pat explained that Carmen, Bryant, and Midge were tardy to the interview and ate their lunch in front of her while conducting it. After leaving the interview, Pat reported that she still felt confident about being rehired. Concurrently, Pat talked about the rumor that Lewis left a list of teacher names on it who Lewis felt should be released. After receiving a letter that informed her that she was no longer wanted to teach at TD, Pat felt that the rumor about Lewis's list was likely true and that list was what may have caused her to lose her job. As such, Pat felt that she did not have a voice in her own interview; instead, she felt that the decision to fire her was based only on Lewis's list and not on her interview or

performance in the classroom. In this way, Pat was not given a voice in the reconstitution process.

Gwen. The lack of voice Gwen experienced related to her curriculum and test scores. In her interview, Gwen discussed how she felt that she was required to teach her students the skills they needed to pass the English II EOC. Gwen said that if she were to disobey her responsibility to prepare her students for the English II EOC and be a "rogue" teacher by preparing her students for the rigor of college level coursework, she would likely just get fired. In this instance, Gwen understood that she was teaching in a school where she was responsible for teaching her students only the skills they would need to pass the English II EOC. By fearing she may lose her job if she prepared her students for something besides the English II EOC, Gwen was accepting the top-down mandate made by TD's administrative team and NCLB's accountability policies.

In the classroom, Gwen was impacted by how to differentiate her instruction to such a point where she ended up not believing in it. As part of Carmen's restructuring plan, she and Bryant made the decision to collapse TD's tiers of classes to only offering college-placement level courses. As such, Gwen was told to just differentiate her instruction so she would be able to meet the needs of all the learners in her classroom. Gwen found this directive unrealistic because, at the time, she was a first year teacher with limited experience in differentiating instruction. Then, as she gained experienced, Gwen found the directive unreasonable because of the amount of students in her classroom who required accommodations/modifications because of their IEPs. However, Gwen was not given a voice in this decision and subsequently had to just do the best she could in the classroom because of it.

Bobby. Top-down decision-making affected the content Bobby taught his students. Similar to Gwen, Bobby felt enormous pressure for his students to perform well on the 11th grade

writing assessment. During his internship at TD, Bobby was working with Marie who told him that Carmen had directed her that they were to narrow their curriculum down to only teaching persuasive writing skills. In his interview, Bobby discussed that he was bothered by sacrificing the other parts of his curriculum in the name of raising student test scores on the writing assessment. However, Carmen never spoke with Bobby about narrowing his curriculum, and Bobby felt responsible for helping TD earn the scores it needed to avoid state takeover. As such, the threat of possibly being taken over by the state in conjunction with Carmen's directive to teach persuasive writing resulted in Bobby teaching only the skills he was required to ensure his student performed well on their writing assessment. Therefore, Bobby felt that he never had a voice in deciding what to teach his students.

Sustained and Unsustained Reform Efforts.

As school restructuring researchers have made known, there is no clear cut, easy way to restructure a school and produce immediate results (Brady, 2003; Newman & Wehlage, 1995; Walberg, 2007). Instead, researchers have identified effective school leaders as the most important element of school restructuring (Hassel, Hassel, Arkin, Kowal, Steiner, Brinson, Rosch, Rhim, Way, Stewart, Maday-Karageorge, Barbour, & Dolby, 2010; Kowal & Asycue, 2005). However, how school leaders go about implementing their school restructuring plans vary. Often times school leaders used multiple strategies to restructure schools, and TD was not an exception. As Carmen and Bryant went about the task of restructuring TD, they used several tactics. Some the tactics they used have been sustained over time and other strategies have not. Therefore, as TD's English teachers worked with their students to achieve the scores TD need in order for the school to satisfy NCLB's accountability policies, TD's English teachers were differently impacted by Carmen's and Bryant's reform efforts.

Carmen. As the leader of TD's restructuring, Carmen has had the authority to institute different kinds of school reforms. In her interview, Carmen pointed to three sustained school reforms that she credited with helping TD restructure. The largest school reform Carmen discussed was the creation of TD's freshmen SLC. Carmen was prideful about this SLC because she recognized it as changing the culture of TD's youngest students. For example, during her interview, Carmen talked about how the SLC provided freshmen with the support they needed to be academically successful at TD. Because of the support, Carmen reported that she overheard freshmen asking their teachers about taking honors courses during their sophomore year at TD. As she listened to these conversations, Carmen recognized them as indicating a change of TD's culture. Next, Carmen pointed to TD's Student Leader program as a reform that helped TD test 100% of its students during the 2009-2010 school year. Carmen felt that without the support of the Student Leader program, TD would not have been able to get all of its students tested. Moreover, in her interview, Carmen pointed to that accomplishment as helping to prove to TD's teachers that she and Bryant were capable of transforming TD into a higher achieving school. Lastly, Carmen discussed the State of TD speech where TD's administrators presented test score data to TD's entire student body each semester. When TD's administrators first presented the State of TD speech to TD's students in fall of 2008, Carmen said it was poorly received. However, Carmen decided that the presentation was worthwhile and sustained it. At the time of my study, Carmen reported that students were now engaging in the presentation, and she credited TD's Student Leaders with helping to sell it to TD's students.

As the 2011-2012 school year opened, LCS transferred Carmen out of TD and promoted her to be the executive principal at Holmes High School. Although this promotion helped Carmen advance her career, it also marked another change in TD's leadership. In fact, Bobby

reported that when Carmen's replacement first addressed TD's staff in June of 2011, he opened his comments by saying "next year will be better." This comment indicated that Carmen's replacement was not prepared to continue the work Carmen had engaged in for three years at TD. Moreover, LCS comprised all the work Carmen had done to restructure TD. As such, there was a significant possibly that all the reforms Carmen spearheaded and sustained at TD during her time there could be undone by her replacement. In this way, LCS actually jeopardized all of Carmen's work, and that could potentially lead to several unsustained reforms.

Floyd. From his point of view, Floyd saw Carmen as the individual who could make meaningful reforms to TD. Floyd explained that when Carmen first came to TD, she discussed making school reforms that Floyd had read about and wanted to try like redesigning TD into SLCs. Floyd's excitement for the reforms TD could make continued to grow as a result of the three-day Smoky Mountain Retreat. In his interview, Floyd discussed how the instructional strategies that Dr. Grant taught TD's faculty at the retreat added to his excitement. Then, when TD's students arrived to begin the 2008-2009 school year, Floyd's enthusiasm continued to build as he reported seeing teachers using the strategies they learned in their classrooms. For evidence, Floyd cited teachers hanging student work in TD's hallways. Additionally, Floyd recalled that TD's administrators were conducting classroom walk-throughs where they would check that teachers were using the Marzano strategies they learned from Dr. Grant and were also required to hang their lesson plans on their classroom doors. However, after the first month of the 2008-2009 school year passed, Floyd said TD's administrators stopped conducting the classroom walk-throughs and teachers, subsequently, quit hanging their lesson plans on the doors and student work in the hallways. As such, Floyd saw TD's administrator's walk-through initiative as initially having a positive impact on teachers but soon becoming an unsustained

reform. Moreover, Floyd pointed to the fact that at times, TD's administrators were given so many school reform initiatives to implement from both Ed Works and LCS, that they were unable to sustain all of them.

Marie. The way Marie viewed the divide between "Old TD" teachers and "New TD" teachers represented an unsustained school reform. When Marie was hired, she came into TD as a new teacher who replaced a teacher that was released because of the school's reconstitution. Immediately upon her arrival, Marie felt the tension of the divided staff. For example, Marie reported that Old TD teachers made comments that let her know that she was not welcomed by them. Additionally, Marie commented that the Old TD teachers physically separated themselves from New TD teachers at the Smoky Mountain Retreat and during staff meetings. In her interview, Marie spoke about how Carmen and Bryant recognized this tension and tried to address the divide between the teachers. Marie then explained that to settle the divide, Carmen and Bryant requested a meeting with the Old TD teachers, but Marie said that the meeting broke down and the Old TD teachers remained resistant. Marie further commented that she thought the Old TD teachers felt secure in their resistance because they were tenured and had already survived TD's reconstitution. Because the Old TD teachers chose to continue to resist changing their teaching practices and presence in the school to help TD restructure, the reconstitution itself was an unsustained school reform because it did not have a lasting impact on the teachers who survived it.

Gwen. As part of Tennessee's Race to the Top application, which was approved by the federal government in 2010 and funded the state with over $500 million for education, Tennessee agreed to implement the TAP program starting in the 2011-2012 school year. As such, Gwen was chosen to be a TAP mentor, and she attended multiple training sessions about

TAP's philosophy and how it should be implemented in schools. After going through the trainings, Gwen saw the value TAP could offer TD's teachers. However, Gwen discussed her concerns that TD's teachers had already been through so many school improvement initiatives, that they were not ready to engage TAP. About TAP and TD's teachers, Gwen said "they are not ready to start this new thing, which is amazing because they are just, they've done it [participated in school reform efforts] so many times, they are just like whatever." From Gwen's perspective, TD's teachers have already been through too many unsustained school reforms and were, therefore, not ready to take TAP as seriously as she would like. Additionally, because Gwen has been trained in TAP, she saw the benefits it could offer teachers if they would engage it. However, Gwen was concerned about how serious TD's teachers will engage TAP because of how many unsustained school reforms have already been tried at TD.

Kristy. Over her time at TD, Kristy said that she has witnessed too many school reforms being simultaneously implemented at TD. As such, Kristy was concerned that TAP may be just another school reform program that will be hastily implemented and then disappear. In her first experiences with TAP, Kristy reported that TAP was causing high levels of dysfunction in TD and that her first instructional evaluation was poorly conducted. Moreover, Kristy explained that "if we are going to TAP, then let's do TAP." From Kristy's perspective, there were too many reforms being concurrently tried at TD. Because there were so many reforms, Kristy believed that TD was losing its focus, and the school would be better served if TD's administration picked only two or three reforms, got all of TD's teachers to buy into them, implemented them with fidelity, and then sustained the reform's implementation. From her perspective, Kristy felt by limiting the amount of reforms being attempted, it would increase the effectiveness of them.

Discussion

When LCS and Carmen worked to restructure TD, the strategies they used impacted my participants in six ways. First, the turnaround strategy resulted in placing pressure on Carmen and TD's English teachers them to produce immediate results, but it also divided TD's staff. Requiring student achievement to immediately improve is a central component of a successfully turned around school (Hassel, Ayscue, & Rhim, 2007; Learning Points Associates, 2007). Therefore, when TD's new administration took over, they quickly began executing TD's turnaround by reconstituting the staff and starting multiple school improvement initiatives including collapsing TD's academic tracks, developing three SLCs, creating programs that celebrated student academic achievement, and involving students in TD's turnaround by presenting them test score data and requiring they learn a more rigorous curriculum. As a result of these moves, within three years TD's student had achieved scores on the English II EOC and 11th grade writing assessment, and increased TD's graduation rate to a point where the school was no longer on the state's takeover watch list. Because TD's students produced the results needed to significantly improve TD's standing with NCLB's accountability policies, it may be argued that TD's turnaround was a success. However, other elements of the turnaround did not have such positive outcomes.

When TD implemented its turnaround strategy, my participants who worked at TD before and after the reconstitution saw it as giving TD a fresh start, a chance to build a new school culture. However, this was limited because, whereas one group of teachers saw an opportunity to create a new school, some of my participants reported that another group of teachers were openly resistant to the school reforms being proposed and implemented. Because there were two groups of teachers who saw TD's restructuring and reconstitution through different lenses, this

created a staff divide where TD's administrators struggled to get all of TD's teachers to be supportive of the agenda they wanted. Additionally, as new teachers were hired to replace the teachers who were released because of the reconstitution, the new teachers reported that they came into a hostile environment. According to Marie, the hostile environment included old teachers making snide remarks about why the new teachers wanted to teach at TD, and the old teachers not following through on plans they made about cross-curricular collaboration. In this way, there was another element to the implementation of TD's turnaround strategy that negatively affected my participants and was not reflected in TD's improved test scores.

Secondly, TD's restructuring strategy placed enormous pressure on some of my participants to produce results. As TD's administration began implementing school improvement initiatives, my participants responded differently to how they went about producing the results TD needed to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands. To explain, my participants may be divided into two groups. One group taught a class where their students would take an assessment that directly impacted if TD would satisfy the criteria it needed to be released from school restructuring and state takeover. The other group taught a class that did not have a high stakes test that would determine if TD would or would not satisfy NCLB's accountability requirements. As such, the teachers who did teach a course with a high stakes test reported that they were directly told to limit their course's content to skills that were likely to be tested on either the English II EOC or the 11th grade writing assessment. This directive, which Bobby reported was made by Carmen, resulted in TD's English teachers narrowing their curriculum to only content that would be tested. Additionally, TD's English teachers knew that this decision would result in TD's student only being prepared for the high stakes assessment and not for academic success after they graduated. In this way, the pressure placed on TD to increase

student achievement only resulted in allowing TD to satisfy NCLB's accountability demands. As reported by my participants, the pressure did not better prepare TD's students to be successful after they graduated from high school.

Thirdly, threats were continually made to both TD's administrators and teachers during the school restructuring. For example, when TD failed to test at least 95% of its students during the 2008-2009 school year, LCS's Superintendent was upset and called for a meeting with TD's administrative team. In that meeting, the Superintendent made it clear that if TD failed to test 95% of its student again, the Superintendent would either close TD or convert it into a charter school. As a result of this ultimatum, Carmen accepted responsibility for this failure and in turn created the "95% Tested" committee. Subsequently, TD tested 100% of its students during the 2009-2010 school year, a feat that had never been previously accomplished by any of LCS's schools. About TD's teachers, they too had threats made to them.

As the 2010-2011 school year opened, my participants said it was made clear that if TD did not produce specific scores on the English II EOC and 11th grade writing assessment and increase its graduation rate, the state would take over the school. Regarding the state takeover, my participants reported that at no time did any administrator from TD, LCS, or the state define what it would mean if the state were to takeover TD. As such, the ambiguous state takeover threat then impacted my participants enough to only teach the skills their students needed in order to satisfy the demands of high stakes tests that their students were required to take. Because TD successfully tested 100% of its students following the ultimatum made by the Superintendent and its students earned the scores needed for TD to stave off state takeover, the threats made against TD's administrators and teachers did in fact produce the desired results.

Fourthly, my participants were impacted by student behavior. The incidents of poor student behavior ranged widely and included extreme moments when the power to the entire school went out to a lack of support from TD's administrators. As Carmen and Bryant worked to restructure TD, they were busy planning for the future without taking into account the challenges that they or their classroom teachers would face. For instance, when the power went out, it was still very early in TD's restructuring and Carmen and Bryant had yet to develop plans for an emergency situation. As such, they were caught unprepared in how they were going to handle such a chaotic moment, and had to call the Superintendent for permission to release the students instead of having an action plan in place of how they would handle that situation. Aside from such a rare emergency, Carmen reported that classroom teachers had asked her to provide them with PD about how to become better classroom managers. In response, Carmen prepared a two-day training in PBIS, which she said was "poorly received" by TD's teachers. In this instance, Carmen did respond to teachers' wishes to improve TD's student behavior.

TD's teachers, on the other hand, dealt with student behavior on the classroom level. In their interviews, my participants reported they struggled with how to effectively manage students in the classroom during their first years at TD. However, as my participants gained experience in the classroom, their ability to control their students and keep order in their classrooms increased. Yet, one point that Gwen made was about how TD's administrators did not communicate pertinent information about her students to her. When she discussed the fight that broke out in her room because of gang violence, Gwen reported that TD's administrators were aware of the potential for a fight to break out; yet, they withheld this information. Additionally, Gwen said that after the fight had been resolved, an administrator told her that someone "should have told you there was a shooting [last night]... there's been some talk about retaliation tonight." Because

the administrators kept her uniformed, they knowingly put her and her students in a potentially dangerous situation. The lack of support TD's administrators gave my participants as they learned how to manage their classrooms endangered both teachers and students. However, after my participants gained experienced in administrating and teaching at TD, they all reported much lower levels of insubordinate student behavior.

Fifthly, the use of top-down decision making impacted the voice and power my participants had in helping TD restructure on multiple levels. First, when Carmen accepted the position of being responsible for restructuring TD, LCS's Superintendent and Director of Schools had already told her that TD was going restructure according to NCLB's school turnaround strategy. As such, even if Carmen felt that a different NCLB school restructuring strategy may better serve TD, she would have been unable to select it. Moreover, the only voice Carmen discussed having on the school district level was about helping to decide if she wanted Ed Works to be part of TD's restructuring. Besides that, Carmen was so limited in her power at the school district level that she had to ask the Superintendent to allow her to physically relocate her office from LCS's district building to TD. In this way, Carmen mostly responded to directives from LCS's district administrators and implemented them at the school level.

As TD's school restructuring commenced, Gwen and Bobby made it clear that they were responsible for increasing their students' performance on the high stakes tests connected with their class. As such, they did not have a voice in creating a curriculum that they thought would benefit their students and prepare them for success after high school. In fact, both Gwen and Bobby commented that they understood what they were doing with their instruction was more aimed at helping TD improve its achievement then developing the skill sets their students needed to be successful after high school. Because test scores were such a crucial element to TD

successfully restructuring, teachers were powerless in deciding what they taught. Additionally, TAP further limited teachers' abilities to designing effective instruction for their students. Kristy reported that TD's teachers felt TEAM's instructional rubric, which TAP used to assess teachers' classroom instruction, limited a teacher's ability to create lessons and communicate objectives to students. Because TAP dictated the lesson structure teachers were required to use, TAP was a top-down mandate that limited teachers' ability to design lessons how they wanted. As such, the voice and power teachers had in deciding what to teach and how to teach it were severely limited.

Lastly, the quantities of sustained and unsustained school improvement initiatives that had been implemented at TD during its restructuring were cumbersome. As TD's restructuring began, my participants commented that they felt LCS's district personnel and TD's administrators kept implementing additional school improvement initiatives without prioritizing them. The effect these multiple initiatives had was that TD's student achievement did increase, but several of the initiatives were not sustained and quickly replaced by new ones. This "revolving door" of initiatives made it hard for TD's teachers to positively receive TAP. Because TAP was introduced to TD's teachers after other school improvement initiatives had been tried and replaced at TD during its first three years of restructuring, TD's teachers were skeptical about whether TAP was going to be sustained and if there was any value in it. As such, Gwen was disappointed about how TAP was received by teachers, but she did express understanding about why TD's teachers were skeptical about it. Moreover, Kristy reported that if TD was going to choose a school improvement reform, then the school should commit to it and stop trying to simultaneously implement new reforms while continuing to require teachers engage already introduced reforms. By focusing on only a few reforms, TD's teachers would be

given an opportunity to learn how to incorporate the benefits of the reforms without being inundated with multiple reforms.

Conclusion

School restructuring is not an easy process. There are no "correct" methods to restructure a school. Moreover, to determine which strategies actually were useful when a school does successfully restructure is comparable to trying to get the egg out of a cake once it has been baked. In my study, I discussed how TD used multiple school improvement initiatives to help it restructure, but none of my participants keyed in on one specific strategy that was "the" strategy that conclusively helped TD get off the state takeover list. Moreover, the criteria that TD's students were required to achieve to release TD from the state's watch list was viewed as "low hanging fruit." This metaphor expressed that the criteria was viewed as the least challenging evidence of student learning available. As such, it remains debatable whether TD's students were better educated because of the restructuring. In close, I support reducing the amount of schools that have to engage restructuring, but just requiring schools to satisfy the bare minimums to be released from restructuring is not enough. If schools are going to be required to restructure, then make them restructure so they better serve their students and prepare them for success after they graduate high school. Do not make school restructuring just about increasing student test scores so schools avoid state takeover. That falls far short of what it should mean to restructure a school.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Abbreviations Used.

ACT – American College Test

AFT – American Federation of Teachers

AP – Advanced Placement

AYP – Adequate Yearly Progress

ELL – English Language Learner

EMO – Educational Management Organization

ESEA – Elementary and Secondary Education Act

IASA – Improving America's Schools Act

IB – International Baccalaureate

IEPs – Individual Educational Plans

HSET – High School English Teachers

MEd – Maters degree in Education

MHS – Mangrove High School

MSIA – major school improvement actions

NAEP – National Assessment of Education Progress

NCLB – No Child Left Behind

NCES - National Center for Educational Statistics

NEA – National Educators Association

PBIS - Positive Behavior Intervention System

PLCs – Professional Learning Communities

SAT – Scholastic Achievement Test

SEA – State Educational Agency

SES – Socioeconomic Status

SLC – Small Learning Community

SPED – Special Education

SSD – Successful Schools District

STEM – Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math

TEAM – Tennessee Educator Acceleration Model

TAP – Teacher Advancement Program

TVAAS – Tennessee Value-Added Assessment System

US DOE – United States Department of Education

Appendix B. Glossary of School Restructuring Terms.

Accountability: NCLB's requirement that schools, SEAs, and LEAs annually and quantifiably prove student achievement and academic growth.

Achievement Gap: The disparity of skill levels of students on common assessments disaggregated by socioeconomic levels, race/ethnicity, English proficiency, gender, special education classification, and gender.

Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP): NCLB centers on students quantifiably proving annual learning gains, known as AYP. Each state is responsible for determining what constitutes AYP for its students, and each state must report disaggregated learning gains by student subgroups.

Authorizer: The entity that gives a charter school its charter. This entity is typically a LEA, SEA, or university.

Charter: The contract that outlines how a charter school must function.

Chartering: One of NCLB's four defined school restructuring models, this model requires a restructuring school to stop being a traditional public school and reopen as a conversion charter school.

Charter Schools: Alternative public schools that operate outside of political or religious grounds and are free from certain regulations that apply to traditional public schools including educational approaches, teacher salaries, and the length of the school day. Under NCLB, charter schools are still held accountable for AYP. Charter schools are classified as either a start-up or conversion charter school.

Conversion Charter Schools: If a low performing school restructures according to the charting model, it will reopen as a conversion charter school.

Contracting: One of NCLB's four defined school restructuring models, this model requires a restructuring school to hire an EMO to orchestrate the restructuring. Depending on the contract signed between the EMO, school, and LEA, the EMO could be responsible for the school's day-to-day operations, professional development, budget, student achievement, use of test data, and curriculum overhaul.

Corrective Actions: If schools fail to make AYP for four consecutive years, they must undergo corrective actions. These mandates include schools continuing their school improvement plan and other stipulations as mandated by school improvement requirements. Additionally, schools must choose and implement one of the following: (1) replacing the school staffed deemed responsible for the school failing to make AYP, (2) creating a new curriculum and using professional development to train teachers, (3) reduce the authority of the school's administrators and empower the teachers' decision making, (4) hiring an educational advisory consultant outside of the LEA, (5) extending the school day or school year, or (6) restructuring large comprehensive schools.

Cost per Pupil: The amount of funding each public school receives per student.

Cut Score: The minimum score a student can get on an assessment and pass.

Disaggregated Data: The reporting of student achievement by student subgroup categories. The categories include socioeconomics, English proficiency levels, race/ethnicity, and special education classification.

Education Management Organization (EMO): A private sector company, which could be for-profit or non-profit, that contracts to individual schools and its LEA. The EMO is responsible for increasing student achievement and abiding to the terms of the signed contract.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA): ESEA is the United States' comprehensive education law. ESEA passed into law with bipartisan support (263-153 in the House of Representatives and 73-18 in the Senate) as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" and how twice been overhauled in 1994 by President Clinton and in 2002 by President Bush. The original ESEA created the Title I program to increase the quality low-income students' education.

English Language Learners (ELLs): ELLs are students who are not native English speakers and are likely born outside of United States. This group of students constitutes one of the four student subgroup categories, and, as ELLs become fluent in English, they move out the ELL subgroup.

Educational Supplemental Services: Additional LEA funds that are used to pay for student transportation needs who elect to transfer schools or pay for additional tutoring offered by approved NCLB providers to students enrolled in low performing schools.

Highly Qualified Status: NCLB requires that all teachers are "highly qualified" in their state. To achieve this status, if a person wants to be state certified under NCLB, he or she must have a bachelor's degree, passed a basic skills and subject area test, and satisfied any other state requirements such as having an English for Speakers of Other Languages [ESOL] or Reading endorsement.

Improving United State's Schools Act (IASA): IASA is the second reauthorization of the ESEA. The law passed with bipartisan support in 1994 during President Clinton's administration (289-128 in the House of Representatives and 94-6 in the Senate) and created standards-based education that served as the forefather of NCLB.

Local Education Agencies: Organizations such as county school districts.

Low Performing Schools: In an era of NCLB's standards-based accountability measures, low performing schools are schools that fail to meet student performance standards as defined by NCLB's AYP mandates and state assessments for two or more consecutive school years.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB): NCLB is the third reauthorization of the ESEA. The law passed with bipartisan support in 2002 during President Bush's administration (384-45 in the House of Representatives and 91-8 in the Senate) and focused on holding schools accountable for student learning.

Narrowing Curriculum: When a school reorganizes its curriculum by adding courses that target high stakes test proficiencies at the expense of removing elective courses - such as art, music, theatre, creative writing, and physical education – from a school's course offerings, it is narrowing its curriculum focus.

Professional Development, High Quality: High quality professional development is required for teachers working in schools going through school improvement, corrective actions, or restructuring. The professional development must be based on scientific strategies that increase student performance.

Reconstitution: The practice of releasing and replacing the school's staff members who are deemed responsible for the school's inability to make AYP. Staff members that can lose their jobs are teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, clerical workers, paraprofessionals, janitors, cafeteria workers, and other support staff. Professional unions are powerless to save an individual's job; however, released school staff members may apply for another job in the same school district.

School Choice: The plan that allows students to leave low performing schools or other public schools for non-traditional educational providers including private, charter, and voucher schools.

School Improvement: If schools fail to make AYP for two consecutive years, they are required to undergo school improvement actions. These actions include offering students the school transfer option and access to educational supplemental services, creating a new school plan, offering the school's staff high quality professional development, focusing school spending on student achievement, teaching the school's staff how to use data to inform their instruction, and informing parents about the school's lack of making AYP. Schools have two years to make AYP while being classified as in need of school improvement. If a school makes AYP for two consecutive years, they are released from school improvement requirements. If a school fails to make AYP after two years, they move into corrective actions.

School Restructuring: If a school fails to make AYP for five consecutive years, they are required to undergo school restructuring. These actions include continuing to offer students school choice and access to educational supplemental services. Additionally, schools must choose and implement a school restructuring model including the chartering, turnaround, contracting, or state takeover model. Schools are allowed to choose a different restructuring model if it shows promise of raising student performance and the SEA and LEA approve it.

School Stakeholders: The network of people that are directly affected by school's decisions, policies, and practices. These people include students, teachers, administrations, parents, policymakers, politicians, the local community, and school support personnel.

School Transfer Option: When schools are classified as in school improvement, corrective actions, or restructuring, NCLB requires that they must offer students the option to transfer to another public school, including a charter school, that is not low performing and managed by the same LEA. The LEA and school are required to provide the student with transportation if needed.

Skimming: When a charter school selects its students, it is considered skimming students if the charter school admits only top performing students. Additionally, these top performing students typically are White and from middle and upper class families. The students not selected, if the charter school practices skimming, are minority and low socioeconomic status students.

Small Learning Communities: The practice of replacing large, comprehensive high schools with smaller, individualized learning communities. The principle behind this concept is that smaller communities will allow more personalized education and relationships to exist.

Standards: The knowledge and abilities students are expected to possess in a specific content area and grade level.

Standards-Based Education: The concept that standards set expectations for student learning and educative agents are held accountable for students obtaining the knowledge and skill set to satisfy the standards' expectations.

Startup Charter School: A start-up charter school is opened by a group of concerned people – usually teachers, parents, professors, or businesses – who believe they have a better, new, and innovative way to educate students that breaks from traditional public education.

State Education Agencies: Organizations such as a state's department of education.

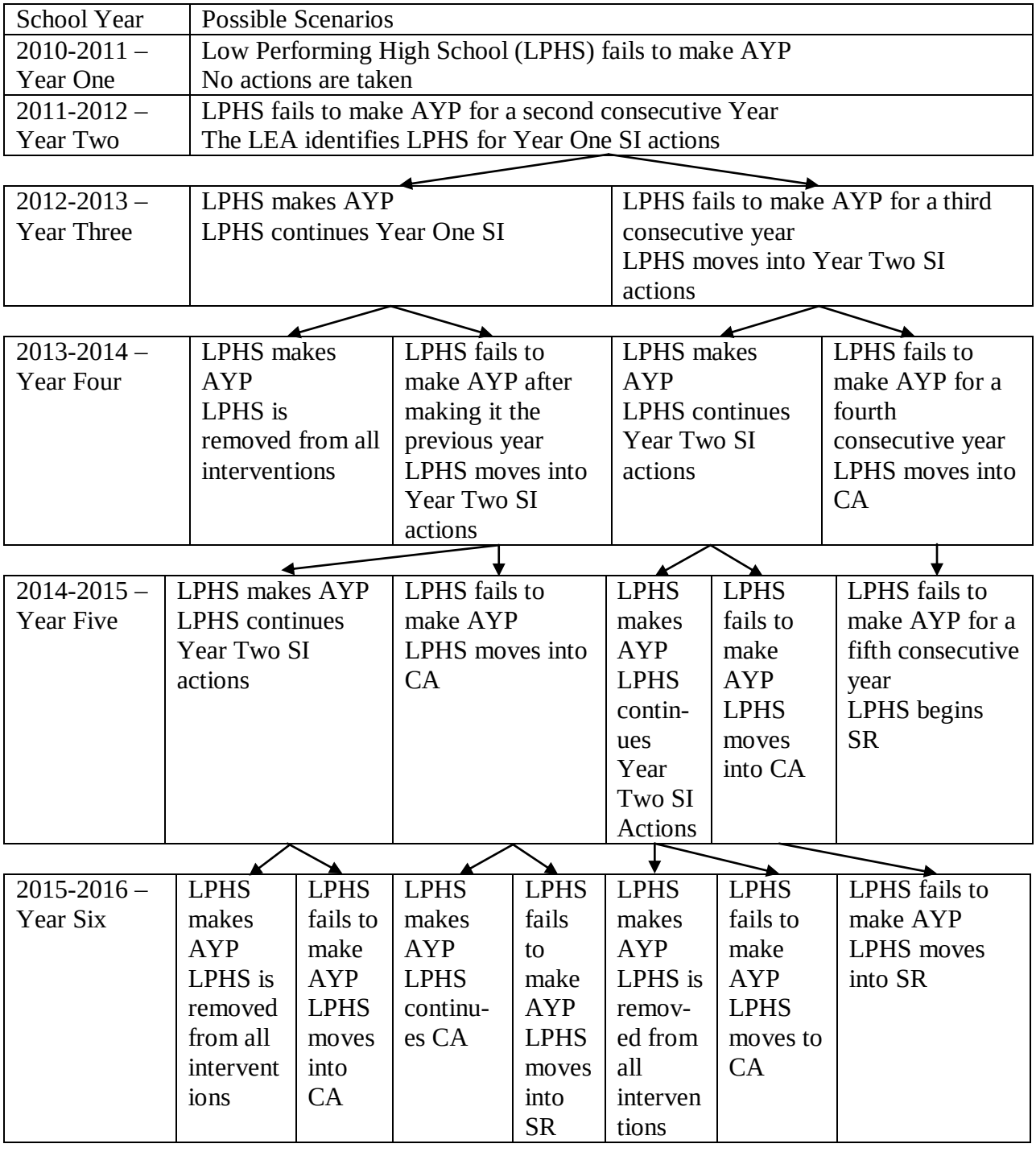
State Takeover: One of NCLB's four defined school restructuring models, this model allows a SEA to assume responsibility for a restructuring school and, thereby, resulting in the LEA to have no further authority in the school. Typically, after a state takes over a low performing school, the state employs one of NCLB's other three defined school restructuring models.

Student Subgroups: NCLB requires schools to disaggregate student by socioeconomics, English proficiency levels, race/ethnicity, and special education classification. These classifications are subgroups.

Turnaround: One of NCLB's four defined school restructuring models, this model requires a restructuring school to completely overhaul its school's culture. The overhaul may include reconstituting the staff, redesigning the curriculum, offering high quality professional development to teachers and administrators, and replacing comprehensive schools with small learning communities (school-within-a-school).

Appendix C. Progression of a School Failing to Make AYP Requirements.

CA: Corrective Actions SI: School Improvement SR: School Restructuring



Appendix D. KIPP Contract

(http://www.kipptulsa.org/Data/Sites/1/kippdocs/kipptulsacommittmentcontract.pdf)

Work hard. Be nice.

Teachers' Commitment

We fully commit to KIPP in the following ways:

- We will arrive at KIPP every day by 7:15 am (Monday-Friday).
- We will remain at KIPP until 5:00 pm (Monday -Thursday) and 4:00 pm on Friday.
- We will come to KIPP on appropriate Saturdays at 9:15 am and remain until 1:05 pm.
- We will teach at KIPP during the summer.
- We will always teach in the best way we know how and we will do whatever it takes for our students to learn.
- We will always make ourselves available to students and parents, and address any concerns they might have
- We will always protect the safety, interests, and rights of all individuals in the classroom.
- Failure to adhere to these commitments can lead to our removal from KIPP.

Signed: ……..

Parents'/Guardians' Commitment

We fully commit to KIPP in the following ways:

- We will make sure our child arrives at KIPP by 7:25 am (Monday-Friday) or boards a KIPP bus at the scheduled time.
- We will make arrangements so our child can remain at KIPP until 5:00 pm (Monday - Thursday) and 4:00 pm on Friday.
- We will make arrangements for our child to come to KIPP on appropriate Saturdays at 9:15 am and remain until 1:05 pm.
- We will ensure that our child attends KIPP summer school.
- We will always help our child in the best way we know how and we will do whatever it takes for him/her to learn. This also means that we will check our child's homework every night, let him/her call the teacher if there is a problem with the homework, and try to read with him/her every night.
- We will always make ourselves available to our children and the school, and address any concerns they might have. This also means that if our child is going to miss school, we will notify the teacher as soon as possible, and we will carefully read any and all papers that the school sends home to us.
- We will allow our child to go on KIPP field trips.
- We will make sure our child follows the KIPP dress code.
- We understand that our child must follow the KIPP rules so as to protect the safety, interests, and rights of all individuals in the classroom. We, not the school, are responsible for the behavior and actions of our child.
- Failure to adhere to these commitments can cause my child to lose various KIPP privileges and can lead to my child returning to his/her home school.

Signed: ……..

Student's Commitment

I fully commit to KIPP in the following ways:

- I will arrive at KIPP every day by 7:25 am (Monday-Friday) or board a KIPP bus at the correct time.
- I will remain at KIPP until 5:00 pm (Monday - Thursday) and 4:00 pm on Friday.
- I will come to KIPP on appropriate Saturdays at 9:15 am and remain until 1:05 pm
- I will attend KIPP during summer school.
- I will always work, think, and behave in the best way I know how, and I will do whatever it takes for me and my fellow students to learn. This also means that I will complete all my homework every night, I will call my teachers if I have a problem with the homework or a problem with coming to school, and I will raise my hand and ask questions in class if I do not understand something.

- I will always make myself available to parents and teachers, and address any concerns they might have. If I make a mistake, this means I will tell the truth to my teachers and accept responsibility for my actions.
- I will always behave so as to protect the safety, interests, and rights of all individuals in the classroom. This also means that I will always listen to all my KIPP teammates and give everyone my respect.
- I will follow the KIPP dress code.
- I am responsible for my own behavior, and I will follow the teachers' directions.
- Failure to adhere to these commitments can cause me to lose various KIPP privileges and can lead to returning to my home school.

Signed: ……..

Appendix E. Timeline of TD's School Restructuring.

School Year	Action
1999-200	• Vince King was named Principal of TD
2004-2005	• TD was required by NCLB to engage School Improvement Actions
2005-2006	• Vince King was relieved of his administrative duties at TD and was transferred to LCS's District Office • Marv Lewis was named Principal of TD
2006-2007	• TD was required by NCLB to engage Corrective Actions
2007-2008	• TD was required by NCLB to engage School Restructuring • Carmen was recruited and agreed to lead TD's school restructuring • Ed Works was hired for two years to assist in TD's school restructuring by LCS and TD • Marv Lewis was relieved of his administrative duties at TD and was transferred to LCS's District Office • Bryant was named Principal of TD • Carmen and Bryant begin working to restructure TD and start by having all of TD's teachers reapply for their jobs • Carmen and Bryant interviewed all of TD's teachers • Carmen and Bryant informed teachers if they are rehired or released
2008-2009	• Carmen and Bryant hired the released teachers' replacements over the summer • TD opened the school year with 10 days of PD – the first three were at a faculty retreat. The PD was PD facilitated by Ed Works. • TD failed to test 95% of its students and was subsequently ineligible to achieve AYP • The inaugural "The State of TD" presentation is given to TD's students
2009-2010	• Teachers report back early for 10 days of PD to begin the school year facilitated by Ed Works • The LCS Superintendent told TD's administrative team that if they do not test at least 95% of their students, TD will close • Carmen created the "95% Tested Committee" • The Student Ambassador Program was created • TD tests 100% of its students • Ed Works' contract expired and was not reauthorized
2010-2011	• TD's Writing Initiative Program was launched • TD's teachers report back early for six days of PD to begin the school year • Final year TD could show improvement on test scores or risk being taken over by the state • TD earned the scores it needed on the writing and reading tests to avoid state takeover
2011-2012	• Carmen was transferred out of TD and made Principal at another LCS high school • The TAP Program was launched at TD • TD's teachers return early for 10 days of PD to begin the school year

Appendix F. My Views on NCLB School Restructuring.

1. What does it mean that a school is required to restructure?

   When a school has to restructure according to NCLB, it means that a school's students performed poorly on standardized tests for four to six years. Although I do think that low test scores are symptomatic of larger problems, I do not think schools are the public entities solely responsible for correcting these problems. To me, when a school has to restructure, I see it as indicating a community needs help for a variety of reasons including lack of stable jobs, gentrification, inequitable distribution of resources, broken families, negative K-12 education experiences by community members, lack of quality teachers, and poor condition of educational facilities. To think that by schools working to increase test scores will solve these bigger societal issues is ludicrous to me, and that is my chief complaint with NCLB's school restructuring policies.

2. What are your critiques of NCLB's school restructuring policies?

   My largest problem with NCLB's school restructuring policies is how it directly links student test scores to whether or not a school must restructure. To me, I see using only one metric to determine if a school must restructure as being very limited. Although I think there is place for test scores in determining a school's effectiveness, I also think there are other measures of a school that could be taken into account. Some additional measures I support include a school's value-added score, community surveys, students' grade point averages, and school climate surveys. I explain how I see each of these alternative measures working in Chapter Five.

3. If given an opportunity to rewrite NCLB's school restructuring policies, how would you do so?

If I was charged with drafting new school restructuring policies, I would begin by incorporating multiple measures as listed in my response to Question Two when having to identify schools from restructuring. Secondly, I would expand the options schools could choose from when required to restructure. Some additional options I outlined in Chapter Five include curriculum revision, reconstitution, school transfer, partner schools, school redesign, leadership change, and state takeover. Lastly, I would require that specific, measurable goals aligned to the multiple measures listed in my response to Question Two and a specific timetable were agreed to by the school, LEA, and state department of education before a school engaged restructuring.

4. How should a school be released from having to restructure?

   In my response to Question Three, I supported low performing schools, LEAs, and state department s of education having to agree to specific, measurable goals and a timetable for reaching those goals before a school began its restructuring process. As such, for a school to be released from restructuring, it would have to meet the goals it agreed to with its LEA and state department of education. If a school is unable to meet the goals in the time it agreed to, the school would be taken over by the state.

Appendix G. Charts of In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes for all Participants.

Carmen – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• My perception	• Carmen's Story
• Most difficult thing I have ever done in my career	• Challenge of Restructuring
• Dealing with change	• Low vs. High Performing Schools
• Grand scale (change)	• Expectations
• My career experience have all been in very high performing schools	• Background experience • High performing schools
• I came into this with a set of beliefs about schools	
• Emulate the things I do in high performing schools	
• Bulk of my career was spent in South Florida	• Before TD • Experience as English teacher
• School had 2600 students	• 1995-2001
• Number three in the world in IB diplomas	• Background experience
• They were number 34 in the News Week ranking of public high schools	• Life as a professional
• Assistant principal of curriculum	
• Responsible for all the curriculum and instruction	
• I started there in 1995 as a (English) teacher	
• Taught 10th grade English and AP English	
• We were number 34	• AP and IB Schools
• Dropped to number 72	• Schools as ranking
• A formulaic thing	• Test scores for school identity
• I gave 1700 AP exams and 1800 IB exams	
• Very high performing school	
• Free/reduced lunch was probably 10%	
• I was from here	• Reason for move
• Mother was elderly and very ill	• Personal
• Keep making trips	• Family
• Finally decided to just move	
• 2006 was my first year in Leigh County	• At Hills High School
• Hills high school	• New role at Hills
• A high performing school	• Career experience
• I wanted to be in another high performing school	• Came to LCS with job • Similar to previous experience
• That was all I knew	• Not challenging
• I came here because I knew I had been hired by Hills	• Unsatisfied
• I spent a year there	

- A slightly different role
- I was extremely bored, extremely bored
- I didn't do curriculum there
- Assistant principal
- I worked with… 9th graders
- No challenge to it
- It was just very boring
- A phone call one day from the superintendent
- Asked me to come down to talk with him
- An opportunity he wanted to discuss with me
- Donna Wright – assistant superintendent of curriculum and instruction
- Donne knew that I had… extensive curriculum experience
- "Would you be interested in doing this? ... Redesigning a school, they are going to reconstitute."
- Immediately thought "this is a challenge"
- "The stars were aligned"
- I was looking for a challenge in my career
- The timing was perfect, it was perfect
- I said "let me think about it"
- I came back and said "yes"
- I came here the end of November 2007
- I started.
- Created an office down at central office
- The superintendent's office was vacant
- They didn't really want me to come out here (TD)
- They wanted me to work with the existing principal…away from the school
- Not really sure
- A lot of turmoil
- Faculty knew that there was going to be a reconstitution
- Things were getting pretty hot out here
- People didn't know what was going to happen to their careers
- He didn't want to throw me out here in the middle of all this uncertainty
- Right before Christmas
- To the superintendent "I can't accomplish

- TD Job offer/transfer
- Carmen transitions to TD
- Excitement
- Change
- Something new
- Eager to work
- Fate
- Arriving at TD
- Isolation
- Negative working situation with TD Principal
- Lack of teacher knowledge of restructuring
- Carmen's physical location
- "Saving" Carmen from negativity
- Carmen moves to TD
- Isolation

this job if I can't go to the school."	• Inadequate
• I've been to the school once	• Handicapped
• I can't do this unless I can go out to the school	• Lack of cooperation
• It's just an impossibility	• Distanced
• "You have my blessing" (said the superintendent)	
• I came out here	
• Downstairs	• First workspace at TD
• Principal put me out in the performing arts workroom	• Isolation
• A little office	• Lack of support
• Very quiet workspace	• Learning TD
• Good workspace	• Distanced
• I had to get a computer down there	• High expectations
• I had to get everything	• Pressures
• He (the principal) would come down there periodically	• Frustration
• I was really frustrated	• Had to be resourceful
• Been sent here to change a school by myself	• Independent
• I felt extremely isolated	• Unsupported
• Pressure to get this job done	
• Feeling pressure	
• No really getting any support at all, at all	
• Central office brought in a consulting firm	• Enter Ed Works
• Ed Works Partners	• Choice
• Offshoot of Knowledge works	• Help/support
• Funded through Bill and Melinda Gates Funds	• Ends Isolation?
• Asked (principal) and me…would you want to use them as a consultant to help in the redesign	• Pressure to improve school performance
• Getting the school turned around as quickly as possible	• Time expectation
• They never could give me an exact time (for improvement)	
• I think a lot has to do with the state	• Information from the State and Central office
• The state is very funny about giving you exact numbers	• Lack of information
• What are my percentages?	• Murky
• My opinion, totally my opinion	• Unclear expectations
• Over the last couple of years	• Money
• Why can't somebody say "You need to do X, Y, and Z. Here is your percentages.	• Overall perspective
	• Carmen want specifics

Here is your benchmarks. He is your targets. If you don't do this, you don't make AYP." • Because of money and politics • Wait and see how many low performing schools • You move along a continuum as you get closer to 2014 • You get to a point where you have state takeover • Very costly, very costly • Look over all the schools in the state • They cannot give us the cut scores • We won't know until June or July what the cut scores are • They know • If they don't make improvement in those schools, the next step is state takeover • There's a lot of politics	• Ambiguity • Lack of clarity • Secretive • Cut scores • Wants information • Distrust • Threats/punishments • Test-based accountability
• In February I got a call • "Would you like to have some help?" • "Would you like me to send Satan?" "I would have said yes." • Sitting down there by myself • Nobody to talk to • Nobody to bounce ideas off of • They sent a retired curriculum principal • Start moving and grooving on plans and work	• Help • Isolation • Brainstorm • Retired curriculum principal
• April • Principal was removed • Bryant was put in overnight • Friday he was removed and on the Monday Bryant was here • No idea what we are doing • Lot of anxiety, a lot of anxiety, particularly that Monday morning • All these representatives from district • Tell the staff • Your new principal Bryant • Quite an uproar • People were angry • "Why are you doing this?" • "Not what you said you were going to do."	• Leadership change • Anger • Uncertainty • Lack of communication to teachers • Staff kept in the dark • Anger • Change was poorly received • Sympathy for staff • Massive change • Quick change • Teachers were uniformed

- (Said) to the district folks
- Very little, very little
- Two weeks later we had to give letters to everyone on the staff
- Their position, they were being let go eventually
- Had the opportunity to reapply for their job
- No guarantee they would get it
- Could certainly reapply
- First of May, the middle of May
- Started interviewing
- Interviewed 100, approximately, 100 people within a three week period
- Just boom, boom, boom
- Supervisor recommendations
- Knew nothing of the existing teacher other than test scores
- Teacher's students' test scores and TVAS
- I would rely on supervisors recommendations
- We asked every candidate (the same question)
- *How do you define rigor and what does that mean to you?*
- "To give more work"
- "To give extra homework"
- People that gave that response didn't get rehired
- "It doesn't mean to give more work, it means to go deeper"
- In a nutshell, that it did mean going deeper
- It was quality more than quantity
- The curriculum here is very long
- It needs to be much deeper
- What I was listening for
- Rigor and relevance
- Relevancy in terms of making the instruction relevant to their lives or to the work world
- Grab on and understand
- Total chaos
- I felt at such a disadvantage
- I knew none of these people
- If there was someone just suffering
- Reconstitution begins
- Staff interviews
- Fast pace
- Lack of knowledge about staff members
- Uncharted territory for LCS
- Test scores
- Strangers
- Unpleasant situation
- High pressure
- Interview process
- Interview question
- Responses
- What is rigor
- Carmen gives her definition for rigor
- Rigor and Relevance
- Higher order thinking skills
- Teachers were not effective
- 2007-2008 school year ends
- Regret
- Mulligans
- Heart for the suffering

miserably
- I would know my teachers
- Internal angst
- I would comfort
- A complete disadvantage
- Came the day
- Selected all our teachers
- They got letters
- A person out of human resources
- Second to last day of school
- Gave them all envelopes
- Library
- "You been rehired"
- "You not been rehired"
- If I knew then what I know now
- Never allowed that kind of process
- Very impersonal
- It didn't sit well with me
- People were pretty upset
- People had nasty things to say
- "Great, I didn't want to be here anyway"
- A variety of things
- Thankful they had a job
- Too bad, so sad
- Not rehired
- We rehired 60% old
- Let 40% go
- I would have done that completely opposite
- Would have had more new teachers
- I would have kept 30 to 40% old
- The rest new
- Bryant and I did all the hiring
- Two new assistants
- A former assistant
- Ask his opinion
- What can you tell us about this person
- Very professional
- No animosity
- Impressed
- Kept it all the way through to the end
- Move up here
- School year starts
- Discovering over the summer that TD was a very closed culture

- Sympathy
- Unorganized
- Informing teachers about their jobs
- Regret
- Impersonal
- End of school year
- Support from County
- Teacher reaction – anger
- Grateful to be rehired
- Process of reconstitution
- Ugly to watch the sausage be made
- Impersonal
- Business centered
- Process of informing
- Resentful
- Teacher responses
- Final count of reconstitution
- Would have fired more
- Regrets/do over
- Background info about reconstitution
- Administrative input
- Collaboration
- Pressure to get the jobs filled
- Fired Administrative teams were professional
- Collaboration
- Professionalism
- Culture of TD
- Move to front office
- Summer of 2008
- Resistant of change

- What goes on at TD stays at TD
- Silos of control
- Little fiefdoms that people had
- Didn't want to let go of them
- Very secretive
- No one wanted to share
- Total distrust

- A new beginning
- In control
- Power shift
- Secretive
- Compartmentalized

- Master schedule
- Guidance counselor who ended up staying
- Passive aggressive
- Very much against it
- This little kingdom where she would barter
- "You want 4th block plan?"
- Give her friends
- Creating a schedule based on her friends
- Now what was best for the school
- Power
- She controlled the schedule
- She told me "the principal didn't know enough to know what was good or what was bad."
- She had been here six years

- Critique of the Guidance Department
- Master schedule
- Resistant
- One specific guidance counselor
- Bartering
- Not focusing on students
- Control
- Culture of advising

- First year, it was a living hell
- Dealing with the counseling office
- I started digging, and digging, and digging
- I did an audit on student transcripts
- Finding mistake after mistake after mistake
- I did an audit on the seniors
- Found 53 egregious errors
- Would have kept kids from graduating
- Second semester of their senior year
- Never had algebra I
- Graduation requirement
- I could prove it
- I shared this with her (supervisor of guidance)
- "I don't want to know about it"
- The graduation rate has been inflated
- You're going to fix it
- "I don't want to know about it"
- That that day was over
- Right before Christmas
- Finding all these errors
- Kids who had had geometry twice.

- Guidance Counselor story II
- Poor scheduling
- Students wouldn't graduate because of scheduling
- Incompetent guidance department
- Carmen explores
- Is it worth finding errors in the past?
- Report found errors
- Deal with it
- Fix it
- Improve the department
- Carmen's findings
- Change
- Correcting the problem
- Unreliable Graduation Rate
- Change in guidance
- Guidance serving kids
- Fired the bad counselor
- Improved guidance department
- Student centered
- Anger
- Students were not served

- They had sat through geometry twice, passed it both times.
- Didn't have the required courses they needed to graduate
- "53 kids will not graduate unless the problems are corrected"
- Blown away
- It went all the way to the superintendent
- "This will be fixed, every one of them will be corrected."
- "No child will not graduate from his this high school do to your error"
- "No child will be penalized because of this counselor's error."
- That counselor was let go
- No longer were things going to be able to go under the radar because nobody knew what to look for
- They put up some big walls and some resistance to that
- They've realized that it wasn't going to go away
- They've begun to see the benefit
- You do things for the kids
- I got very upset
- Very vocal with central office and my superiors
- "need the very best counselors"
- Parents, they don't know (graduation requirements)
- We need to be so diligent
- Hills where a parent would pick up on that instantly
- Our counselors may be the only advocate that that child will ever have
- Education off in the right way
- Last year was a living hell
- We reconstituted
- We redesigned the school from a departmental school to three small learning communities
- We eliminated all fundamental level classes
- All fundamental classes
- Different levels in Leigh County
- Fundamental English I, which was low, low,
- Pressure to improve situation
- LCS authority
- Lack of care for students
- Care for students
- A guide renaissance
- Change to Small Learning Communities
- Collapsing of the academic tracks
- English examples
- Tracking of students
- Implications for life chances
- Lack of expectations
- Low number of honor kids
- Teaming in high school
- Collaboration between teachers

low
- Regular English
- College prep English
- Honors English
- Once a fundie, always a fudnie
- You were never going to get out of that
- Same diploma
- Don't get the same exposure to curriculum
- Most of those kids (fundies) were very low kids or weren't motivated
- Didn't have the ability at all
- Never been expected to do anything
- We eliminated all fundamental classes
- Huge public outcry
- We eliminated fundamental and honors
- Everybody was going to take college prep
- Purpose
- Create a schedule where we could have a common planning time
- Teaming in high school
- Teaming… is hard to do
- 18 children in honors out of the whole freshmen class
- My argument
- There has to got to be more kids (in honors)
- Test scores
- More kids need exposure to this level (CP)
- Eliminate fundamental, eliminate honors
- Community was distrustful
- We did a lot of public meetings
- Community was distrustful of what was happening
- School is an integral part of the neighborhood
- Very political
- School board members
- People had some power and control
- Kind of pulling some strings behind the scenes
- Whole series of community forces
- Meetings to keep the public informed
- What we are doing
- We are planning, we are doing school
- It should never be done this way
- What is best for students
- Higher expectations
- Public push back
- Public meetings
- Public outreach
- Community involvement
- Power
- Politics
- Public resistance
- Examples of community outreach/involvement
- Pressure of planning and running a school simultaneously
- Against the process

- 18 months to plan before you ever start this process
- Inform them of what we are doing
- Advertise
- Radio
- Have it on our sign
- A good many
- Other times we would have 25
- No compunction about standing up and telling it the way it is
- Media was out here many times
- Film our meetings
- Community was up in arms
- Campus gear, uniforms
- 85% of the parents were really for it (campus gear)
- 90% were really for it (campus gear)
- A small contingent were not
- Unfair process
- Take time to plan
- Advertising public meetings
- Number of people who would attend
- 25-100 people
- Campus gear/uniforms
- Support for campus gear
- Chaotic meetings
- Parents were generally supportive

- They won't come (to talk about student performance)
- Take a kid's cell phone, they'll be here in an instant
- It's a culture
- Not a high value on education
- Community
- Not all
- Many of our parents
- Not a good experience with their own education
- Didn't graduate from high school
- Intimidated by the school
- That's the community and culture that prevailed
- Supportive of athletics
- Parental involvement
- Value cell phones over academic
- Negative public school experience
- Family culture
- Value of education (or lack thereof)

- Things have improved dramatically
- Tweaked… course offerings
- All levels in once class
- (Teachers) had to really differentiate their instruction
- Not to the extent we'd like them
- We've done a lot professional development on differentiation
- Some of them do it very well
- Primarily the new ones (differentiate their
- Year Two: Improvement
- Some teachers are better
- Forced differentiated instruction on teachers
- Old vs. New TD
- Extended contract explanation
- Regrets
- Redo
- Forced PD
- Differentiation
- Shift towards serving students

instruction)
- Very resistant
- Additional contract time
- 221 day contract
- 21 more days
- 10 of those days…spent on nothing but professional development and instructional strategies
- Differentiation
- Positive Behavior System
- In hindsight, I would not
- 18 months to plan
- Fewer old people
- More new people
- Professional development and stagger it more
- Continue professional development every Wednesday
- Hated going to the orchestra room
- Intensive
- Ed Works
- Really good PD
- Their contract goes through May
- Their model
- First year is very intensive
- Second year a little less so
- The third year a little less so
- By year five, you should be totally sustainable
- This school will be sustainable
- When I leave
- We're all gone
- It can keep going
- What to change, it's the culture
- There's no way
- This (restructuring) is bigger than any of us
- We can't go home with the kids
- WE have done it
- Starting to change
- Freshmen class
- Old ones are seeing the merit
- Biggest turning point
- Testing
- Missed our AYP by three kids
- Collapsing tracks
- New challenges
- Professional development
- Classroom management
- If I could do it again
- PD
- Too much PD
- Spread it out
- Too much too fast
- Old people are resistant
- ED Works
- Progression model
- Administrators leave
- TD will continue to be self-sustaining
- Culture of TD
- Hope
- Freshmen class is a promise of a changing culture
- The restructuring requires everybody's efforts
- Old TD is coming around
- AYP
- Not testing enough students

- Didn't test 95%
- We had a little sit down with the superintendent
- We better have 95% tested this year
- Administrative team
- September
- Develop a committee
- 95% Tested Committee
- WE will have 95% tested
- Going to do everything we can
- Test time came
- 100% of kids tested in every single test
- Big turning point
- Faculty was like these people might just know what they are doing
- 95% Testing
- Committee
- Meeting with superintendent
- 100% tested
- Teacher buy-in

- State of the TD
- Student body
- Freshmen and sophomores
- Juniors and seniors
- Two a year
- First semester and one second
- Show them the data
- Here's where we are, here's where we need to be
- Changes we're making
- Bought in a little last year
- Ambassador program
- One of our new counselors
- Greatest things to get kids on board h
- Notable accomplishments
- State of the TD
- Show data
- Student involvement
- Sustained effort
- Goal setting
- New guidance counselor
- Big benefits

- 90 ambassadors
- Four grade levels
- Nobody has ever gotten 100% tested
- Ambassadors… don't want this school closed
- Calling their friends
- Getting people in here
- Going out in cars
- Going to kids' houses
- Bringing them in here
- Don't want their senior year gone
- Frank with the kids
- Superintendent said "if you all don't make improvement this year, you're done"
- That is essentially it
- Student Ambassadors
- Involvement in 100% tested
- Didn't want school to close
- Fear
- School closing
- Communication
- Collaborative effort

- Sense of urgency from Day One
- Research to know it is urgent
- Whole administrative team
- Superintendent said "this school will close or become a charter school."
- Everybody started getting on board
- Beginning of this year
- More aligned in the same direction
- We have the right people in the right places
- Our next hurtle
- Process of creating a selection process
- Small learning communities
- SLCs still need help
- Two teams are not as strong
- Departmentalized SLC school
- WE started with two
- They'd be so tight
- This group that works with them
- Same people (teachers, counselors, administrators, project grad)
- Relationship piece
- Been negative
- Things are changing
- Exciting to see
- The ship is turning
- Three year minimum
- We'll make the improvements needed
- Get us off the state list
- This year two, we've got one more
- Don't think they have a clue about how much they have grown
- You're in it, you don't really see it
- Professional development
- More than a lifetime of it
- Shooting in the dark
- Cut scores
- If I knew the cut scores, I would know right now exactly how many kids
- I would know exactly where we stood
- No idea where we stand
- Hopeful
- Instructional strategies
- I see the planning going on
- They hated me

- Improvement
- Pressure/threats
- School closure
- Collaborative effort
- Towards the future
- Transition freshmen from 9th grade SLC to one of two 10th-12th grade SLCs
- About the SLCs
- Creation of
- Changing culture
- Sustained relationships
- Closing thoughts
- Optimism
- Trending the right way
- Need time
- Progress monitoring
- Cut scores
- State is secretive
- Manipulation
- Growth in teachers
- Forest for the trees
- Lack of information
- Authority of the state

- Lesson plan
- Submit every week
- They're seeing the benefits
- Ed Works was that they could handle all the PD
- Tremendous amount of PD
- $275,000
- Transform the school
- Learn the culture of the school
- We are scrambling
- Get a handle on who, who your team is
- Strengths, weaknesses, responsibilities
- This throw a whole wrench in the thing.
- "the master schedule is a mess"
- They didn't feel like they knew what they were talking about
- Completely create a new master schedule
- It was really hairy
- 13 hour days
- We jumped into developing that
- We're trying to run a school and we are trying to plan a school at the same time
- A very difficult school to operate
- Turmoil
- Even more chaotic
- Conversations
- We are going to do four (SLCs)
- You don't have enough students for four
- Toured the whole building
- Facility to do three
- 9th grade SLC
- Two 10th-12th grade SLCs
- We could add honors back
- First week of school
- Hit a transformer
- Pitch black
- Feared for my life
- It was chaos
- Kids running down the hallways
- NOBODY HAD CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL
- Scariest thing I have ever witnessed
- No emergency plan
- Called the superintendent
- Ed Works and PD
- Cost of Ed Works
- Dividing responsibilities
- Freedom from planning the PD
- Organizing the school
- Getting the people in place
- The master schedule
- Rush to get the master schedule completed
- Guidance office fell through
- Carmen had to create it
- Long days
- LCS was upset
- Creating Small Learning Communities
- Space
- Conversation
- Collaborations
- Different organization ideas
- Small Learning Concept
- Curriculum
- Relationships
- Power outage
- No emergency plan
- Fear and scared
- Chaos
- Violence
- Unprepared
- Lack of foresight
- Behavior management

- Fight in the cafeteria
- Released students
- Positive Behavior Intervention System
- Complaint from teachers
- There were inconsistencies
- Chased a teacher
- Two day training
- Not well received at all
- One teacher left
- And this is what they wanted
- It was exasperating
- Alternative professional development
- Classroom management
- Not Ed Works
- Teachers still rejected PD
- Teachers requested the PD
- Contradictions

Pat – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• Fairly typical	• Top-down change
• School change	• School restructuring
• Policy in place	• School reform
• Pretty much it	
• Usually the policy is handed down from high	
• Politicians, powerbrokers, people with money	
• Make the decisions	
• Then they come to the people	
• "here's what you're doing"	
• For the most part	• Be a good soldier
• Expectations that you're going to follow along	• Follow along
	• Taking orders
• Even if the policy is boneheaded	
• Sucking up to get the money	• Race to the Top
• They have a plan	• Money
• Sketchy	• Anti-test
• Half of the foundation	• Research against standardized testing
• Test scores	• Test-based accountability
• Substantiate	• Critique of test
• Teachers were being effective	• Test scores
• Research doesn't indicate that	• Test scores to substantiate teacher effectiveness
• Support the idea that it doesn't make that case (research)	• Teacher effectiveness
• Support	• Assessment
• Corroborate that the test is effective	
• Basically uses the same test	
• Test is effective	
• Keep giving the test	
• Score is better on it	
• Obviously the test works	
• An untenable argument	
• Troubling policy	• Critique of NCLB
• This looks great	• Reliable and Valid
• Can't we attach scores to what teachers do?	• No evidence to support NCLB
• Have an instrument	• Test scores
• Instrument has to be documented	• Lack of data
• Actually accomplishes	• Self investigation
• Kids are supposed to be learning	
• Where's the data?	
• Not having a job	• Story Begins
• Ohio	• Unemployed

- Looking for a job
- Assessment evaluation
- Educational psychology
- English teacher
- I got my degree
- XXX public school
- Small town in XXX
- Couple of years
- XXX school district
- I got caught in the backlash
- 1980
- Substituting
- Laid off over 2000 teachers
- Contracts
- Sub pools
- Rest of us
- I got another job
- Numbers of years as an educator
- Worked for a law firm
- Spent a year trying to get a job
- I applied for
- 50 to 60 jobs
- First year we were here
- Nothing
- 20 years ago I was a high school
- Get a credential
- University and that didn't happen
- I couldn't get anything
- Contacted the state
- Teaching credential
- Ohio, Indiana, California
- "No sweat"
- Classes
- Rigorous credential
- July
- Visit family
- Three schools
- Teach high school English
- TD, Whitaker High School, and Holmes High School
- Diverse schools
- Middle class
- Hard-to-staff environment
- I had a lot of years working in teacher
- Looking for a job
- Not overly concerned about finding one
- Location and in field
- Work experience
- Turmoil
- Politics
- Education
- Teaching
- Job search
- Return to the classroom
- Family
- No luck
- Decision to teach
- Teacher licenses
- School search
- King
- Trip
- Choice
- Mission
- Wants to teach in a poor school
- Previous experience
- Teacher education
- Personal mission
- Altruism

education
- Disturbing to me
- Students who wanted to work in the inner city
- Save the world
- Didn't have a lot of information
- How the inner city schools really work
- Brutal
- Very difficult
- Most people don't survive
- "Oh my God, this is what teaching is like. I'll kill myself"
- Very tough
- Young teacher who is inexperienced
- Enthusiasm and they are idealistic
- Come into the classroom and gets their asses kicked
- Looking for another job
- High turnover
- Don't do a lot of mentoring
- Carry you own weight
- Personal challenge
- Social justice
- Underserved population
- Trying to make the world a more equitable place
- Holmes is an oddity
- Highly diverse
- Rich kids
- TD, they called
- Probably would've chosen Whitaker
- Fit the model
- First choice
- Second choice
- Whitaker would have been my third
- Some advantages
- Somebody left at the beginning of the year
- That person left... the first week
- I didn't start Day 1
- Missed all the pre-school days
- First week of school
- Awkward, uh, situation
- Had three
- It's block scheduling
- Wants to be part of the solution
- To serve
- Attrition
- Mentoring
- Wanting to help
- Not in touch with reality
- Social justice
- Equality
- Quality education for all
- Idealistic teachers
- High turnover
- Urban schools
- About Holmes High School
- TD Job Offer
- Early in the school year
- Teacher quit
- Second choice
- Wanted to be there
- Coming into the school
- Pros/cons
- Classes assigned to teach
- Running behind
- Challenges of 10th grade honors
- Weird personality

- Three classes
- 12th grade English IV college-prep
- 12th grade English basic
- 10 honors
- First semester
- College-prep class
- Favorite
- 10th honors
- Very difficult
- Reason this other person left
- Always a bit of a problem
- Not always an easy group to work with
- Two years later
- As seniors in AP English
- Viable magnet program
- Getting kids from across the district
- English and AP English
- Predominantly kids not zoned for TD
- Minority kids
- First year there
- Expectation that you are probably not going to stick around
- First arrived
- Not really sure
- Racist
- Kids didn't like
- No winning that argument
- No point in engaging
- I'm White
- Hard to say
- Nemesis of today's world
- Black woman
- Different position
- Were a lot of thing that the minorities were able to do
- Wouldn't have probably been able to pull off
- I had a lot to do
- I hadn't taught high school in a long time
- Literally had thrown out all the stuff I created
- Teach high school
- Moment I arrived
- Redevelop materials
- Recreate myself as an English teacher
- Having been away for many, many years
- Effects of school choice
- School choice
- Magnet program
- Magnet kids vs. zoned kids
- Turnover
- Though Pat would leave
- Racial tensions
- Going to leave
- Pick your battles
- Pros/cons of minority teaching
- Making new materials
- Creating teacher identity
- Reestablishing self-identity as a teacher

- It wasn't real high
- I was really coping
- Difficult situation
- That would've been my first choice
- I needed a job
- Under the best of circumstances these were not the best circumstances
- Low enthusiasm
- Making the best of a tough situation
- Working through identity issues
- Rejection

- Made me feel welcome
- King
- In charge of the athletic director for the district
- I had a bunch of experience
- Education
- Some potential
- Bring something to the building
- He needed a teacher
- Settle whoever was available
- I wasn't in that boat
- He was lucky there
- In that kind of school
- I brought to the table
- Positive things
- Welcoming in that regard
- Hands-off kind of principal
- Day-to-day mechanics
- Principal is positive
- Well received
- Qualities Pat has
- What Pat can add to TD
- Quality person late in the hiring season
- Happy to have Pat
- Hands off teacher
- Enjoyed King's trust

- Philosophical shift
- I started teaching in the 70s
- Pretty much often the case
- Principals allowed you a lot of autonomy
- They expected that you knew your job
- Do your job
- Didn't intervene unless there was a problem
- Now we have a model
- Administrators are expected to step in
- Guiding force
- Troubling to me
- Structure
- Expectation that they are going to be involved
- Teachers are doing and they have a direct say
- You're doing that
- Comparing principals
- 1970s administrators compared to modern principals
- Role of the principal
- Hands-off approach
- Be a professional teacher and get the treatment you want

- Watching out for people
- She was in her 6-0s
- She retired
- Good department head
- Some teachers have been at TD for a good while

- White woman
- School a long, long time
- Have a lot of turn over
- Some people who had been there for forever
- With all the turnover that you wouldn't find anybody
- Number of teachers
- Substantial stake
- Mostly TN folk
- Grew up here
- School here
- Most states
- Lives in a different TN than I live in
- University people come from a lot of different places
- Wide array of experiences
- Schools the people grew up here
- Went to college here
- Whole life has been here
- Kind of who was here
- Establish an identity in the building
- Environment is odd to me
- I arrived at TD
- Mister, misses, miss
- No idea what their first name was
- Never heard it used
- Mister so and so
- Kind of an odd, just dynamic
- A formality to it
- Partly an outgrowth
- Black
- Catered to an African-American audience
- More formal
- Background of slavery
- Prevalent at TD
- I was able to recreate some of what I had done
- Wasn't much of an issue
- Wasn't really impact
- Low school on the district totem pole consistently
- Terms of test scores
- ACT scores were actually not so bad
- Magnet kids

- High turnover
- Experience
- Culture of TD
- Old Guard
- Comparisons between university and TD
- Lack of experience
- Negative stigma attached to staying home
- Year Two at TD
- Identity in the building
- Mr. vs. Mrs.
- Slavery
- Black culture
- Names/titles
- More resources
- Establishing self as a teacher
- NCLB
- Little impact of NCLB
- Low TCAP scores
- School policy
- Test scores
- ACT
- Graduation rate

- Were actually very smart
- 36 on the ACT
- Really high scores
- End-of-course test and district-wide test
- You had to get TCAP scores
- TCAP scores
- Low relative to everybody else
- Under half
- Depends on how you count them
- Dropouts
- Big debates
- Lots of ways to count
- Arne Duncan
- He doesn't seem to have gotten the memo
- Difficult to count dropouts
- Different thoughts
- Plays out
- Under 50%
- We were a school
- Our claim was about 800 students
- Debatable
- You probably were not going to see 800 kids
- Attendance
- When I arrived
- There were kids who come to school
- They would be in the building
- Wouldn't be in class
- Phenomena
- Several teachers
- Forgiving let's say
- In their classroom
- Found that disturbing
- If I had a kid in English class, I wanted that kid in English class
- They needed to do to finish
- Other teacher's class
- Needed them to do
- It was better
- It wasn't great
- I was still really the outsider
- I was there seven years
- Sixth or seventh year that I was there
- I had any insider credibility
- Distance
- Graduation rate
- How to count
- Pat's commentary on dropout counting
- Against politicians
- Out of touch politicians
- Attendance problems
- Division
- Attendance problem
- Some teachers wanted to shelf the kids
- Some teachers wanted to teach the kids
- Took a long time to stop feeling like an outsider
- Establishing relationship
- Insider
- Part of a community

- Did I say aloof?
- Foresee me in that way
- Judgment call
- I wouldn't say it was like homey
- I found my niche
- Less of an outsider
- He came actually after the school had started
- Came there in '05
- Upset the applecart
- Still works for the district
- In charge of transfers
- He came there that 05-06 school year as a new principal
- Mass exodus at the end of the year
- It was in the fall
- He was going to be there for a while
- Show him the ropes
- Takeover in January
- At least October
- End of the fall semester

- New principal
- Training of principal
- Not according to plan
- Shift of power
- Commentary on Lewis
- Negative feelings towards Lewis

- Brash young guy
- Gonna shake the world up
- One of the best schools in the state
- I never heard about it
- More rhetoric
- The kind of thing a young, ambitious principal says
- Show up at a new school
- Nobody took it very seriously
- They weren't taking it seriously
- They didn't see it as real
- Not for a minute
- Improving the school
- The idea of making up the best we were able to be
- Best schools in the state was probably not going to happen
- It didn't seem likely
- 2000 universities
- I admire him for his ambition
- Let's live in the real world

- New Principal
- New principal's expectations are scoffed
- Unrealistic
- Pushback
- No buy-in
- Out of teach
- Not much substance
- Pie in the sky
- Rationale expectations
- Set up for failure?

- Gateway
- Same deal
- Bottom of the district

- Test scores low
- English department working hard
- Pat is selfless

- This will not be a reflection of me
- I was there, our scores improved
- Our writing scores improved
- A lot of things
- Taking an interest
- Make that happen
- Concentrated effort
- They could make a difference
- Focused on achievable goals
- Scores improve
- Improving
- Getting better
- Weren't great
- Upward swing
- Really a good thing
- Like I said, it didn't have anything to do with me
- Honors kids never had a problem
- They were going to do it
- My colleagues
- Collaboration
- Working together
- Common goal
- Obtainable goal
- Better, not best

- Other mission
- To prepare them for college-level English
- My own mission
- Different
- College prep English
- AP English
- Introduce them to the analytical work that college English would expect
- Not very (successful)
- Classic patters
- TD graduates
- Dropout or flunk out
- Semester or year in college
- Vast majority
- Magnet as a subgroup
- Better statistic
- Do pretty well
- Going to do well anyway
- Kids who were capable
- Dance program
- Pat's Mission
- Based on college English
- Separate mission
- College-ready
- Upper level English courses
- Magnet kids
- College success
- Comparing students
- Lack of college success
- Low expectations for graduates
- Pattern of failure

- TD had problems
- Weren't doing as well as they should be
- Element of racism
- For years
- Improve TD
- LCS's efforts
- Sustained racism
- Systemic racism

- Predominantly black school
- We're not going to worry about them
- "Oh God no, that wasn't true"
- Operated this fashion for years
- Never really had been addressed
- Right people in the district
- They did all kinds of things to save CT
- Never saw the results
- Different grants, different programs
- Project Grad
- Saving grace
- Scholarship money

- Pat identifies racism
- Support programs
- Project Grad
- Won't admit we weren't trying
- Money

- Buy-in at one level
- Not at another
- Project grad
- A lot of baggage
- High school kids
- Part was problematic
- Not real effective
- Off to college
- Can graduate
- Do on their own
- Meet requirements
- Mentoring
- Finding funding
- Select colleges
- Predominantly poor kids, predominantly African-American
- Money to help them
- At CT there was a lot of support
- Staff people

- Project Grad
- Critique
- Distrustful
- Lacks integrity
- Support
- Money
- Scholarship
- Lack of support after high school
- High school vs. College

- Poor skills, poor grades, poor chances of ever getting into college
- "Yes, you're going to college..."
- Sounds a lot like a lie
- Dishonest
- Best they can
- Encourage this kid
- Do work
- Work
- Figure out how to do work
- Honest with them about that
- I didn't believe all those kids were going to college

- Project Grad and TD
- Collaboration between teachers and Project Grad
- Pat's critiques
- Lies
- Trust
- Demographics of Project Grad Staff
- Qualifications of Project Grad Staff members

- Well in their classes, to actually learn
- I had no problem collaboration with them
- I thought they were doing something useful
- Minorities, college degree
- Social work
- There was a minister
- Anger workshop
- Highest concentration of African-Americans teachers in the district
- Not saying much
- They have options
- Wasn't really given the opportunity
- She had other options
- Black
- Opportunity to do that
- Got stuck
- Administration felt
- Doing a good job
- Stuck her in that role
- Without a chance to escape
- Unfair
- Where the kids actually had some skills
- Remedial English
- It's tiresome
- Don't want to do that

- About one teacher
- Instance of lack of opportunity
- Top-down teaching placement
- Boxed in
- Lack of voice
- Unsatisfied
- Pat's Compassionate

- Lewis came in
- Change agent
- Misguided as far as I'm concerned
- New principal is busy trying to figure out how to be a principal
- Change may be on their mind
- Don't really have the tools
- District's strategy of bringing in Lewis was misguided
- Didn't have another option
- I don't think he was the right person at the right time
- The first year there was a mass exodus

- Critique of Lewis
- Not ready for CT
- Too much too fast
- High expectations for change
- Unable to fulfill job requirements
- Lack of skills

- Schedule for the English teachers
- Last day for teachers
- We finally got the picture
- Unheard of
- Outside input
- Regroup how people in the English

- Critique of Lewis's scheduling strategy
- Scheduling
- Lack of listening
- Top-down leadership
- Course change
- Lack of voice

department were doing some things. We had some issues.
- Too many in one class
- Conflict in terms of textbooks
- Weren't enough to go around
- Not addressed
- Didn't address that issue
- I've been doing senior English, Brit Lit
- He gives me 11th grade English, American Lit
- You know, is fine
- It means I've got to do all the pre work
- I haven't taught this for over 20 years
- I can pick and choose
- Recreate a whole program for 11th grade
- Things like that that he did
- "look, I don't have what I need for 11th grade. I need a teacher that can come in and do these things."
- I've decided you're going to do this.
- He is the administrator
- Pretty much the same
- Outside experts who are coming from the state
- Helping us address our issues
- Problem areas
- Big project
- Starting to feel the effects of NCLB
- School improvement plan
- Literally every year
- Graduation rates, test scores
- Had to do a school improvement plan every years
- Didn't change very much
- I was not as involved
- Been four assistant principals, the librarian, and myself
- Seven of us
- The librarian and I ended up doing it ourselves
- Designated sections
- I got no feedback
- I told him the honest answer, "no"
- Very close to his vest
- No input
- Delay
- Outside manipulation
- Materials
- Recreate materials
- Lack of communication
- 06-07 school year
- Outside expects
- School plan
- Accountability
- NCLB
- No help
- Lack of dedication
- Professionalism
- See the job through
- Pointless accountability
- Plan on the shelf
- Did anybody look at it?
- Confidant
- Collaboration, lack there of
- Not a need to know
- Not an insider of Lewis

- I was not a need to know of Lewis
- He might have been uncomfortable
- Never any real bond
- Test scores
- Struggling to improve our graduation rate
- Behind the scenes mechanism
- They fail my class, they don't graduate
- A lot of subtle and not so subtle ways to make sure that the kids in my class graduate
- Iffy position
- You want to do everything you can
- Earn a credit
- If you came to class and you did the assignments, and you made a real effort to complete all the assignments
- At least a D
- Failed
- Never came to class
- Young lady... reasonably sharp
- Not an unreasonable request or expectation
- Project Grad sent her to college
- Wrap herself in a blanket and go to sleep
- Not really buying into it
- 50 or 60
- Recovery credit
- She walked
- Hiring me to do something
- They've at least acquired some of the skills I'm trying to teach
- 135 hours
- Ugly year
- Foregone conclusion that something was happening
- Lewis was relieved
- Bryant was brought in
- Aren't giving us a wealth of information
- Things are going to happen
- Most people were going to come out of it okay
- Doing your job
- Didn't have much to worry about
- Evaluated twice
- Never by an outside person
- Excellent evaluations
- No relationship with Lewis
- Enemies?
- Implications for teaching senior English
- Pressure to pass kids
- Graduation rates
- Accountability
- Administrative pressure
- Ethics of teaching
- Pressures of teaching
- Lewis' intervention
- Story of girl going over Pat's head
- To college
- Project Grad
- Accountability
- Doing my job vs. Graduating undeserving kid
- 07-08 school year
- Exit Lewis
- Enter Bryant
- Lack of communication
- No knowledge
- No voice
- Unsettling work environment
- Teacher evaluation
- Unknown evaluators
- Regrets
- Sign of the times
- Should have left
- Dedication to kids
- Being a professional

- It sounds good
- It is troubling
- Wasn't a lot of stability
- School under siege
- Not probably your ideal work environment
- When Lewis came, my smart move would have been to have left
- Committed to my mission
- Reflection of him
- I was pretty comfortable
- End of the school year
- Literally called us in the library
- Large envelope
- I still grapple with how you get evaluated twice
- Excellent evaluations
- Not really the kind of teacher
- Most bizarre interview
- Midge, Carmen, Bryant
- Brought their lunches and they ate lunch while they talked to me
- I was hurt
- Offended
- Seven years of hard work
- No cause
- Cut loose
- I was a tenured teacher
- I'd been stabbed in the back
- Collateral damage
- Didn't fit with whatever their vision was
- Be moved from the building
- English teachers
- Really good people
- Lots to offer
- Necessarily stayed
- Not everybody stayed who were offered a job
- I think there were 10 English teachers
- Only two of us were given notice
- A new teacher who struggled with some issues
- Perceived as being disagreeable
- Two or three (left on their own accord)
- Maybe about 50% of the originals stayed
- Very little notice
- Pat gets fired
- Bizarre interview
- Lack of understanding
- Evaluations don't match firing decision
- A lot left unexplained
- Unprofessional interview
- Personal reaction to firing
- Fairness?
- Life after TD
- Working through firing
- Lasting impact of rejection
- Other teachers reactions to reconstitution
- Teachers left
- Young teacher fired
- Personality conflict
- Disagreeable
- Staff knowledge

- We're going to do something...
- I don't feel like the decision they made was reasonable
- Should have been a conversation
- I don't think that is how you do business
- Successful school
- Feel valued
- Unanswered questions
- Disconcerting
- Very accusatory
- I think really hurtful
- The district always has a plan
- I'm not saying it's a good plan
- The district does a lot of bullying and intimidating
- Pat was kept in the dark
- District plan
- Lingering questions
- Hurt feelings
- Unanswered questions
- Current teachers' impression of TD
- Power
- Top-down change
- District then school

Floyd – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• Started at TD • Internship at Holmes high School • Graduate student in secondary English at Crocket • Two years prior to that... master's degree in literature at Crocket • TA and lecturer • First master's degree in English • Stayed on • Master's in secondary education • I came here in 2001 • Came to TD in fall of 2005	• Experience before TD • Education • Teaching experience • Different degrees • Two master's degrees • Love for school • Dedicated to learning content • Shift from content to pedagogy
• Lewis was principal • King had just left • Committed to doing high school • Be a college professor • Already leaned who they were • Where I needed to be • Been at high school a while • Wonder if I need to be in the middle school • Committed to high school • TD in particular • Inner city	• Starting at TD • Principals • Originally wanted to be a professor of English • Formative years, influential person to teens • Values inner city
• My own experiences • High school student • Nothing like an inner city kid • Rebellion and resistance • Courage inner city kids tend to have • Schools in Dallas, LA, and Detroit • My mom was a special education teacher • 40 years • Nashville • My mom moved around a lot • End of her marriage • I get suspended from high school • Go to work with my mom... her class • Sort of fell in love with teaching • "punishment" • Bleeding heart • Always wanted to do inner city schools • Could relate to the kids • Impact with that population	• Family • Influences • Inner city • Reasons for teaching • Introduction to teaching • Love for mother • Supportive mother • First experience in high school • Troubled youth • Moving, moving, moving • Lots of cities • Discipline • High school • Floyd as a teenager • Relation • Unstable home • High school graduation, Nashville

- That year was so difficult
- Involved with me
- Lydia McCombs
- Showed me how to affect kids at all levels
- Got rid of all their leveling
- CP class
- All the kids
- Huge range of kids
- Really good at identifying those struggling kids
- Working and supports and interventions and individuals basis
- Helped me be able to spot a kid who needs differentiation and then showed me how to do it
- Challenging kids
- Really tested me
- Some really difficult days
- "No, I'm not impacting these kids"
- Were days I went home and felt I was
- PDS school
- Just so crazy
- Hard to say much about my impact
- Internship
- Differentiation
- Collapsed tracks
- Holmes High School
- Learning to teach
- Great mentor, Lydia McCombs
- Self worth
- Effect on kids
- Challenges
- Perseverance
- Gaining experience
- Reacting to kids' needs

- First place I applied
- Holmes high school
- Liked Holmes high school
- Diversity of students
- Different demographics and populations
- I applied to both
- TD offered first and I took it right away
- Absolutely thrilled
- Funny story
- I ride a lot of bikes
- First time I went to TD as a grad student
- Rode my bike
- Went to observe
- Before I was even doing my internship
- Great observation
- Watched two English classes (sophomore and senior)
- Came back out
- Had deflated both my tires
- First experience at TD
- King... still loved it
- Job offer at TD
- Story about deflated tires
- Optimism
- Enjoyed meeting the people
- Excited to teach at TD
- Met department
- Liked the English department
- The department is not like the school
- Felt welcomed
- Wanted to be there
- Choice to be there

- Liked his approach... his attitude
- I was terribly excited
- Met the English department
- Hired, fall 2005
- English department was really, really tight knit
- Comforting to walk into that environment
- Just be supported by the department
- The school felt a little fragmented
- Wanted to have a party
- Make everybody feel comfortable
- Relaxed environment at the party
- At the house
- Little things
- We always ate lunch in the same room
- Same plan
- We talked about kids and our experiences
- Knew how difficult what I was about to embark was going to be
- Support up front, and a heads up
- Encouragement largely
- Share stories
- What to expect when I walked into a classroom
- Tell me stories
- It gets a negative slant sometimes
- Go through rosters
- Tell me about certain kids
- Not always in a negative way
- "you need to watch out for with this kid"
- Classroom, uh, management
- Might be superficial or false
- Genuine management plan that works for you
- Better at reading, uh, people
- Inner city kids
- How your mom's going to be when she walks in the door
- She can be intoxicated and in a bad mood
- She can be in a good mood
- Read someone really quickly, right away
- Whole new environment
- ACT prep class
- No textbook, no precedent, nothing
- They gave to me
- Department welcoming
- Party
- English teachers
- Togetherness
- Support from the English department
- Eating together
- Classroom management
- Inner city kids
- Support or talk?
- Negative presuppositions about kids
- Reading people
- Life struggles
- Disadvantaged population
- Hard home lives
- Heart for the kids
- Sharing of experiences
- Common experiences
- Remaining positive
- Classes first year
- ACT prep class
- Lack of support
- Fell to the new guy

- "we want you to teach an ACT class"
- Lewis was the whose idea it was
- Assigned that task to a guidance counselor
- Took it on as her baby
- Some money to buy resources
- Standard ACT prep book
- Tried to get some of the more experienced
- Don't know why they chose an English teacher
- Don't think the preparation was there
- I had that class
- Nightmare
- Scrambling for resources every single day
- I didn't just have to do the English, I did the math and science too
- Horribly prepared
- Populated with kids who didn't want to be in there
- Forcing these seniors to take it their senior year
- Attitude those kids coming in the door was just wrong
- English II regular class... nearly 30 kids in a room
- Didn't even had room for an overhead
- Wedged in this room
- My air conditioner was out pretty much
- Middle of September
- Three preps
- Wide range of students
- Kids who couldn't barely read
- Had to get them to a certain point by the end of the semester
- Lack of real support
- Challenges of ACT class
- Low expectations
- College ready
- First year challenges
- Multiple preps
- Cramped teaching conditions
- Unprepared
- Unsupported
- Students under grade level
- High expectations
- Unrealistic expectations
- Lack of student voice
- Forcing students
- Lack of student buy-in
- Problems on the horizon

- English II regular
- Good group of kids
- Sweet and patient kids
- All kinds of discipline issues
- Sheer number of kids
- Crammed into that room
- Physical conflicts
- Reality of that class
- Two kids got in an argument in the class
- The class divided itself
- Backing up one kid and then half the other
- Positive hopes
- Not students' fault
- Classroom conditions
- Support, or lack of support
- Fight
- Cramped conditions
- A fight story
- Don't label TD
- Fast
- Scared
- Quick tempers

- It all happened so fast
- Before I could even get in and separate things
- Two kids started fighting
- Then the whole class
- It was like a rumble
- I got them out in the hallway
- It was kind of a blur
- Principals came and broke it up
- Before the air conditioner was fixed
- Really frightened me
- I had to switch up my classroom management
- Very supportive

- Administrative support
- Reacting to the situation

- One of the principals came in to help me out
- She recommended a management plan
- I still use a version today
- Kids earned a certain amount of points each day
- Number of warnings
- Really started to learn about immediate consequences and how to discipline kids individually
- Since modified things
- We did end up showing gain in that class by the end of the semester

- Classroom management
- Administrative support
- Gains
- Effective improvement
- Gains
- Lasting influence
- New classroom management plan
- Optimism
- Not meaningful support

- TVASS scores
- NDD
- Academically and emotionally
- Numbers don't encompass
- I had some positive gains
- Environment made me feel good
- Teaching in an inner city school

- Small gains
- What do gains really show?
- Value of relationships
- Test scores
- Test-based accountability
- Value-added

- Kids who give you trouble
- Those kinds of schools
- Ready to learn, they'll come back to you
- Trevor Bates is one kid's name I remember well
- English II fundamental class
- Refused to work (3x)
- Built a relationship with him
- Again his junior year
- Worked his butt off
- He did well
- Community college and is doing pretty well

- Power of relationships
- Trevor Bates
- Positive Example
- Wants to be at teacher
- Meaningful impact on student
- Pride
- Scores vs. relationship
- Value in teaching
- Goal of teaching

- Come back to visit me
- Be a teacher and football coach now
- Feel great
- It didn't show a lot gain
- Relationships and helping kids just get through some stuff where they could learn
- I made big gains
- ACT course was gone
- Had the most gains in it
- Pre-test ACT test in the beginning
- A test at the end
- Numbers somewhere
- Big gains
- Guidance counselor couldn't believe it
- I don't know what happened
- "I couldn't do it again"
- I mean it about killed me
- So late every night, it was just ridiculous
- So second year, I had all 10th grade
- Fundamental and regular, and I picked up a CP
- About the same
- I had like a gain of one
- NDD
- O6-07
- Lewis would call all of us in his office to review our TVASS scores
- Teacher individually
- I don't remember anything (like) close down if the scores aren't better
- Just kind of asking how I felt about the scores
- He was good
- Effective leader
- Consistent with kids
- Stood his ground and communicated well with parents when the pressure was on
- Most critical area is support in the classroom
- I felt like they had my back
- Helped me out with classroom management
- Observations were definitely more of ceremonial
- Principals always coming in and telling me what a great job I was doing
- Keep it up
- 06-07 school year
- Big gains in the Act class
- All 10th grade
- Second year
- Great results
- Disbelief
- Lack of faith
- Low expectations
- Pre/post assessment
- 07-08
- Junior and senior
- Impact on student learning
- Conference with Lewis
- Opinions about Lewis
- Supportive of Lewis
- Strengths of Lewis
- Observation
- Critique of administrative team
- Weaker instruction guidance
- At Risk was communicated
- Real critique of administrative

- Hungry for...
- As a team, that was a weakness
- I didn't see that improve until the day I left
- The administration changed and philosophies changed, and structures changed
- I just didn't feel like the support was ever there
- I chose to go with TAP
- We were on the list
- Certain things had to do with that
- Keeping track of data
- 07-08 when we really started talking about it, a lot
- Don't meet our goals
- Can we make safe harbor
- Graduation rates
- Faculty meetings
- EDD
- Professional from the state
- Crunches our numbers
- I was very excited about it
- I met with her
- Capable of change and improvement
- Ready for something to come in on a building level
- Start making some big changes
- She was the one, and I, and in a lot of ways, she was.
- I was excited and I talked with her about her vision
- She wanted to increase the AP enrollment
- SLCs and all those things I had read about and heard about
- They might too
- I had negative feelings not towards Bryant but towards Lewis' leaving
- Lewis was starting to make some changes that were good for the school
- Most controversial
- Could not participate in athletics unless they had a C or better in all their classes
- Trevor Bates was an athlete
- A lot of those kids are really motivated by sports
- No longer optimistic
- Restructuring
- 07-08 school year
- Change of importance
- Things got real
- Data
- NCLB's policies
- Accountability practices
- Enter Carmen
- 07-08
- Reaction to Carmen
- Change agent
- Hope for the future
- Turning point
- Optimism returns
- Lewis leaves
- Bryant enters
- Lewis didn't get a fair chance
- Controversy
- Sports vs. Academics
- Ethics
- Purpose of school
- Community angst
- Power of coaches
- Extrinsic rewards

- Those coaches can really make those kids change
- New rule with the C average
- It was great
- Really controversial
- Heard from other teachers
- Resistance came from parents
- Able to play, participate regardless
- Felt athletics were the only thing those kids came to school for
- If we took it away from them, then they wouldn't come to anymore
- Stay in athletics
- Both sides had a good point
- Whole lot more parents who agree that the kids would just stop coming
- At least partially instrumental in Lewis' being removed
- It was a big deal

- Influence of coaches

- English teacher
- Guidance counselor now
- Whole art to teaching at an inner city school is walking the fine line between being the disciplinarian and being someone the kids can confide in
- Master at balancing act
- Be fire and stern if you had to be
- TD was by his (Lewis) leaving
- Bryant is a wonderful, sweet me
- He (Bryant) doesn't have that stern side

- Teaching in an inner city school
- "Balancing act"
- Lewis' strength
- Critique of Bryant
- How to teach in an inner city school
- Relationships

- It was strange
- Everyone knew what was going on
- Interviews scheduled
- You'd go down
- It just had a weird feeling to it
- Supportive environment
- People are wondering if they're going to be able to work there anymore
- I wasn't tenured
- A certain number of years
- I don't remember my specific evaluations that year
- My interview went well
- Pretty standard interview

- Reconstitution
- Interviewing for jobs
- Change at TD
- Not memorable interviews
- Informing teachers of losing their jobs
- Interviewers
- Letters to fired teachers
- Not professional
- Public firings
- Tenure is not a safety net
- Interview questions

- Same questions they asked me in my original interview
- "how will you deal with kids who struggle with reading and how will you..."
- Carmen was there
- I don't remember what other principals
- I don't believe Midge was there
- I remember how the teachers found out who lost their jobs
- They brought letters to the school
- Called those teacher to the library and handed them their letters
- They were pretty upset about it
- Obvious to everyone who was getting fired by the way they did it
- Created a lot of negative feelings
- Didn't think that was the best way to handle that situation
- I never got a letter
- I can't remember if we were all in the library
- I do remember seeing the teachers who got the letters go up to the desk as I was leaving

- Just going to stop teaching
- Everybody's worry
- I remember one teacher in particular who said he was going to stop teaching
- None of them ever did
- They all taught

- Fear and worries about how fired teachers would act
- Stop teaching
- Threats
- Professionalism

- Some of the teachers who were let go, I thought needed to be let go
- There were others...
- One particular English teacher who I was sad to see go
- Let get because they were very vocal about things
- I've always resisted a little
- Very quietly
- Very loud about their resistance
- Got punished a little bit

- Deciding who should go
- Acting resistant
- Quiet resistance
- Good soldier

- I was excited
- Met Carmen
- Probably going to vide the school into SLCs
- Different was that was communicated
- There was so much

- 08-09
- School retreat
- Change
- New teachers
- Excitement

happening...simultaneously
- Hard for me to keep a chronology of it
- Ed Works
- SLCs were a huge part of all that
- Ed Works people being there and sort of being familiar with them
- End of that... 07-08 school year
- Exciting
- Impressive that we were there
- A lot of new staff member
- Happy that there were a lot of new, younger staff members
- English department
- Marie and Gwen
- Two new, young teachers right out of college
- Wanted to be there... chose to be there
- They had other offers that they turned down
- They were received pretty well
- The retreat at night got pretty wild
- They were always part of that
- At least initially, I think they were received really well by the staff
- After all the firing and letting go of the people, people were really coming and starting fresh
- (no) grudge holding from what happened in the past
- I've stayed in contact... still felt angry
- New day
- No resentment
- Fresh start
- Teachers wanted to be there
- Professional approach
- Old TD welcoming of New TD teachers
- Party
- Socializing
- Bonding
- Fired teacher are still upset
- Relationships

- It was awesome
- More excited
- I left the retreat really fired up
- Teaching the whole staff new strategies
- Gallery walk
- Marzano's strategies
- Tearing them up
- Modeled for us at PD
- Accountable as that school year began
- Cross curricular... band teacher
- Poetry unit, some lyrics and history of music
- The teachers were actually using the strategies in their classrooms
- You'd see gallery walk posters in the hallway
- They would know how to do the strategies
- Management I noticed was better
- Positive response to PD
- Ed Works
- Quality Ed Works PD
- Effective teaching strategies
- Gallery walks
- Use of PD strategies
- Effective strategies
- Research-based
- Improved participation by students
- Students were learning in multiple classrooms
- Evidence of teacher buy in
- Administration did not sustain the efforts

- Accountability piece from the administration again slipped
- Walk-throughs
- Not full observation
- Strategies we were using
- Hanging our lesson plans on the door
- Marzano's strategies
- Come and look and check
- It was amazing
- "This is the change"
- They were so overwhelmed
- So many changes
- Biggest criticism of the whole reconstruction
- It was too much too fast
- Let's pick a manageable number of strategies
- Mastered them and monitored
- I had two senior CP classes and one junior CP
- Young people coming in, they got all the fundamental
- Hard classes to teach
- I got "promoted" into the easier, funnier classes
- Those kids end up in a group together
- Effective just because that is that I want to say
- I kind of hadn't grown a whole you
- I wasn't less effective
- Relating to the kids and getting them to do what I wanted them to do
- Did have a better effect on my kids
- Junior and senior EOCs
- Gateway-style test
- Difference in the test
- Content and curriculum
- Kids a sense of the history and culture
- EOC is very grammar-based
- Did not reflect my students' learning
- It's just deflating
- Make such huge gain
- Pendulous nature of human thought in American history
- How it swings... radically religious to radically scientific
- Administration
- Unsustained initiatives
- Too much going on
- Prioritize reforms
- Teachers shut down
- Overwhelmed
- Throwing everything at the teachers
- 08-09 school year
- Tough road for new teachers
- Challenges
- Lack of support
- Teacher effectiveness
- Collapsed tracks weren't meaningful
- Teaching strategies
- Taught culture
- Test based accountability
- Reliability of tests
- Tested standards
- Not successful
- Teaching content
- Important to Floyd (content)
- Comparing scores
- Lack of success
- Frustration
- Annoyance

- "who, I really taught them something"
- Human though
- American history, my kids can answer it
- And that one barely
- One kid in my class pass that senior EOC
- Couldn't believe when she got her scores
- We were really close
- She got her test scores
- My room and we sat and just talked
- Deflating
- Three or four pass
- You like you had a good effect
- That question is hard for me to answer
- "Well, at least I had some impact"
- I was so focused on Ed Works and what was going on
- Never paid much attention to it
- It was threat with graduation rate
- Making safe harbor, writing scores
- Being completely out of sophomore English
- I wasn't as concerned with all that Gateway, EOC data
- I had junior and seniors
- 09-10, I took the job as lead teacher
- Considered applying for it the first year
- What it entailed
- Out of the classroom
- I didn't apply
- Second year... position was open, so I applied
- They were vague
- Changed the second year
- Dual responsibility
- Observe teachers on more regular basis
- Drop in and see that they were using strategies
- Post-conference
- Incorporate them (strategies)
- Really excited about
- Track student achievement in my SLC
- Provide supports and interventions for kids who were low performing
- Teachers across the curriculum
- Only assigned to a certain number
- The ones in my SLC

- Purpose of teaching
- Not concerned about state takeover
- 08-09 school year ends
- Teaching upper level courses
- Not in the tested grades
- AYP
- Test scores
- Serious consequences for low performance
- LEAD Teacher
- LEAD teacher responsibilities
- Applying for promotion
- Advancement
- Track student data
- Out of the classroom
- Two years
- Year one
- Year Two
- Valued observation
- Focused on data tracking
- Improving student achievement
- Test scores
- Test data
- Accountability

- 35 teachers in my SLC and 200 kids
- Second year I had the job
- Observation piece was eliminated
- Tracked students
- Graduation rate
- Reading interventions
- Credit Recovery
- Help them keep their credit
- Graduation rates was the main thing
- A lot of senior teachers
- Pressure to get kids to pass
- Tell me directly that "it doesn't matter what we do, they have to pass us"
- Two kids passed and graduated
- Pulled out of that class and put into Credit Recovery
- Obviously huge discipline problems
- Sacrificed any of their most important standards
- Teacher made concessions
- No ticker-tack parades
- Little surprising
- Our writing scores
- Our writing scores to be like TD's
- The first time I heard about TD talked about that way
- Two high stakes assessments
- A little bit of both
- Final decision
- Master teacher we should consider changing schools
- Coming into the classrooms and evaluating teachers
- Our position is so much different
- Not having master teachers from CT be at CT
- One part of me, I was relieved
- Mixed feelings
- She is very good with data
- Her vision stayed pretty much
- Leadership team within the school
- That vision really appealed to me
- I've really enjoyed working with the team

- Accountability pressures
- NCLB
- Graduation rates
- School improvement
- Senior English
- Pressure on teachers
- Kids taking advantage
- Benefits of pressure on teachers for kids
- Back door
- Unintended results
- Pressure on teachers
- Changing curriculum
- Bottom-up movement for 11th grade writing scores
- Non-core teachers
- Lack of celebration
- Accomplishment
- NCLB accountability
- Passing
- 10-11 close
- TAP
- Leaving TD
- Moving to a new school
- Bryant's influence
- About Carmen
- TEAM
- Carmen's strengths
- Colleague support

Marie – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• I come in	• Attendance
• I sign in	• Daily routine
• Accountability purposes in the front office	• Teacher accountability
• 7:45 is usually when I'm here	• Professional responsibilities
• Be here by 8:00	• Resentment towards other teachers
• 25% of the people will have signed in by 8:00	• Technology • Technology challenges
• Teachers that sing other teachers in	
• Teamwork, right?	
• Next hour and a half planning	
• Making parent phones calls, fillings out discipline records	
• Streamlined by a computer program	
• Glitches	
• Technological difficulties	
• Not all teachers do	• Me vs. Them
• PBIS	• Professional responsibilities
• 90 minutes of plan	• Working conditions
• Lap around the school	• Use of time
• Fight with the copiers	
• Entire staff	
• One of them is broken	
• AP class	
• The great thing about AP classes is that the students didn't choose to be in there	• Classes taught • AP
• Raise both the rigor of the school and curriculum	• Resentful of student selection • Accountability
• It makes me a better teacher	• Raise the rigor
• Not just through the curriculum	• Extra effort
• Start much further back	• Not a fair start
• The same end result	• Placement of students
• Taking the AP exam	• Disadvantaged
• 9 out of 18 of my students (AP caliber)	• Standardized assessment
• Stark contrast to last semester	• Modifications/accommodations
• 19 students	
• 11 had IEPs	
• No CP	• Collapsing of tracks
• Not an inclusion or anything	• Accountability
• Luck of the draw as far as scheduling	• Restructuring
• 3rd block is my CP	• Class enrollment
• Working with an intern	• Focusing on better instruction
• 11th grade	• Teacher development

- Largest class of 15
- Reconstruction of the school
- Split into two schools
- Main goals was to keep the classroom ratio small
- Build relationships with students
- Individualize instruction
- Our clientele
- Not on grade level
- Below poverty
- Single parent households
- 25% of them are parents themselves
- African-American, about 90%
- Surprising for me coming in as a first year teacher
- Used to be a daycare
- Run by staff and students
- They fail
- Family support (rarity)
- Before they had children
- Most of them were in school
- They were here
- Huge problem (attendance)
- Not been able to find a solution
- My attendance is fantastic
- I have two on my roster, there might be nine here
- Two frequent flyers
- Process for getting the kids referred is rather vague
- School resource officer, his main duty is attendance
- His office, and has a chat with them
- Have to make the 95% mark
- We did make it for the first time in the fall
- Attributed to the fact that the community members were called in
- Staff members were involved
- Volunteers
- "Drive-bys" – interesting term
- They literally went and picked them up
- We actually made 100% of our freshmen tested
- AP class

- SLCs
- Remaking the school
- School within schools
- Improving school
- Focusing on relationships
- Demographics of students
- Disadvantaged population
- Business
- Knowing what to expect
- Closing daycare
- Support for students
- Common challenges
- Attendance
- SRO
- Lack of discipline procedure
- Unfavorable towards administration
- Pressure of test
- Attendance on test days
- Community effort
- "Drive-bys"
- 100% tested
- Accomplishment
- AP Class

- Nine more angles
- Five of them are AP caliber
- Walk into any school and be placed
- 2 out of 9 in second period
- The year before I was here, there were I believe 11 AP students
- Wanted that number to be 50
- I'm not really sure
- That was going to be my job
- Work ethic, WRIT score above 8th grade
- Experience with teachers in the building
- Took away fundamental

- Description of students
- Pressure
- Accountability
- Raising rigor
- Placing students in AP
- Selection process
- Qualifications
- Collapsing tracks

- Different experience
- Over half the staff last year was new to the school
- Core mentoring team in place
- Meet occasionally
- Once a month, but that rarely happens
- Teachers that are willing to basically listen to complaints and fears of new teachers

- Reconstitution
- Lack of support
- Mentor program
- New staff members

- Sign in sheet
- No, it is expected
- Administration
- I am actually resentful that I have to go to the meetings
- First two years
- After the third

- Support
- Mentoring
- Expectations set by administration for support of new teachers
- No money
- Required to attend

- You doing so much paperwork
- Sink or swim
- I'm not sure that is the best philosophy
- Chaotic in one word
- "we get by and no one bothers us"
- Students' mentality
- They are going to graduate
- We have to have graduation rates
- They are going to pass you
- We are moving in that directions of being on par with any other school
- I'm assuming is the goal
- Be able to shift between schools and not feel there is a, they are not serviced here the same way
- The small percentage of the staff that is from the Old TD is very outspoken

- Get tenure
- Restructuring
- Lack of support
- Teacher responsibilities
- Staff Divisions
- Old CT
- Accountability
- Graduation rates
- Pressure for graduation rates

• African-American • Average age, I guess is 45-50 • Most of them have more than 10 years of teaching experience • Veteran teachers who have been here • Mostly the TD way	• Description of Old TD • Teachers • Demographics – education
• Younger, under 35 • They majority of us are White • Difference between education levels • Old TD, the majority of them don't have master's degrees • Have not been through a teacher education program • Alternative licensure program	• Description of New TD • Teachers • Demographics – Education • Negative view of ATCP • Teacher preparation • Comparing Old TD to New TD
• Everyone that was hired after the reconstruction had to have a master's degree • More highly qualified teachers • Clear divide • It's older-younger • New to the building-been in the building a long time • Still on board • Sit in the back and pretend the meeting is not happening • They're in the back (coaches) • Coaches are in the back • Head coaches • They coach the majority of our sports • Coached with the new teachers • Don't sit with the coaches • Band is definitely in the back • Pretty much anyone that interacts with the students outside of class and in the curriculum way	• Reconstruction • Reconstitution • Hiring of new staff • Staff divide • Comparing Old TD to New TD • Athletics • Coaches • New coaches compared to old coaches • Location in meetings • Staff meetings • Body language • Band • Labeling teachers as not contributing
• They've attempted to • They've pulled in staff members and discussed with them about what we are trying to here • Pulled everyone from the performing arts wing • Turned into a yelling match • Old teachers standing up and screaming at administration • They have tenure	• Administration • Staff divide • Intervention • Lack of working together • Privileged self • Position of power • Animosity • Division • Anger

- Band director at TD
- Dance teacher at TD
- They feel they are the only ones that can do the job adequately
- Across the board, there has been more of a focus on learning
- Difference between my first year here and even before that
- When I came to observe here
- Students are eager to get to class
- Not seeing students hanging out in the hallway
- More structure
- Intense PD over the summer
- What your classroom should look like
- Beginning, middle, and end
- Times that are chunked
- Teaching strategies that everyone across the board is using
- Walk-bys
- Talking to them
- Teacher study groups
- Embracing the information being given to them
- "this is very nice, and I'm glad we're learning it, but I'm going to do it the way I've always done it because it works for me."
- Based on the results of this school, I would say non
- Veteran teachers have excellent relationships with our students
- Classroom doors are closed
- No one bothers them
- More of a school identify than we had before
- School identity for all students
- If you were involved in football or cheerleading
- You were from TD, you were a good athlete
- Athletics and not academics
- TD represented in Quiz Bowl
- Nor is there a debate team, nor is there a solidified student government
- Their attempts have been floundered
- How overworked everybody feel
- Improvements
- Accountability
- Restructuring
- New efforts
- Progress
- Change of culture
- Retreat
- Restructuring
- Dedication to instructional practices
- Across the curriculum
- Meaningful PD
- Change of culture
- Class structure
- Administration accountability
- Old TD
- New TD
- Division
- Lack of learning
- Improvement, or lack thereof
- Old TD
- 75% of Old TD
- Educational Philosophy
- View of being in a school
- Defining success
- Stereotyping TD's students
- Moving away from just sports
- Recreating TD's identify
- Staff burnout
- Failed attempts

- I will include myself
- I give all my energy
- TD T-shirt
- Started with the teachers coming in
- Best as they could and say this is a clean slate
- Start fresh
- Everything we can to make the school successful
- Athletics have always been there
- Being recognized for their academic achievements
- For their scholarships they are getting
- TV's around the school
- Instead of just seeing athlete of the week
- This person just got accepted to...
- They are celebrating academics
- Student centered
- Administration is very open to listening to students
- Attempting to let them handle some of the issues
- New staff members
- Ready to contribute
- Build a new TD
- Celebrating academics
- Moving away from just athletics
- School-wide commitment
- More student involvement
- Focusing on students
- Supportive administration towards students

- Student ambassador program
- One of the great things about this year
- We want a group of students, 9th-12th grade, that will represent our school
- Lots of visitors
- Community members, people from downtown
- School is an open door thing
- It is our location, we're close to downtown
- Pretty easy to get here
- We are failing school
- We have visitors, it's not so much a friendly visit
- Make sure people are doing their jobs
- Student Ambassadors
- TD is moving in the right direction
- Pride in TD
- Focusing on students
- Accountability
- Open school
- Many visitors
- School restructuring
- Failing school

- Community support
- Interesting thing about this community is that everybody is so close
- Other communities, more spread out
- We have people that can literally just walk into the school
- Physical closeness
- Open school
- Community involvement
- Lack of security

- Teacher boot camp
- I'm very grateful
- Students should be functioning on their own
- Student centered
- PD
- Retreat

• Teacher facilitating	• Student autonomy
• Student autonomy	• Restructuring
• Difficult to devise a plan on how to take kids	• New TD
• They are going to turn it down	• Schedule strategy
• Instead of just throwing them into the class	• Pressure
• We are hoping that that has kind of caught on	• Raising students' own expectations
• Schedule things according to their ability levels	• Change of academic culture
• Top one is always going to be athletics	• Community and athletics
• Community is huge support	• Support
• Rowdiest fans of any school in the area	• Not helping "on track" students
• We are as smaller school	• Time and money
• Community members who donate their time and their money	
• Students have support	
• Student support programs are for students who have already done something to put them off track	
• First year that AVID came	• AVID
• AVID has been in the middle schools	• Support for on-track kids
• Next three years it will build up	• Academic improvement
• AVID kids have been feeling the tension	• Focus on students
• Students don't feel like they should be pushed as hard as they are	• Students are pushed by AVID
• Being punished almost rather than supported	
• That's a program thing	
• I have very limited access to the freshmen	• Restructuring
• They are on the top floor	• SLCs
• Different administration; different everything	• Student contact
• I don't have little freshmen children running down my hallway	• Freshmen SLC • Change of culture
• I get great reports from teachers working with the freshmen	• Separated from 10th-12th graders
• They are all on one hallways	
• You have schools within a school	• SLCs
• Two schools	• School redesign
• Freshmen all start out in the freshmen SLC	
• Parents are committed	• Parent involvement
• School improvement plan	• Change of culture
• Involve parents in all our major committees	• Small group of parents
• Small group of parents	• One group of parents does everything
• True with most schools	
• That group of parents is really gung ho	
• Another set of 20 parents who don't	

contribute but have a set of demands • That's a depressing night for a teacher (open house)	
• AP Night back in the fall semester, we had a great turnout • I met almost all of my students' parents • I haven't gotten a good grasp of what gets them here • It was a great thing • When I make a phone call, they have a face to put to my name	• Open house vs. AP night • Higher achieving students • Parental involvement • Sets of parents
• Our principal was giving a tour to two reverends • Dedicate some of their time and come into the school • They talk to students in small groups • A little awkward • I don't feel it's my place to have anything to do with religion • Such a small church base in a public schools • A line I've chosen not to walk • The majority of them (involved in church)	• Community involvement • Churches • Role of reverends in TD • Awkward of brining reverends to TD
• Definitely more pressure (on English teachers) • Historically the school has been closer to making AYP in English rather than match • We will not make AYP in math • It's a done deal • We've been lucky to have English teachers in the past • Majority of our teachers have been strong • English curriculum lends itself to more differentiation • Helped our students	• Pressure on English teachers • Accountability • Strength of English teachers • Against math • Lost hope for math • English teachers are TD's hope for AYP • Student-centered • Defining differentiation • Care of English teachers
• Giving out different assignments • Five different assignments going on for the same lesson at one time • Shorten questions • Reading out of a workbook • Creative writing assignment • It's burdensome • On any given week, I will spend 15-20 hours outside of the classroom preparing	• Defining differentiation • Examples of differentiation • Planning for class • Time spent planning because of differentiation
• Nope, not at all • Feel like they don't need to	• Old TD • Differentiation

• I don't know why they don't feel like they don't, but they don't	• New TD
• Very quick get upset when their students don't succeed	
• Just continuing the cycle	
• Everyone sort of has their own methods	
• Individual folders for each student	
• Just tailor individual lessons	
• Some will group students based on ability	
• Just depends on which classroom you walk into	
• Coming out of a master's program	
• Student writing portfolio	• Portfolio system
• Have different requirements	• Student writing
• Someone from downtown comes and flips through it and writes comments for the teacher	• Accountability • Standardized requirements • Teacher evaluation
• "incomplete"	• Example comments
• "Students don't have all the necessary requirements"	
• I can't get them to write a research paper	
• That won't go in the portfolio, and then that is a reflection of me	
• No, unless the teacher shows them	
• Checked and they spend time revising that	
• Minimal compared to what they could be doing	
• Everyone is expected to read and write	• Burden on English teachers
• Not everyone is expected to do calculus	• Responsible for literacy
• So-and-so tried to write a paragraph and couldn't	• Accountability • Reputation
• The fact that I'm an English teacher and this student can't write a paragraph...	• Lack of support
• Student just came back from alternative placement	
• It's the same thing with test scores	
• I don't feel like we are supported by our staff	
• Criterion On-line	• Student writing
• Writing program	• Evaluation of writing
• Their own prompts	• Emphasis on writing
• Excellent for my AP students	• Administrative demand
• Write in whatever mode they need	• Top-down
• Administration ... was very firm in saying if you are not in an English room you will do at	• Teacher accountability • Non-English teachers

least one writing assignment
- One writing assignment a week
- Walk-throughs
- Didn't feel that was going to happen unless they were checked
- CTE teachers
- Definitely getting checked
- I get an administrator in my room all the time
- Persuasive writing
- Respond a lot better to that than if they came in my room
- Relevancy
- Student buy-in
- Culinary arts

- Really trying to stay neutral
- Whatever is thrown at them
- Older teachers that are just constantly restirring this negativity
- Constantly being pulled in that direction
- You lose your friends
- If... you choose to hang out with the new teachers
- Thankful that I came in not knowing anyone
- Staff divisions
- Old TD
- New TD
- Loyalty
- Politics
- Anger
- Resentment

- End up involved in gangs and/or drugs
- TD alum and just other people that hang out
- Just drive up and down
- Honking their horns being obnoxious
- People that have gotten diplomas
- Get some money
- Terrible idea
- Become parents
- 60% will not leave
- 20% go to college
- Coming from a lower income community, especially as a minority, very rarely are you going to make it
- About 25-40 students that actually go all the way through
- TD Graduates
- Community culture
- Options for graduates
- Gangs
- Dead end jobs
- Early parenthood
- College
- Predictions
- Low expectations

- The year before I came is when the "flush" happened
- Terrifying
- Even the room we're sitting in used to be an English teacher's room
- Stories about her doing crossword puzzles
- Horrible things I never ever would do
- She shouldn't have been let go
- I was a young White girl coming straight out
- Reconstitution
- New teachers
- Old English rooms
- Haunted ☺
- Loyalty
- Old TD
- New TD

of college
- I wouldn't make it more than a month
- During teacher boot camp
- He is really glad he got out
- Fired him
- I feel that tension every day
- We understand it, but it is unwarranted
- I'm young, but I know what I'm doing
- Will not speak to me in the hallways
- Love my job
- Awkward situation
- Extended contract
- 21 extra days
- First time I met the staff
- Teacher boot camp
- Three days of our ten
- Mountain hotel
- Bonding activities
- Not being the weakest link
- They place random thing on the top of the web
- Be paired with someone out of our content area
- Teach an interdisciplinary lesson
- Culinary arts teacher
- Historical literacy unit
- Two other English teachers were asked backed
- Mountain retreat
- I was more up to date on the research and strategies
- Veteran colleagues
- They were so resistant
- Arms crossed, shoulders turning away from the presenter
- Went to dinner with a veteran teacher
- He went down the list of new teachers and apparently the veteran teachers had a pool
- If you're a male, especially if you're a Black male
- Older white male
- It holds true to that divide
- I don't think is true
- Idealistic in my thinking that everything we
- Teacher boot camp
- First got hired
- Meeting the staff
- Bonding activities
- Knew no one
- Defining extended contract
- Cross curricular lesson
- English department
- Body language
- Division of staff
- Betting on teachers quitting
- Pool
- Flashback moment
- Race
- Gender
- Hierarchy of power
- Mountain retreat

were planning...
- I made a very strong effort to connect to anyone that had been in the building before
- Hills High School
- Why didn't you just stay at the White school?
- Mediocrity was accepted
- They need great teachers
- Only 45% were asked back
- About 10 teachers who looked at the reconstitution of the school as good
- Resistant to change
- We had teachers really caught in the middle
- 10 out of those 45
- Mostly over 40 and Black
- They were at the mountain retreat
- Block party on one of the floors
- Like a high school freshmen again
- We are waiting for people to get out
- Staff bonding
- Disappoint
- Connecting with veterans
- Reputation of Hills High School
- Internship year
- Reconstitution
- Staff divisions
- Old TD
- New TD
- Allegiances
- Politics
- Power structures
- Race and age

Gwen – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• Graduated from Crocket with an English literature degree	• Academic
• 2005	• Work experience
• Close connection with difficult clients	• Reflection
• Hospital work	• Beginning of life
• Beginning of life	
• Instead of doing a medical degree	
• Master's in education	
• Not pursue my pharmacy degree	
• High school or middle school	• Middle school
• I would teach elementary	• High school
• I was a good caring person	• Finding her fit
• Very deliberate	• Crocket MEd Program
• Working full-time	• Caring
• Applied for the master's (program)	• Selecting a grade level to teach
• Was in 2007	• Timeline
• First classes in December/January 2007/2008	• Education
• Riverside High School	• MEd
• Mostly White	• Internship year
• Some middle-class	• Student/school demographics
• Very homogenous	• Childhood
• 70-80% free/reduced lunch	• Home
• I loved it	
• Easy and automatic connection	
• Grown up in Riverside	
• Kind of like going home	
• I went to Hills High School	• Job Offers
• I didn't want to go back home	• TD job offers
• I decided not to teach there	• Growing Up
• TD offered me a job	• School choice
• It was the end of the spring 2008 semester	• Redistricting
• I started in the fall of 08	• Class
• Lived for four years	• Choice to teach at TD
• I actually lived near TD	• Influence of father
• I knew the community	• Reasons for wanting to teach at TD
• Some of the things that were going on	• Wanting a challenge
• I attended Hills High School	• Different race/culture as a challenge
• I didn't choose that, my father did	
• Happened so quickly	
• No option for me to go to TD	
• He wanted me to go to Hills	
• My sister was also zoned for TD but she went	

to Hills
- Isn't that interesting
- If I want to teach, then I want to be at the hardest place possible
- Challenges
- Challenges of comfort for me socially and culturally
- I guess a WASP
- Middle-class, White teacher
- Middle-class, White kids
- Kind of vulnerable person
- Personality wise
- Be more just more adaptive and more take command
- See a situation and turn it into what it needs to be
- It wouldn't push me
- I want to the job fair
- Very aggressive about hiring me
- Bryant and Carmen
- Best place to work
- Basically teach whatever
- Have a small class size
- Wouldn't be so constrained by like teaching the cannon
- Teach a really, really traditional curriculum
- They didn't tell me a lot about that (reconstitution)
- Hiring a lot of new teachers
- More interested in hiring the new teachers
- Could shape them
- Been teaching more because there were more resistant
- 'of course I can become what they need me to become'
- Began my journey
- Very disorganized
- My classroom and it was full of stuff
- Teacher who had left because of restructuring
- Students weren't there
- Pat had left
- Just abandoned her classroom
- Like a lot of teachers
- Very hurt
- Challenge
- Defining challenge
- Students are a challenge
- Selecting TD
- Job recruitment
- Personal challenge
- At the job fair
- Being recruited
- The selling of TD to Gwen
- Introduced Banner and Bryant
- A fresh start
- Started teaching
- Selling points of TD
- Changing to meet the needs of TD's administrators
- First impression of TD
- Teaching summer class
- Ladder Program
- New school
- Disorganization
- Reality in the face
- Reconstitution
- Aftermath

- Restructuring
- Books piled up in closets
- Office rooms were just huge messes of just stuff
- Like a natural disaster had happened
- Teachers who were disorganized
- Just communication
- Beginning of the year
- Those things weren't naturally happening
- My first encounter with TD
- Taught that summer there
- Summer bridge program
- Project Grad for freshmen
- I never taught at TD
- I had never taught outside my internship
- It was a very unstructured program
- I was going to teach a program
- A four week bridge
- We teach the English portion
- I assumed that would mean some sort of curriculum
- A book, some materials...
- It was just whatever
- It was a just a whiteboard
- I had no idea what I was doing
- People there would had been at TD for years
- They seemed so comfortable
- Outside at the that time
- I did the next summer
- I saw the same type of person
- I was the now who was on the inside
- I was comfortable
- I understood how TD rolled
- More helpful and giving of materials
- Saw them during break
- I became keenly aware that even though tese people are adults
- It's really hard to just start teaching
- Your first job
- Alone
- In the middle of all these changes
- Restructuring TD
- Not very
- Levels of questioning
- Inventing a new school culture
- The beginning of the beginning
- Restructuring
- Starting to organize and rebuild a school
- Summer teaching
- First experience at TD
- Summer bridge program
- Lack of support
- Lack of curriculum
- Missing key elements
- On the fly
- Scrambling to be organized
- Insider vs. outsider
- No support from other people
- Sink or swim
- The cycle repeats itself
- Newly found comfort
- Challenge of teaching
- New pressures from restructuring
- Teaching in a restructuring school
- Lack of experience
- Quality of teaching
- Bridge program

- I don't know why I decided to teach that
- Teach a skill
- Read short texts
- Analyze the text from these levels of questioning
- There were good moments
- I remember feeling like "who, this is really working."
- I was really aware
- How this fit into their lives as 9th graders
- 9th grade and then they would take their EOC
- Two years at TD to figure out how I could obtain these scores
- Why I should obtain these scores
- What they meant
- Teaching English II CP
- That is all I have ever taught
- That is all I have ever taught
- I have learned a lot
- It was bizarre
- Go back 10 days early
- First three I have never met the staff
- Gatlinburg, TN
- Two or three nights
- "How are we going to do all this"
- Be owned and led by Ed Works
- We outsourced a consultant
- He starts talking that first morning
- It was Monday morning
- Why this man that I didn't know, or never met...was leading our PD
- This man
- "today I need you to sip form the fire hose"
- "what is the fire hose? What are you talking about?"
- His methods were not content-specific
- He just had a few methods
- How to get kids engaged
- Encourage kids to think about what they are learning
- Communicate or share
- More PD happening so in depth with TAP
- First year as totally unorganized
- They are learning something

- If I knew then what I know now...
- Teaching skills
- Lack of literature instruction
- Lack of relevancy
- Knowing students
- Test scores
- Experience teaching English
- Learning how to obtain test scores
- Learning what test scores mean
- Preplanning
- Extended contract
- Teacher retreat
- Lack of information
- Ed Works
- Critique of Ed Works
- Fire hose
- Metaphor? (kind of pervy)
- Gender roles
- Critique of Ed Works
- Teaching methods
- Lacking any buy-in
- Meta cognition
- Social learning
- TAP (first time mentioned)
- Comparing TAP to Ed Works
- Staff division
- Tensions

- Fits into puzzle
- Huge gaps in relevancy
- Three days straight
- Sat at tables
- Met people
- There was certainly a... old staff new staff king of thing
- Old staff tables and new staff tables
- Supposed to save it from them
- Supposed to come in and save the school
- Would rather hire a new teacher
- Old teacher who was kind of more stubborn
- Whatever I learned, I would do
- I was a blank canvas to PD
- Don't be negative, don't fight against what's going on
- Go with it
- Don't be a problem
- PD
- PD
- Summer retreat
- Lack of questioning
- Top-down decision making
- Making new teachers

- Really good first few days
- We were all very nice
- Instruct the staff like a retreat
- Spend time together
- Building fellowship
- Aggravated by... some of the things we were having to do
- School was going to be an SLC school
- Tense tables
- Random numbers
- At a table with a teacher who maybe had been there for 35 years
- Be really, really vocal about my opinion
- How should we structure classes
- Frustrations she felt
- Tense altercations
- Disagreement with a senior teacher
- PD
- Good start
- Safe, bonding activities
- Tense moments
- Staff division
- Resistant
- Transforming into SLCs
- Should have fired more old teachers
- Restructuring the school
- Frustrations
- Doesn't want to change

- Five or six teachers
- Been there a very long time
- I needed to watch out for
- Not, um, upset them
- Not say anything that was too revolutionary
- Like walk out of meetings
- Almost verbally just attack our presenter
- Staff Divisions
- Resistance
- Old Staff Members
- Catering to old staff members
- Lack of cooperation
- PD

- Am I allowed to make that assertion
- They were being so defensive
- I see their classroom now
- TAP
- Then and Now
- Power

- Four years later
- Don't see an effective classroom
- Loose relationships
- Occasional moments of instruction
- Just doing their own show
- Those people
- Classroom that our kids weren't doing, you know, a curriculum
- Five days
- Very stressful day
- Always in this room together
- Was supposed to start a class
- Not pacing guide or a curriculum guide
- There was nobody
- This is what 10th grade looks like
- I was getting more stressed
- More stressed as PD was going on
- A little home for me
- I started teaching

- Top down
- Gwen ascends
- Critique of old teachers
- Lack of research
- Lack of instruction
- Lack of effectiveness
- Resistant to change
- PD
- Extended Contract
- Frustrations
- PD vs. getting prepared for school
- Instructional support materials
- Lack of support
- Overuse of PD

- Third floor
- I moved the next year
- My kids
- The 10th grade scores the year before
- My kids felt like they were learning
- Effective teacher
- Very hard to teach them something
- Totally mixed ability
- CP Class
- Students were soooo low
- Higher students
- Struggling with even grade-level
- I was really confused
- Meet all their needs
- We could accomplish
- Needs differentiation
- Whatever that mean
- Kids couldn't take lower level classes
- They weren't offered
- Differentiation was something I've always heard about
- Loosely attempted
- No one tells you or prepares for how to differentiate for every student in your

- First classroom
- Year one of teaching
- Test scores
- Accountability
- Teacher effectiveness
- Questions effectiveness
- Great effort
- Differentiated instruction
- Collapsing of the tracks
- Collapsing of the tracks
- Differentiation
- Lack of preparedness
- Internship
- Definition of internship

classroom
- Trying to meet the needs of various groups in my class
- Inclusion class
- CP
- Has all SPED students in it
- Forgot to put any regular ED
- I have a leper
- 20 students with all IEPS and we get SPED hours
- I am still trying to figure out what they means (differentiation)
- Have different tests
- Different assignments
- Required to do part of their work
- Smathering of what's going on
- I've got better in that, but I had no idea
- I feel like I've grown into something
- It's like you either sink or swim
- Thrown out there
- You drown and leave
- It was the second week of school
- I asked a girl to..
- Ability to go in their groups
- You know "no"
- Huge air condition machine
- She is going to shoot me and I didn't know
- Very, very, very angry
- How was I supposed to handle that?
- Called the principal
- "I'll be right up"
- From lunch
- She was actually suspended for the rest of the year
- She wanted to threaten me
- Serious about her threat
- Spring semester
- Seven boys in my class
- Two separate gangs
- They were all enemies
- It wasn't clear yet in the school what supports I should, who I should go to
- You tell people
- Principal would come

- 2011-2012
- Experienced educator
- Defining differentiation
- Description of current class
- Lack of understanding differentiation
- Not wanting to understand differentiation
- Not put in a fair teaching situation

- Challenges
- First example of threat
- Violence
- Lack of administrative support
- Discipline example
- Differentiated instruction

- Spring semester
- Example two
- Violence
- Gang
- Lack of support
- Community violence

- Watch your class twice
- “they’re an okay class”
- I had first block plan
- One of the student’s phone rings
- “You can’t answer your phone”
- 15 year old kid
- Stands up and start screaming at another boy
- What I found out was...
- Shooting the night before
- Nobody had notified me
- These children in my class
- Screaming “my classroom is a safe place”
- I closed the door
- “guess we should have told you that there was a shooting and...”
- Trying to kill the driver
- He threw a desk at me
- On the video camera
- All the principals
- Busy doing restructuring
- Meeting with Ed works
- Had so many new teachers
- Looking back I would handled them differently
- What I needed support-wise
- Major issues
- SLCs
- Deescalate things
- Things are clear
- Out of my classroom, when to call someone in
- No one can prepare you to experience it
- Support from principals
- School restructuring
- Being overwhelmed
- Doing school and planning school
- Growth
- Planning a school while restructuring
- I wouldn’t be, like, the teacher I am today
- I can offer so much just experience
- 20 years of teaching experience
- Packed into three or four
- Different situations
- You can never read about them
- You have to have to actually experience them
- Growth
- Relive the experience
- Becoming a better teacher
- Teacher effectiveness
- Teacher preparation
- Trial and error
- New space
- Honors class
- So excited
- “oh my gosh”
- Worst class I ever had
- Second year
- New classroom
- Year II
- English II honors
- Expanding the tracks

- Honors students just by title
- Sense of entitlement
- 25 of them
- Hard class to control
- Nobody had an honors class
- I obviously learned some things are going better
- I owed them more
- Student discipline
- Title of honors

- Declined because of the restructuring
- Who is getting their graduation credits
- Kids being able to take
- Advanced art two or three times
- Put them back in English
- Kids needed to take core classes
- Magnet program
- The restructuring really has hurt
- Created this divide
- ROTC or the performing arts
- Who is more important on the schedule battle
- Magnet program
- Reason for declining numbers
- Kids failing and having to take core classes
- Lack of electives
- Importance on test scores
- Divide between core and elective teachers

- Five kids who were honors kids
- An ability to, to comprehend a text, different levels of text
- Related to their lives
- Connected to universal themes
- We're not really, really basic
- Kids kind of sit together
- True honors kids stuck together
- Go further and they can write a better paper
- They had already been held back enough
- Honors kids
- Student ability
- Minimal skill set
- Text-to-world connections
- Accountability
- Expanding the tracks

- CP classes
- More focused on passing the EOC
- More and more of the focus in the restructuring
- English AYP
- Every year it would go up about 12 or 11%
- Meant a new test
- To be harder and include logic and research stuff
- Produce a practice test
- No one can show me practice problems
- Test based accountability
- Year two
- EOC becomes an emphasis
- Lack of materials
- Restructuring focuses on EOC
- EOC is main stage
- Lack of support for test prep
- Rising AYP standard

- 34%, 48%, 57%, 68%
- Really big jumps
- Really bizarre year
- Item analysis
- Rising number of AYP scores
- Unclear process
- Confusion
- Lack of info from state

- No longer does that
- A percentage for what their grades would be
- I don't have any feedback
- Kid got basic or below basic or proficient
- There's not item analysis
- It doesn't help me
- There's almost 90 skills
- I have to do everything really, really well
- A couple options for pre-test
- Stare created pre-test
- Been tested so much during restructuring
- They don't have to take those practice tests
- Doesn't represent them
- "I'm not going to try on them..."
- Feeling really, really settled
- Taking on an intern
- We were a little PLC basically
- Really good curriculum down
- From a curriculum with just a list of standards
- The skills I'm going to cover
- We are going to test them
- for two reason
- I wanted an intern
- Our department really felt negatively about interns
- Few people wanted an intern
- A lot of work
- Overloaded
- Get our kids proficient
- Feel al little burnt out
- Secret room
- Take all your scores
- Gave the test
- I calculated who got proficient
- Got 57%
- "Who have I not given it to?"
- "Don't worry about it"
- We saved the school (sarcasm)
- Do I seem like I saved the school
- We are told
- School is going to close at the end of the 2009-2010
- Benchmarks this past year
- Pre-test options
- Testing
- Test prep
- Student motivation, lack of
- Accountability
- Growth of the curriculum
- This year
- Three years experience
- Teaching to test
- Intern
- Thoughts about intern
- Department views on interns
- Test vs. interns
- Extra effort
- Too much work
- Calculating school grade
- Lack of understanding
- Accountability
- Saving of the school...?
- Scores that we needed
- Closing the school
- Accountability
- Ultimate sanctions
- Testing counts for so much

- Bryant
- Jumbled kind of
- They make us vote on a school wide initiative
- 2011-2012
- TAP
- You cannot choose TAP
- Taken over by the state
- Make you do TAP
- We chose TAP
- No year of pre-implementation
- "Whatever the state assigns you when you get taken over"
- Meeting with the staff
- "this isn't a vote"
- Not everyone voted
- One of 'those' meetings
- Bryant announced at the end of the day
- We had voted on TAP
- Extended contract
- Last days after
- Important year for writing and English
- Algebra I think was like working hard but...
- Given up on algebra
- Started to decrease
- We only made
- Barely over 20% proficient
- Math teachers at TD
- Last two years
- New
- Two math teachers
- Here before the reconstruction
- Not made public
- You know what the other person made
- Never laid before the whole school
- We know exactly what we made
- Switched our classes
- Part of restructuring
- Extended contact
- Work an extra 21 days
- When I realized how much money there was
- Could have been more effectives
- Those days and those times there are so many things

- TAP
- Forced vote
- Timeline of events
- Restructuring
- State takeover
- School initiative
- Bad meeting
- School wide initiative
- TAP
- State takeover
- 2010-2011
- Critique of algebra
- Focus on English and writing
- Test based accountability
- Strategy for satisfying AYP/safe harbor
- Poor scores in algebra
- Math teachers
- Algebra
- Excuses for low math scores
- Teacher effectiveness
- Effectiveness rating
- Public/private knowledge
- Collaboration on test scores
- Extended contract
- Different programs
- Benefits of extended contract
- Contact results in gains made

- PBIS
- Different tutoring programs
- SLCs
- PLCs
- We just had implemented without all that support
- Some of the technical gains
- The second year of Ed Works
- Really, really rough
- We've heard it all before
- Disappear sometime in my second year
- After Xmas
- They had not renewed
- Their contract was not renewed
- We had felt like it wasn't working
- Big part of our
- Grant to pay for what you need to do
- That's costing the county 27 million
- 13 schools
- Calculated into the extra pay
- Masters and mentors
- Extra staff
- Copyrighted system
- Portals
- Trainings
- Very controlled like
- You don't do TAP without doing TAP all the way
- TAPized
- For four years of the programs
- TAP mentor
- Author's purpose and mode
- Guide them
- Structure everything
- Constantly giving them EOC type questions/scenarios
- A lot of work no their part
- Be getting ready to get to higher education
- EOC about mode, audience, and purpose
- Two weeks
- Not autonomous
- Received all these supports
- Administrative assistant
- TAP sort of divides

- Ed Works
- Ed Works leaves
- Ed Works' impact
- Contact ends
- TAP
- Trainings
- Difference in the school
- Cost
- Commitment to TAP
- TAP mentor
- Purpose of teaching
- Benefits of TAP
- Aligning instruction to TAP
- Teaching for the test
- Chances for a TD's graduate success
- Supports for students
- Lack of supports for students after graduation
- Accountability
- Critique of TAP

- Masters and mentors from staff
- I have to, it's my job
- Not getting all the training all I've gotten
- If you knew everything that I knew
- Kids can really learn
- LCS implemented it late
- Behind with their hiring by like three months
- I was supposed to be hired
- Last fall
- Get hiring finished until the summer
- Just been a whirlwind
- All my teachers individually
- We want you to see what's working
- Something is usually working
- Take away their relationships
- Proud about their relationships

- In support of TAP
- Staff divide
- Critique of LCS
- Late implementation
- Value of teaching
- What should be emphasized
- Choice – instruction or relationships

- Structured "do now"
- Was just a bellringer
- Wrote a journal
- Walking about
- Thinking better think
- So it is reinforcing
- Ended with yesterday
- I choose my experts
- Clearly getting them, vocabulary
- You guys are totally successful

- TAP changing instruction
- Gwen's classroom
- Structure of lesson
- Competition in classroom
- Change of culture
- Centered on student learning
- Celebrating learning

- We only need to mess it up for one year
- Wipe all that out
- Only made it by safe harbor
- English and graduation rate
- Graduation rate we only made it by one student
- Margins are precarious
- I don't feel like it means a lot that we made it
- A little bit of the pressure off
- Technical goals
- Graduation went up
- Maybe it is 87%
- 68% proficient
- We have pretty much can't rely on them
- Statistically our children won't be making the 60% this year
- 11th grade writing assessment
- Small piece of the pie

- Test based accountability
- School improvement
- Test targets
- Math vs. English
- Graduation rates
- Can't trust math
- 10th grade EOC vs. Writing test
- Pressure
- High stakes accountability
- Threats
- Progress vs. setbacks

- We can teach
- Our scores matter
- 11th EOC, almost the lowest county
- We are going to make them
- We are just test prep machines
- Before I used to be able to turn off being a teacher
- I'm like that all the time
- Overwhelmed
- I'm consumed by my job
- With an eye towards the future
- Belief in TD
- Test based accountability
- Teacher identity

Kristy – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• Started 2009-2010 as an intern	• Internship
• Three different mentors	• Unusual internship
• Atypical	• Placement
• Typically you have two	• Experience
• One will guide you	• Teacher preparation
• Before I went back to grad school	• Before teaching
• Leigh County Health department	• Professional experience
• Thought about going into education	• Make sure
• Need to experience Leigh County	• Decision making
• As far as bureaucracy	• Fight
• Go into and fight	• Layers of bureaucracy
• 2004 with my bachelors	• Graduation
• English lit degree in 2004	• Undergrad
• I did reception work	• Time frame
• English degree	• Contentment
• Difficult	• Emotions
• Not in education	• Experience
• Worked as a purchaser	• Work experience
• I was unhappy	• Unfulfilled
• Finally sunk in	
• Life is far too short to be unhappy	
• I like the process	• Appealing parts of education
• Process of learning	• Attraction to education
• Process of explanation	• What she gets out of education
• Working with people	• Learning as a process
• Aha moment on kid's face	• Pedagogy
• Highlight of my day	
• Originally stated my undergraduate work	• Original plans in education
• Go into elementary education	• Change of plans
• Terrible instruction at XXX	• Age groups
• First day of class	• Children
• Basically stupid	• Elementary education
• Knew nothing	• First experience in teacher prep program
• Dumbest of the dumb	
• Friend went there	• Friend visit
• Toured the campus	• Inspiration
• Met some of the professors	• Purpose of teaching
• Loved it	• Student centered
• I do love kids	• Love of discipline
• I am glad I have high schoolers	• Female English teacher
• First day of class	• Positive experiences in education
• I cannot learn from this man	

- His style
- He broke everybody down
- I really didn't need to be there
- Weeding out the people
- Amazing woman
- English class
- "That what I want to do and that's how I want to do it"
- 2001
- Alternative ways
- Overly complex and confusing
- Go straight back in and get everything

- I did observations here
- Certain number of observation
- Pre-intern selection
- Everyone I believe actually came here
- I know the "reputation" of TD
- North Ash High School
- False, just like the reputation
- Want to be involved
- Eradicating that reputation
- Working with some truly unique individuals
- Children as well
- They are growing up
- Financial situations
- They are growing up
- Single moms
- Raised by their mothers
- Similar to what I had with a very young mother
- Connected very well
- Different racial situations
- Just doesn't seem to matter
- "Yeah, I was a kid and I was really poor"
- "My mom was a single mom too"
- I connected with these kids
- I was really happy actually
- I could make a difference
- A kid's education
- Make a difference once a year in a kid's educational process
- More than one kids walks away with
- I really learned something

- Decision to go for MEd
- Decision to go to Crocket
- Critique of ATCPs
- Bits and pieces of licensure

- Experiences at TD
- First experience at TD
- Internship placement/selection
- Reputation of TD

- Patti's own educational history
- Educational experience
- Childhood
- Connection to students
- Comparison of educational pasts
- Demographics of students
- Reputation
- Purposeful work

- Getting placed at TD
- Internship selection/placement
- Reaction to TD
- Purpose of teaching
- Defining success in the classroom
- Goal of teaching
- Centered on learning

- Not about literature, but about myself
- That's success
- Going the extra mile
- I wouldn't be where I am
- Go the extra mile
- They really stretch out
- Emotionally supportive to the kids
- Educationally encouraging
- Family environment
- It's mixed
- It's both
- Newer ones
- Some of the older ones
- It's a mix of all of them
- Definitely was not the reconstruction
- Mentor some of the younger teachers
- "this is how you can really get these kids engaged"
- We teach fall once class
- Mentor was Floyd
- Absolutely no more different, night and day
- Personality wise
- Fly-by-the-seat-of his-ants
- Collaboration
- Organization
- Clip board
- Many different styles of writing
- Very engaged
- Did presentations
- Beautiful creation
- My third year teaching
- AP writing seminar
- Not college board
- Elective writing seminar class
- `11th grade AP
- It's now a mix of different grades
- Let me come in
- Got really lucky
- Take over and let go
- Spring semester
- Change and turnaround
- Teaching 9th grade
- Growing as a person over academic material
- Dedication of TD's teachers
- Teacher support
- Support for Patti
- School culture
- School community
- Intrinsic desire
- Wanting to get back
- Helping younger teachers
- Mentor
- Community
- No staff divide
- Working with Floyd
- Comparing Floyd to Patti
- Feeling comfortable
- Collaborative effort
- Positive student response
- Teaching class
- Kids in the class
- Ability levels
- About Floyd
- Authority
- Empowering Patti
- Freedom
- Internship experience
- New class
- Internship challenges
- Lack of guidance

- 11th grade with Marie
- Word of the days
- Independent book projects
- No ordained schedule
- Focus on poetry

- Collaboration with fellow interns
- Freedom of content selection
- Authority
- Intern centered

- A lot of energy
- Aren't ready
- Co-interns
- My savior
- Illnesses and family issues
- Different world
- Supposed to be structured
- More paced
- A state EOC

- About 9th grade
- Teaching 9th graders
- Lack of support
- No mentor
- Relying on interns

- Something hanging over my head
- No access to it
- I did feel pressured
- Ultimately was great
- Kids did fantastic
- They knew the skills
- The pressure actually came
- Someone else's name was associated with it (the scores)
- I was the intern
- Teacher of record
- It follows her or him
- Responsibility
- Mar or wreck something
- Otherwise fantastic

- Test pressure
- Accountability
- Keep scores with mentor
- Doing it for the mentor
- Measuring student learning

- Kids were smart enough
- They would pass
- Barely passed
- I always felt pressure
- EOC
- Valued added
- TVASS
- None of that was ever explained during the internship
- Proud of them

- About the test
- Confidence of kids' ability levels
- Lack of knowledge about tests
- Types of tests/accountability
- Pressure
- Belief in students

- I found out before may
- Extremely nerve wracking
- (Identification of interviewers' name omitted for confidentiality)
- Finally made it in there

- Job offer
- From intern to teacher
- Recognition
- Interview
- Competition

- Having to be flexible
- Bryant said
- Giving a list minute "oh by the way"
- If a student fails
- Where does the responsibility lie
- Collaboration because education is an active, participant arena
- Can't be inactive
- You have to engage
- Up to the teacher
- Have a good relationship
- Build that relationship
- Get that education
- "salting the oats"
- I felt comfortable
- Met with all of them so many times
- Didn't feel confident
- Great relationships

- Competing for jobs
- Fellow interns
- Interview
- Question during the interview
- Support of student
- Who is accountable
- Relationships

- Odd
- Good relationship
- You want them to have the opportunity
- Were my kids' scores higher
- Healthy competition

- Competing against interns
- Jobs
- Competition
- Pros and cons

- Like the final day
- Need someone to go to PD
- Getting certified to teach AP literature
- Entire summer or doing a training or a meeting
- Unscheduled in-service hours
- Could have spread it out
- 70 unscheduled in-service hours
- Over one school year
- Three years' worth
- Got 40 alone for the AP training
- Actually getting the room reading
- Getting it prepped

- After getting the job
- Reaction to the job
- Responsibilities for the summer
- Busy summer (2010)
- Training
- Lack of payment
- Unscheduled in-service hours

- Everybody comes back early
- Had three or four extra days
- Didn't come back the full 10

- Extended contract
- 10 days

- We know it's out there
- Don't think it will happen
- General attitude
- It exists
- Everyone is confident it won't occur

- Accountability
- School threats
- Communication
- State takeover
- Lack of happening

- PD meetings
- Staff meetings
- SLCs meeting
- State takeover
- Nobody knows
- The biggest problem
- Nobody knew what that means
- Losing our jobs
- Reapplying again
- Complete overhaul of the status quo
- No one could really tell us
- They didn't communicate with us

- Won't likely happen
- Lack of communication
- Understanding the threats
- Lack of defined threats

- AYP benchmarks
- Writing
- Algebra I
- 90% proficient
- English II was over 90% proficient
- The 11th grade writing assignment was around 89
- Graduation rate
- They wanted it to be 90%

- Benchmarks
- Targets
- What scores are needed
- Writing
- AYP
- Numbers

- Taught seniors last year
- Graduation rate was the big thing
- Get through the class and get out
- Final kids
- Just under 90%
- We squeaked by, like 88%
- Didn't affect the instruction
- I communicated the situation
- They had a responsibility
- Younger brothers and sisters
- All to attend her
- They had a bargain
- Part of that bargain

- Patti's teaching experience
- Teaching senior English
- In the classroom
- Impact of graduation rate
- Instruction
- Student involvement

- I do not feel it should substitute my class
- If you fail in the fall…
- You take it in the spring
- Take it over
- It's a cake walk
- They write
- Overly structured
- A freshmen could write them
- Classes are workbooks
- Analyzing text

- Critique of Credit Recovery
- Lack of rigor
- Does not equal a teacher's class
- Pressure of graduation rate
- Version of school reform
- Not preparing kids
- Focusing on test skills

- We actually do to pass the class
- Normal classroom environment
- A lesser version of it
- Allowed the credit
- Tutoring Thursday list
- Every two weeks
- Six last fall, five in the spring
- D and F list
- English IV
- Top priority
- Stayed on them like hawks
- All missing assignments
- Did very poorly on an assignment
- Gain and half the missing credit back
- Reassess the skills
- Redo the work
- Focus on the kids
- Failing or in danger of failing
- Special request made by the teacher
- Make up a test
- Roughly an hour
- Your room
- Get settled fast enough
- Abbreviated schedule on Thursdays
- Classes are shortened
- Teacher has all the specific work
- Sit down and focus
- You need extra tutoring
- Either say… hang out in the cafeteria
- You walk
- Make up essays
- Get the one-on-one time
- Kids that are just missing work
- Nothing more than a make-up session
- "do your missing work"
- Announced it
- Different people would walk in
- Meetings as the end of the school year
- Speculative
- We did well enough
- We'd be clear
- Every meeting it was reiterated
- We were safe
- Happy and relieved
- Positive school reform
- Focus on learning
- Support from administration
- Cross curricular effort
- Change of school schedule
- Monitor students
- Focus on accountability classes (like English IV)
- Maximizing time
- Dealing with kids who are not in Tutoring Thursday but are in the school
- Benefits of Tutoring Thursday
- Giving students what they need
- TD making AYP
- Being freed of accountability
- Communication of success
- Lack of celebration

- First five times we hear it
- About the fifteenth
- One big joke
- Everybody kept saying it over and over again
- Graduation rate really doesn't get talked about
- Graduation ceremony
- Abysmal
- Doesn't bother me
- 10th grade does not get the kudos they need or deserve
- I hear that from people who teach 10th grade
- Don't knit pick
- 11th grade has such massive gains
- Past four years
- Lot of accolades
- Teachers responsible for TD's success
- Different classes
- Accountability measures
- Raising the scores TD must hit
- 75% of our time getting them to write
- Skills work
- Not writing in 10th grade
- Curriculum suffers
- Content suffers
- Narrowing on the curriculum
- How gains were earned
- Writing
- Focusing on tested skills
- They don't know what
- Real confusion
- Nothing but skills for one year
- Nothing but writing for another year
- Combine those skills
- Content
- Still have to write
- 11th grade is straight persuasive essay, five paragraph
- Analytical
- Let's look at characterization
- Good bit to adjust
- How Patti receives kids
- Breaking the narrowed curriculum cycle
- English IV
- Focus on writing
- Integrating skills
- Break into my room
- Leave me notes
- Behavior wise
- So naturally, uh, structured
- Your cell phone
- Don't interrupt your professor
- 300 people in an auditorium
- It's silent
- Nobody is talking
- Taking notes
- Really positive
- After they leave Patti's class
- College bound
- Student reports
- Student visit
- Patti feels good

- I felt good last year
- Exhausted
- But also good
- Very difficult
- Overwhelming spring
- Mixed bag
- 50% proficient
- There's no fundamental, basic CP
- Just English IV
- Difference now
- Be able to serve our kids
- Lower level class
- Give you more one-on-one
- There's only CP
- Differentiate to a point
- Kids really need that one-on-one help
- Differentiation alone is not sufficient
- Schedules
- Class size
- SIG grant
- She gave an estimate
- All the data
- Found what we needed
- She worked a lot on it
- Grant-type issue
- We left on good terms
- We've gotten back together
- School-wide writing initiative
- Unscheduled in-service
- You taught English III
- Science teachers
- Math teachers
- General template
- I created Powerpoints
- We sent out handouts
- Professional development
- Borrow her giant book from this training
- Carmen
- I stooped
- That was her deal
- New person
- So I just ceased
- Still feeling out the situation
- Delay
- Summer after first year
- Tired
- Rejuvenation
- Student success on EOC
- How Gwen was feeling
- Un-collapsing the tracks
- Student ability
- Collapsing tracks
- Impact on instruction
- Student ability levels
- Differentiation
- Carmen's role in the school
- Money
- Support for students
- Data analysis
- Writing handbook
- Change of administrators
- First draft
- Writing groups
- PLC
- Teachers teaching teachers
- Writing initiative
- Carmen's replacement

- Becomes frustrating
- TAP came in
- New organizational tool, structuring tool
- Almost everybody that was involved with TAP
- Out of the building
- Two weeks
- Getting sparse information
- Pro-active
- Were out of the loop
- Getting prom things going
- Involvement early
- 12
- 7 are TAP mentor or master teachers
- Five how are not
- Frustrating days
- Difficult time communicating
- Be pulled out for TAP stuff
- They'll be sent here for TAP training
- Can't meet
- Our department can't get together
- If we want to collaborate
- Keep my relationships
- My kids
- Do what needs to be done
- I'm not worried
- May not fit every teachers' style
- That complete structure
- We talk about the objective
- Certain stipulations
- I truly don't know
- Tuesday for an hour
- Tuesday or Thursday
- Depending on your schedules
- Just an hour
- They're good
- Extreme pace
- I've digested what has occurred from one week
- Rubrics at a pace
- Moving straight through the next section
- People don't deal with change
- Too much too quick
- Implementation year

- TAP
- Critique of TAP
- How Patti was impacted
- School delays
- Over involvement
- Delaying planning of school events
- Too many people in it
- Impact on department
- Unable to communicate
- Frustration

- TAP in the classroom
- Frustrations
- Severe relationships with students

- TAP trainings
- Pace of training
- Critique of training

- Just implementation
- Straight on it
- Critique on me
- We getting our checks
- Evaluating me correctly
- How I am going to be then reviewed or evaluated?
- Evaluated on the 16th
- Still haven't talked to anybody
- Old LCS system of 48 hours
- Boom
- Meet with your evaluator
- You talk about it
- The scripts
- Having to request
- Request your scripts
- Not just being provided
- Prior to sitting down with you
- Wanting to go back to your mentor
- I don't like how it's being presented
- Implementing TAP
- Implementation year
- Teachers are trained
- Critique of Patti's first observation
- Unfair evaluation
- No response
- TAP people are not yet trained
- Being trained while implementing

Bobby – In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Code Chart

In Vivo Codes	Sociologically Constructed Codes
• 2007 I graduated from college	• Spring 07
• Been volunteering at a non profit	• Building experience
• Helping them interpret poetry	• First experience with education
• Short stories	• Afterschool
• English Language and Literature	• Focus on student academic
• Just an English degree	
• Majored in that	
• Volunteering there	
• Needed somebody to run their afterschool program and field trips	
• I accepted	
• I worked with students on writing	
• Supporting students	
• I was dissatisfied	• Didn't enjoy job
• Work that was being don there	• Strains of job
• Write with students	• Critique of Bobby by non-profit
• Projects	• Rock concert
• Focused on working with teenagers	• Youth advisory board
• Youth advisory board	• Likes working with teens
• Group of teenagers	
• Advised our organization	
• Teen centered	
• Student centered things	
• Listening to their ideas	
• Taking their ideas and helping them develop things into programs	
• Rock concert	
• Raised money	
• I was really good working with students	• Deciding to leave the non-profit
• Good rapport	• Return to school
• I didn't have any training in education	• Lack of credentials
• "You've never studied these things"	• I'll show them
• To become a teacher in WA	• Listen to me
• Go to a program and become a teacher	
• I passed those [teaching] tests	
• It was in the back of my head	
• Becoming a teacher	
• Growing up here	• Decision to move to Henley
• Mom was involved	• Family
• Youth and teenagers	• Returning home
• Worked at a Boys and Girls club	• Comparing Henley to Pike
• Poverty that was in Henley	• Resources

- State of education
- Debates
- All these amazing resources
- Progressive educational place
- I was kind of interested in coming back
- Hills High School
- Textbook most days
- Read classic authors
- Reading YA books
- Not heavily emphasized
- Lack of kind of alternative education places
- It was really limited
- Unemployed for a little while
- Huntington learning centers
- Person who runs their tutoring room
- Basically convincing people that couldn't afford it
- Their kid would become a better reader
- Complete bullshit
- Kids didn't seem to enjoy it
- It just did not feel good
- About parents
- Second mortgages
- You can't just have them read a book?
- It was just a horrible situation; I quit
- I need to do something
- Before the application was due
- Grad school
- Advance in the workforce
- Be taken seriously
- Be a professional
- Earn my master's in education
- I applied to a program
- Space to talk
- Type of school
- Thinking about and worrying about
- Credentialed
- I chose to go to TD
- Interview process for schools
- Couldn't get together there
- Organization reason
- I wanted to be at a school… like TD
- Low-income school
- Non-traditional learners
- Reasons to return home
- Reflections on growing up
- Bobby's own high school education
- Being a student
- Privilege
- Meaning of teaching
- Critique of Hills High School
- Bobby's return to Henley
- Being unemployed
- Finding employment
- Bobby's soul/integrity
- Lack of satisfaction
- Coercion of parents
- Money
- Unemployed again
- Returning to school
- Becoming motivated
- Finding place
- Interning at TD
- Coming to TD
- Selecting TD
- Role of education
- Power of education
- How education can help low-income people

- Aware of like these inequalities in education
- Education being able to change or offset some of the inequalities
- American democracy
- Empower individuals
- Herding cattle
- Herding cattle
- Kids are going to college
- Taking a year or two off to travel
- Very traditional
- Wanting to serve low-income students
- Politics
- Critique of Hills High School

- I was excited
- Teaching alternative texts
- Being open to graphic novels
- Using music at all
- Movies
- Pretty exciting
- I was wanted, it felt like
- Felt good
- I was back on track
- I was really directionless for a while
- I was kind of directionless
- I was back on track
- Working in education again
- Working with students
- It felt good
- Going to TD
- Internship
- Starting internship
- Finding meaning
- Gaining direction in life
- Becoming a professional
- Passion for the job
- Alternative texts

- A few surprising things
- Sitting in meetings
- Kind of surprised
- Bureaucratic nature of it
- I had a notebook
- Talking about students
- Very first day we are there
- We have an hour in the classroom
- Milling about
- People haven't seen each other all summer
- Catching up
- Powerpoint
- Carmen , Bryant
- Tests last year
- Where does that put us
- Very positive like our student are improving
- Cherry picked
- Things that we didn't do very well were downplayed
- First day at TD
- Data
- First experience
- Pre-planning
- Test scores
- Low test scores
- Picking best test scores
- Making a negative into a positive
- Public relations
- Selling the scores
- Tracking improvement
- Focusing on improvement

- We're teachers
- Like public relations
- Pitching us these
- Success stories
- Test scores are very low still
- We're succeeding, we're doing better
- English II AYP EOC scores improvement
- To move away from the "list"
- We are on the "list"
- Explained over the next week or so
- Different meetings with us
- Can be taken over by the state
- You're taken over by the state
- Very vague
- Would lose their jobs
- Some people would
- We need to continue
- Maybe another restructuring
- New testing goals
- We had a series
- Two of three
- Before school started
- Was able to talk
- He was able to cut a deal with the state
- Our attendance
- Our graduation rates
- 11th grade writing assessment
- We would be spared
- Explained to us
- New goals
- This year
- We were hitting them
- We were doing
- We needed to do
- Our new goal
- Graduation rate
- Attendance rate
- 11th grade writing assessment
- Business as usual
- English department
- No other academic department
- Had that type of goal placed on them
- About state takeover
- Restructuring repeat
- Uncertainty
- Lack of communication
- Superintendent
- Deal cutting
- State oversight
- Accountability
- Credit to the superintendent (not!)
- Benchmarks to hit
- 2010-2011
- New goals
- Uncertainty
- Benchmarks
- Threat of takeover
- Threat
- Teachers' response to threat
- How teachers respond
- Used to it
- Pressure
- English department
- School riding on the English department

- "low hanging fruit"
- It was writing scores are easy
- Kids a writing formula
- Scored highly

- Reason for benchmark
- Metaphor

- I'm teaching English III CP
- Junior English
- Two junior classes
- You're either English III CP or you're in AP English
- Given a block
- 11th grade English
- An intern and mentor supporting those students
- I was told
- Interns teach
- Help teach
- Should be 11th grade
- There would be two people

- Bobby's teaching assignment
- Internship
- Working with Marie
- Teaching assignment
- Rigor of classes
- Tracking of students
- Improving student enrollment in higher classes
- Bobby's placement
- Why Bobby is teaching English III with Marie

- Comfortable supporting students
- I was very comfortable
- Relationship around writing
- It's my philosophy
- Teaching philosophy
- Your team
- Your side
- Throw them under the bus
- That is grading
- Showing them that they can be academically successful
- A lot of experience
- Reluctant writers in Pike
- Didn't view themselves as writings
- Like ways
- Processed the world
- Confidence up
- Get a kid to write
- Your team
- Comfortable sharing their writing

- Teaching writing
- Working with students
- Offering feedback
- Student-teacher relationships
- Bobby's emotions towards teaching
- Background experience, benefits of
- Developing student writing
- Trust
- Building relationships

- I felt confident
- Working on writing
- Forget about the standards
- Teach persuasive writing
- Our number one concern
- Get this score

- Parts of writing
- Working with students
- Confidence in teaching writing
- Prioritize writing

- Accountability pressures

- TD needed to pass
- 90% of our students needed to be proficient
- Prioritize writing instruction about anything else
- EOC scores were unimportant
- Irrelevant to the writing assessment

- Prioritize writing
- Impact of writing on curriculum
- Huge emphasis on writing

- Taken over by the staff
- Achievement school district
- What does that mean?
- Not our community school anymore
- They talked about that
- We want to keep this in the community

- State takeover
- Threat
- Accountability
- Restructuring
- Communication

- We read
- We didn't read a lot of literature
- We read *The Crucible*
- The only thing we read all of the fall
- Took a month on that

- Literature instruction
- Lack of instruction
- Emphasis on writing

- Were the tests
- That date was shared
- We will come
- Somebody will come and knock on your door
- Get you out of bed
- You to take this assessment
- Kick ass on this assessment

- Test Day
- Tests
- Standardized
- Preparation
- Prepared
- Getting kids to school
- Dedication
- Importance of test day

- Carmen reconfigured 11th grade English
- Focus on just 11th grade English
- Yearlong classes
- Full semester of English
- Writing before the assessment

- Schedule reconfiguration
- Emphasis on writing prep
- Time in class

- We went to a writing formula
- Entire faculty
- Based on their approach to writing
- This is how you write a persuasive essay
- A hook
- Grabs reader's attention
- A little narrative
- A little anecdote
- Linking sentence
- Relates to your thesis
- Thesis statement
- Way to write an essay
- Write two paragraphs
- On-line grading

- Writing preparation
- School initiative
- Everybody is teaching writing
- Parts of the five paragraph essay
- Formulaic approach to writing
- Everybody can write ☺
- Criterion
- Whole school initiative

- Criterion
- Every single class
- You had to write
- Dissatisfaction
- Openly talk about how they did not know
- Did not know how to help students with this
- Not what they were trained to do
- There was PD offered
- Spend PD time
- Break up into groups
- Writing groups
- Helping them with their grading
- Kids had to write two essays
- We are doing something similar again
- 2011-2012
- It worked so well
- Teaching writing the same way
- Formulaic coached writing
- Push back on
- Creative writing activity
- Confuse our kids
- Add too much
- Perception of what writing was
- We did journals
- Free writes on topics
- Like having a picture
- Two to four times depending
- Bellringer
- Different types of things for them to write
- Bit of writing poetry
- I'm feeling good
- December all feeling good
- We don't do anything else but writing
- Breaking kids up into two groups and we are just writing
- Practicing writing
- We wrote
- Good because we were writing
- Showed me their essay
- I knew, I could tell
- I didn't even need them to write an essay
- They still had problems
- They were all writing proficiently
- We've probably already brainstormed
- Teacher response to writing initiative
- English teachers vs. other teachers
- Staff division (by discipline)
- Responsibility for writing instruction
- Supporting non-English teachers
- Full school initiative
- PLCs
- PD
- School initiative
- Everybody is responsible for writing
- Writing requirement
- Accountability
- Confusing kids
- KISS principle
- Push back
- Persuasive writing ONLY!
- Creative writing
- Journal
- Frequency of journals
- Journals as part of class instruction
- Test Day
- Preparation for test day
- Confidence
- Hay is in the barn
- Leading up to test day
- Before/after winter break
- Knowing students
- Prompt practice

- Assessing their facebook or twitter accounts
- We've written something similar
- Looked at each other and smiled
- Our kids are going to rock this
- Proficient in writing
- Out of my 28 students
- Only one did not pass
- She got a three
- One point away
- I had a lot fours
- Lowest level of proficiency
- Four and above is proficient
- Below is a, is a deficient
- Needed to hit
- Pleased with themselves
- Made me feel good
- Feel good about thins
- She didn't care
- Chronic absences
- Just kind of turned
- Being jubilant over meeting the scores
- Didn't really care
- General sense that…
- We did a good job
- Did what we needed to do
- Congratulations
- Came up to me
- Said stuff to me
- Made me feel nice
- "Congratulations, those were your scores too"
- There was recognition
- Making you teach
- "we got our goal"
- A lot of good work
- I got hired
- I think my work towards them
- Carmen never saw me teach
- A walk through initiative
- Did not do a very good job
- Being very consistent
- August through October
- October on, not so much
- It was a little icebreaker
- I get a phone call
- Test results
- Lack of celebration
- Satisfaction
- Student results
- Scores
- Results are in
- Qualifying scores
- Scoring rubric
- Reactions (lack of)
- Teacher reaction
- Scores
- Freed of accountability (maybe)
- TD's reaction
- Bobby gets a job
- Working at TD
- Administrative support
- Initiatives
- Unsustained initiatives
- Critique of administration
- Banner leaving
- New person taking over

- Let's get together Friday
- She's gone
- Voice recorded message
- New principal at Holmes High School
- As an assistant principal
- Last day of school
- Introduced him
- About halfway
- "Well, I just found out that I'm the new curriculum principal last night"
- "Apparently, I got a phone call right after you guys did"
- New curriculum principal
- We leave
- We come back Monday
- It's very disorganized
- There is no kind of state of the school
- Lack of sustained leadership
- Critique of LCS's move of changing leadership
- How Bobby was informed
- Anger, resentment
- Change of culture
- Lack of data
- Unpreparedness

- Worked in my classroom
- I get paid 10 extra days more
- Was a waste of time
- Sporadic meetings
- Ha, ha
- Waste of extended contract
- Burning time
- Not working
- Killing time

- State takeover
- We've been told we are off the list
- Just very vague
- Different lists that we can possibly be on
- We were told to hit 95% on the writing test
- Three things, or four things, or 20 things
- Stay away from state takeover
- 95 was a lot of hard work
- Pressure has been
- Keep doing
- How are we doing to repeat 95% proficiency again?
- He doesn't know that is what we did
- 11th grade does not read literature
- Continuing the yearlong schedule
- Next year will be better
- He said "new year will be better. I'm still trying to figure this out. Next year will be better."
- I mean, it's a formula
- Practice the formula
- Off the list
- Freed from accountability demands
- Lack of communication
- New accountability demands
- Same accountability demands
- Change
- Drive for scores
- Change of leadership

Appendix H. Categorization of Each Participants' In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes.

Categorization of Carmen's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Challenges of Restructuring		Previous Experience before TD		Taking Leadership of TD's Restructuring	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Last year was a living hell • Most difficult thing I have ever done in my career • Dealing with change • Grand scale • They didn't really want me to come out here (TD) • They wanted me to work with the existing principal…away from the school • Right before Christmas • To the superintendent "I can't accomplish this job if I can't go to the school." • I've been to the school once • I can't do this unless I can go out	• Isolation • Negative working situation with TD Principal • Isolation • Inadequate • Handicapped • Lack of cooperation • Distanced • High expectations • Pressures • Frustration • Had to be resourceful • Independent • Unsupported • Old vs. New TD	• High performing schools • I came into this with a set of beliefs about schools • Emulate the things I did in high performing schools • Bulk of my career was spent in South Florida • School had 2600 students • Number three in the world in IB diplomas • They were number 34 in the News Week ranking of public high schools • Assistant principal of curriculum • Responsible for	• Low vs. High Performing Schools • Expectations • Background experience • High performing schools • Before TD • Experience as English teacher • 1995-2001 • Background experience • Life as a professional • AP and IB Schools • Schools as ranking • Test scores for school identity • Reason for move • Personal • Family • At Hills High School	• A phone call one day from the superintendent • Asked me to come down to talk with him • An opportunity he wanted to discuss with me • Donna Wright – assistant superintendent of curriculum and instruction • Donne knew that I had… extensive curriculum experience • "Would you be interested in doing this? ... Redesigning a school, they are going to reconstitute." • Immediately thought "this is a	• Not challenging • Unsatisfied • TD Job offer/transfer • Carmen transitions to TD • Excitement • Change • Something new • Eager to work • Fate • Arriving at TD • Isolation • Negative working situation with TD Principal • Carmen moves to TD • Isolation • Inadequate • Handicapped • Lack of cooperation • Distanced • First workspace at TD • Isolation

to the school
- It's just an impossibility
- Downstairs
- Principal put me out in the performing arts workroom
- A little office
- Very quiet workspace
- Good workspace
- I had to get a computer down there
- I had to get everything
- He (the principal) would come down there periodically
- I was really frustrated
- Been sent here to change a school by myself
- I felt extremely isolated
- Pressure to get this job done
- Feeling pressure
- No really getting any support at all, at all

all the curriculum and instruction
- I started there in 1995 as a (English) teacher
- Taught 10th grade English and AP English
- We were number 34
- Dropped to number 72
- A formulaic thing
- I gave 1700 AP exams and 1800 IB exams
- Very high performing school
- Free/reduced lunch was probably 10%
- I was from here
- Mother was elderly and very ill
- Keep making trips
- Finally decided to just move
- 2006 was my first year in Leigh County
- Hills high school

- New role at Hills
- Career experience
- Came to LCS with job
- Similar to previous experience

challenge"
- "The stars were aligned"
- I was looking for a challenge in my career
- The timing was perfect, it was perfect
- I said "let me think about it"
- I came back and said "yes"
- I came here the end of November 2007
- I started.
- Created an office down at central office
- The superintendent's office was vacant
- April
- Principal was removed
- Bryant was put in overnight
- Friday he was removed and on the Monday Bryant was here
- Move up here

- Lack of support
- Learning TD
- Distanced
- High expectations
- Pressures
- Frustration
- Had to be resourceful
- Independent
- Unsupported
- Culture of TD
- Move to front office
- Summer of 2008
- Resistant of change
- A new beginning
- In control
- Power shift
- Secretive
- Compartmentalized

- Getting the school turned around as quickly as possible
- They never could give me an exact time (for improvement)
- Why can't somebody say "You need to do X, Y, and Z. Here is your percentages. Here is your benchmarks. He is your targets. If you don't do this, you don't make AYP."
- Discovering over the summer that TD was a very closed culture
- What goes on at TD stays at TD
- Silos of control
- Little fiefdoms that people had
- Didn't want to let go of them
- Very secretive
- No one wanted to share
- Total distrust
- We are planning,
- A high performing school
- I wanted to be in another high performing school
- That was all I knew
- I came here because I knew I had been hired by Hills HS
- I spent a year there
- A slightly different role
- I was extremely bored, extremely bored
- I didn't do curriculum there
- Assistant principal
- I worked with… 9th graders
- No challenge to it
- It was just very boring
- School year starts
- Last year was a living hell
- Turmoil
- Even more chaotic

we are doing school
- It should never be done this way
- 18 months to plan before you ever start this process
- Very resistant
- Shooting in the dark
- Cut scores
- If I knew the cut scores, I would know right now exactly how many kids
- I would know exactly where we stood
- No idea where we stand
- We are scrambling
- Get a handle on who, who your team is
- Strengths, weaknesses, responsibilities

Staff Response to School Restructuring

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Not really sure • A lot of turmoil • Faculty knew that there was going to be a reconstitution • Things were getting pretty hot out here • People didn't know what was going to happen to their careers • He didn't want to throw me out here in the middle of all this uncertainty • No idea what we are doing • Lot of anxiety, a lot of anxiety, particularly that Monday morning • All these representatives from district • Tell the staff • Your new principal Bryant • Quite an uproar • People were angry • "Why are you doing	• "Saving" Carmen from negativity • Leadership change • Anger • Uncertainty • Lack of communication to teachers • Staff kept in the dark • Anger • Change was poorly received • Sympathy for staff • Massive change • Quick change • Teachers were uniformed • Fired Administrative teams were professional • Collaboration • Professionalism

Support

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• "You have my blessing" (said the superintendent) • I came out here • Central office brought in a consulting firm • Ed Works Partners • Offshoot of Knowledge works • Funded through Bill and Melinda Gates Funds • Asked (principal) and me…would you want to use them as a consultant to help in the redesign • In February I got a call • "Would you like to have some help?" • "Would you like me to send Satan?" "I would have said yes." • Sitting down there	• Lack of support • Enter Ed Works • Choice • Help/support • Ends Isolation? • Pressure to improve school performance • Time expectation • Help • Isolation • Brainstorm • Retired curriculum principal • LCS people sent in during reconstitution

State Assessment of Schools

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Wait and see how many low performing schools • You move along a continuum as you get closer to 2014 • You get to a point where you have state takeover • Very costly, very costly • Look over all the schools in the state • They cannot give us the cut scores • We won't know until June or July what the cut scores are • They know • If they don't make improvement in those schools, the next step is state takeover • There's a lot of politics • I think a lot has to	• Information from the State and Central office • Lack of information • Murky • Unclear expectations • Money • Overall perspective • Carmen want specifics • Ambiguity • Lack of clarity • Secretive • Cut scores • Wants information • Distrust • Threats/punishments • Test-based accountability • Progress monitoring • Cut scores • State is secretive • Manipulation • Lack of

this?"
- "Not what you said you were going to do."
- (Said) to the district folks
- Very little, very little
- People were pretty upset
- People had nasty things to say
- "Great, I didn't want to be here anyway"
- A variety of things
- Thankful they had a job
- Very professional
- No animosity
- Impressed
- Kept it all the way through to the end

by myself
- Nobody to talk to
- Nobody to bounce ideas off of
- They sent a retired curriculum principal
- Start moving and grooving on plans and work

do with the state
- The state is very funny about giving you exact numbers
- What are my percentages?
- My opinion, totally my opinion
- Over the last couple of years
- Because of money and politics

information
- Authority of the state

Process of Reconstitution

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We reconstituted • Two weeks later we had to give letters to everyone on the staff	• Lack of teacher knowledge of restructuring • Carmen's physical location

Guidance Department

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Master schedule • Guidance counselor who ended up staying • Passive	• Critique of the Guidance Department • Master schedule • Resistant

Collapsing the Tracks

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We eliminated all fundamental level classes • All fundamental classes	• Collapsing of the academic tracks • English examples • Tracking of students

- Their position, they were being let go
- Had the opportunity to reapply for their job
- No guarantee they would get it
- Could certainly reapply
- First of May, the middle of May
- Started interviewing
- Interviewed 100, approximately, 100 people within a three week period
- Just boom, boom, boom
- Supervisor recommendations
- Knew nothing of the existing teacher other than test scores
- Teacher's students' test scores and TVAS
- I would rely on supervisors recommendations
- We asked every candidate (the same question)
- Reconstitution begins
- Staff interviews
- Fast pace
- Lack of knowledge about staff members
- Uncharted territory for LCS
- Test scores
- Strangers
- Unpleasant situation
- High pressure
- Interview process
- Interview question
- Responses
- What is rigor
- Carmen gives her definition for rigor
- Rigor and Relevance
- Higher order thinking skills
- Teachers were not effective
- 2007-2008 school year ends
- Regret
- Mulligans
- aggressive
- Very much against it
- This little kingdom where she would barter
- "You want 4th block plan?"
- Give her friends
- Creating a schedule based on her friends
- Now what was best for the school
- Power
- She controlled the schedule
- She told me "the principal didn't know enough to know what was good or what was bad."
- She had been here six years
- First year, it was a living hell
- Dealing with the counseling office
- I started digging, and digging, and digging
- I did an audit on
- One specific guidance counselor
- Bartering
- Not focusing on students
- Control
- Culture of advising
- Guidance Counselor story II
- Poor scheduling
- Students wouldn't graduate because of scheduling
- Incompetent guidance department
- Carmen explores
- Is it worth finding errors in the past?
- Report found errors
- Deal with it
- Fix it
- Improve the department
- Carmen's findings
- Change
- Correcting the problem
- Different levels in Leigh County
- Fundamental English I, which was low, low, low
- Regular English
- College prep English
- Honors English
- Once a fundie, always a fudnie
- You were never going to get out of that
- Same diploma
- Don't get the same exposure to curriculum
- Most of those kids (fundies) were very low kids or weren't motivated
- Didn't have the ability at all
- Never been expected to do anything
- We eliminated all fundamental classes
- We eliminated fundamental and honors
- Implications for life chances
- Lack of expectations
- Forced differentiated instruction on teachers
- Collapsing of the academic tracks
- English examples
- Tracking of students
- Implications for life chances
- Lack of expectations
- Low number of honor kids
- Teaming in high school
- Collaboration between teachers
- What is best for students
- Higher expectations
- Public push back

- *How do you define rigor and what does that mean to you?*
- "To give more work"
- "To give extra homework"
- People that gave that response didn't get rehired
- "It doesn't mean to give more work, it means to go deeper"
- In a nutshell, that it did mean going deeper
- It was quality more than quantity
- The curriculum here is very long
- It needs to be much deeper
- What I was listening for
- Rigor and relevance
- Relevancy in terms of making the instruction relevant to their lives or to the work world
- Grab on and understand
- Total chaos
- Heart for the suffering
- Sympathy
- Unorganized
- Informing teachers about their jobs
- Regret
- Impersonal
- End of school year
- Support from County
- Teacher reaction – anger
- Grateful to be rehired
- Process of reconstitution
- Ugly to watch the sausage be made
- Impersonal
- Business centered
- Process of informing
- Resentful
- Teacher responses
- Final count of reconstitution
- Would have fired more student transcripts
- Finding mistake after mistake after mistake
- I did an audit on the seniors
- Found 53 egregious errors
- Would have kept kids from graduating
- Second semester of their senior year
- Never had algebra I
- Graduation requirement
- I could prove it
- I shared this with her (supervisor of guidance)
- "I don't want to know about it"
- The graduation rate has been inflated
- You're going to fix it
- "I don't want to know about it"
- That that day was over
- Unreliable Graduation Rate
- Change in guidance
- Guidance serving kids
- Fired the bad counselor
- Improved guidance department
- Student centered
- Anger
- Students were not served
- Pressure to improve situation
- LCS authority
- Lack of care for students
- Care for students
- A guide renaissance
- The master schedule
- Rush to get the master schedule completed
- Guidance office fell through
- Carmen had to create it
- Everybody was going to take college prep
- 18 children in honors out of the whole freshmen class
- My argument
- There has to got to be more kids (in honors)
- Test scores
- More kids need exposure to this level (CP)
- Eliminate fundamental, eliminate honors
- Tweaked… course offerings
- All levels in once class
- (Teachers) had to really differentiate their instruction
- Not to the extent we'd like them
- We've done a lot professional development on differentiation
- Some of them do it very well

- I felt at such a disadvantage
- I knew none of these people
- If there was someone just suffering miserably
- I would know my teachers
- Internal angst
- I would comfort
- A complete disadvantage
- Came the day
- Selected all our teachers
- They got letters
- A person out of human resources
- Second to last day of school
- Gave them all envelopes
- Library
- "You been rehired"
- "You not been rehired"
- If I knew then what I know now
- Never allowed that kind of process
- Very impersonal
- Regrets/do over
- Background info about reconstitution
- Administrative input
- Collaboration
- Pressure to get the jobs filled
- Right before Christmas
- Finding all these errors
- Kids who had had geometry twice.
- They had sat through geometry twice, passed it both times.
- Didn't have the required courses they needed to graduate
- "53 kids will not graduate unless the problems are corrected"
- Blown away
- It went all the way to the superintendent
- "This will be fixed, every one of them will be corrected."
- "No child will not graduate from his this high school do to your error"
- "No child will be penalized because of this counselor's
- Long days
- LCS was upset
- Primarily the new ones (differentiate their instruction)
- We could add honors back

- It didn't sit well with me
- Too bad, so sad
- Not rehired
- We rehired 60% old
- Let 40% go
- I would have done that completely opposite
- Would have had more new teachers
- I would have kept 30 to 40% old
- The rest new
- Bryant and I did all the hiring
- Two new assistants
- A former assistant
- Ask his opinion
- What can you tell us about this person

error."

- That counselor was let go
- No longer were things going to be able to go under the radar because nobody knew what to look for
- They put up some big walls and some resistance to that
- They've realized that it wasn't going to go away
- They've begun to see the benefit
- You do things for the kids
- I got very upset
- Very vocal with central office and my superiors
- "need the very best counselors"
- Parents, they don't know (graduation requirements)
- We need to be so diligent
- Hills where a

parent would pick up on that instantly
- Our counselors may be the only advocate that that child will ever have
- Education off in the right way
- This throw a whole wrench in the thing.
- "the master schedule is a mess"
- They didn't feel like they knew what they were talking about
- Completely create a new master schedule
- It was really hairy 13 hour days

Community Response / Involvement

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Huge public outcry • Community was distrustful • We did a lot of public meetings	• Public push back • Public meetings • Public outreach • Community involvement

Small Learning Communities

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We redesigned the school from a departmental school to three small learning	• Change to Small Learning Communities • Low number of honor kids

Successes

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Things have improved dramatically • WE have done it • Starting to change	• Year Two: Improvement • Some teachers are better • Culture of TD

- Community was distrustful of what was happening
- School is an integral part of the neighborhood
- Very political
- School board members
- People had some power and control
- Kind of pulling some strings behind the scenes
- Whole series of community forces
- Meetings to keep the public informed
- What we are doing
- Inform them of what we are doing
- Advertise
- Radio
- Have it on our sign
- A good many
- Other times we would have 25
- No compunction about standing up and telling it the way it is
- Media was out here
- Power
- Politics
- Public resistance
- Examples of community outreach/involvement
- Advertising public meetings
- Number of people who would attend
- 25-100 people
- Campus gear/uniforms
- Support for campus gear
- Chaotic meetings
- Parents were generally supportive
- Parental involvement
- Value cell phones over academic
- Negative public school experience
- Family culture
- Value of education (or lack thereof)
- communities
- Purpose
- Create a schedule where we could have a common planning time
- Teaming in high school
- Teaming… is hard to do
- We have the right people in the right places
- Our next hurtle
- Process of creating a selection process
- Small learning communities
- SLCs still need help
- Two teams are not as strong
- Departmentalized SLC school
- WE started with two
- They'd be so tight
- This group that works with them
- Same people (teachers,
- Teaming in high school
- Collaboration between teachers
- What is best for students
- Higher expectations
- Towards the future
- Transition freshmen from 9th grade SLC to one of two 10th-12th grade SLCs
- About the SLCs
- Creation of
- Changing culture
- Sustained relationships
- Creating Small Learning Communities
- Space
- Conversation
- Collaborations
- Different organization ideas
- Small Learning Concept
- Curriculum
- Freshmen class
- Old ones are seeing the merit
- Biggest turning point
- Testing
- 100% of kids tested in every single test
- Big turning point
- Faculty was like these people might just know what they are doing
- The ship is turning
- Hopeful
- Instructional strategies
- I see the planning going on
- They hated me
- Lesson plan
- Submit every week
- They're seeing the benefits
- Hope
- Freshmen class is a promise of a changing culture
- The restructuring requires everybody's efforts
- Old TD is coming around
- AYP
- Not testing enough students

many times
- Film our meetings
- Community was up in arms
- Campus gear, uniforms
- 85% of the parents were really for it (campus gear)
- 90% were really for it (campus gear)
- A small contingent were not
- They won't come (to talk about student performance)
- Take a kid's cell phone, they'll be here in an instant
- It's a culture
- Not a high value on education
- Community
- Not all
- Many of our parents
- Not a good experience with their own education
- Didn't graduate
- counselors, administrators, project grad)
- Relationship piece
- Been negative
- Things are changing
- Exciting to see
- We are going to do four (SLCs)
- You don't have enough students for four
- Toured the whole building
- Facility to do three
- 9th grade SLC
- Two 10th-12th grade SLCs
- Relationships

from high school
- Intimidated by the school
- That's the community and culture that prevailed
- Supportive of athletics

Additional Contract Time for PD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Additional contract time • 221 day contract • 21 more days • 10 of those days…spent on nothing but professional development and instructional strategies • Differentiation • Positive Behavior System • In hindsight, I would not • Continue professional development every Wednesday • Hated going to the	• Extended contract explanation • Regrets • Redo • Forced PD • Differentiation • Shift towards serving students • Collapsing tracks • New challenges • Professional development • Classroom management • If I could do it again • PD • Too much PD • Spread it out • Too much too fast • Old people are

Advice & Reflections on Restructuring

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• 18 months to plan • Fewer old people • More new people • Professional development and stagger it more • What to change, it's the culture • There's no way • This (restructuring) is bigger than any of us • We jumped into developing that • We're trying to run a school and we are trying to plan a school at the same time A very difficult	• Would have fired more • Regrets/do over • Pressure of planning and running a school simultaneously • Against the process • Unfair process • Take time to plan • If I could do it again • PD • Too much PD • Spread it out • Too much too fast • Old people are resistant

Ed Works

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Their contract goes through May • Their model • First year is very intensive • Second year a little less so • The third year a little less so • By year five, you should be totally sustainable • This school will be sustainable • When I leave • We're all gone • It can keep going • Ed Works was that they could handle all the PD • Tremendous	• ED Works • Progression model • Administrators leave • TD will continue to be self-sustaining • Ed Works and PD • Cost of Ed Works • Dividing responsibilities • Freedom from planning the PD

orchestra room
- Intensive
- Ed Works
- Really good PD
- Positive Behavior Intervention System
- Complaint from teachers
- There were inconsistencies
- Chased a teacher
- Two day training
- Not well received at all
- One teacher left
- And this is what they wanted
- It was exasperating

resistant
- Alternative professional development
- Classroom management
- Not Ed Works
- Teachers still rejected PD
- Teachers requested the PD
- Contradictions

school to operate

amount of PD
- $275,000
- Transform the school
- Learn the culture of the school

95"% Tested Committee

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Missed our AYP by three kids • Didn't test 95% • We had a little sit down with the superintendent • We better have 95% tested this year • Administrative team • September • Develop a committee	• 95% Testing • Committee • Meeting with superintendent • 100% tested • Teacher buy-in • Notable accomplishments

State of TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• State of the TD • Student body • Freshmen and sophomores • Juniors and seniors • Two a year • First semester and one second • Show them the data • Here's where we	• State of the TD • Show data • Student involvement • Sustained effort • Goal setting

Student Ambassador

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Ambassador program • One of our new counselors • Greatest things to get kids on board • 90 ambassadors • Four grade levels • Nobody has ever gotten 100% tested • Ambassadors…	• New guidance counselor • Big benefits • Student Ambassadors • Involvement in 100% tested • Didn't want school to close • Fear • School closing • Communication

- 95% Tested Committee
- WE will have 95% tested
- Going to do everything we can
- Test time came
- 100% of kids tested in every single test

are, here's where we need to be
- Changes we're making

Bought in a little last year

don't want this school closed
- Calling their friends
- Getting people in here
- Going out in cars
- Going to kids' houses
- Bringing them in here
- Don't want their senior year gone
- Frank with the kids

- Collaborative effort

Threat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Superintendent said "if you all don't make improvement this year, you're done"	• AYP
• That is essentially it	• Not testing enough students
• Sense of urgency from Day One	• 95% Testing
• Research to know it is urgent	• Committee
• Whole administrative team	• Meeting with superintendent
• Superintendent said "this school will close or become a	• 100% tested
	• Teacher buy-in
	• Didn't want school to close
	• Fear
	• School closing
	• Improvement
	• Pressure/threats

Progress

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• The ship is turning	• Culture of TD
• Three year minimum	• Hope
• We'll make the improvements needed	• Freshmen class is a promise of a changing culture
• Get us off the state list	• The restructuring requires everybody's efforts
• This year two, we've got one more	• Old TD is coming around
• Don't think they have a clue about how much they	• 100% tested
	• Teacher buy-in
	• Notable accomplishments

Student Behavior

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• First week of school	• Power outage
• Hit a transformer	• No emergency plan
• Pitch black	• Fear and scared
• Feared for my life	• Chaos
• It was chaos	• Violence
• Kids running down the hallways	• Unprepared
• NOBODY HAD CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL	• Lack of foresight
• Scariest thing I have ever witnessed	• Behavior management

charter school."
- Everybody started getting on board
- Beginning of this year
- More aligned in the same direction
-
- School closure
- Collaborative effort

have grown
- You're in it, you don't really see it
- Professional development
- More than a lifetime of it
- Closing thoughts
- Optimism
- Trending the right way
- Need time
- Growth in teachers
- Forest for the trees
- Organizing the school
- Getting the people in place
- No emergency plan
- Called the superintendent
- Fight in the cafeteria
- Released students

Categorization of Pat's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Overview of School Change Policies		Critique of School Accountability Policy		Experience Before TD	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Fairly typical • School change • Policy in place • Pretty much it • Usually the policy is handed down from high • Politicians, powerbrokers, people with money • Make the decisions • Then they come to the people • "here's what you're doing" • For the most part • Expectations that you're going to follow along • Even if the policy is boneheaded	• Top-down change • School restructuring • School reform • Be a good soldier • Follow along • Taking orders	• Sucking up to get the money • They have a plan • Sketchy • Half of the foundation • Test scores • Substantiate • Teachers were being effective • Research doesn't indicate that • Support the idea that it doesn't make that case (research) • Support • Corroborate that the test is effective • Basically uses the same test • Test is effective • Keep giving the test • Score is better on it • Obviously the test works	• Race to the Top • Money • Anti-test • Research against standardized testing • Test-based accountability • Critique of test • Test scores • Test scores to substantiate teacher effectiveness • Teacher effectiveness • Assessment • Critique of NCLB • Reliable and Valid • No evidence to support NCLB • Test scores • Lack of data • Self investigation	• Not having a job • Ohio • Looking for a job • Assessment evaluation • Educational psychology • English teacher • I got my degree • XXX public school • Small town in XXX • Couple of years • XXX school district • I got caught in the backlash • 1980 • Substituting • Laid off over 2000 teachers • Contracts • Sub pools • Rest of us • I got another job • Numbers of years as an educator • Worked for a law	• Story Begins • Unemployed • Looking for a job • Not overly concerned about finding one • Location and in field • Work experience • Turmoil • Politics • Education • Teaching • Job search • Return to the classroom • Family • No luck • Decision to teach • Teacher licenses

An untenable argument
- Troubling policy
- This looks great
- Can't we attach scores to what teachers do?
- Have an instrument
- Instrument has to be documented
- Actually accomplishes
- Kids are supposed to be learning
Where's the data?

firm
- Spent a year trying to get a job
- I applied for
- 50 to 60 jobs
- First year we were here
- Nothing
- 20 years ago I was a high school
- Get a credential
- University and that didn't happen
- I couldn't get anything
- Contacted the state
- Teaching credential
- Ohio, Indiana, California
- "No sweat"
- Classes
- Rigorous credential

Being Hired at TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• July	• School search
• Visit family	• King
• Three schools	• Trip
• Teach high school	• Choice

About Young Teachers Unprepared for Inner City Schools

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Disturbing to me	• Not in touch with reality
• Students who wanted to work in the inner city	• Social justice
	• Equality

Beginning to Teach at TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Somebody left at the beginning of the year	• Coming into the school
• That person left...	• Pros/cons
	• Classes assigned

English
- TD, Whitaker High School, and Holmes High School
- Diverse schools
- Middle class
- Hard-to-staff environment
- I had a lot of years working in teacher education
- Carry you own weight
- Personal challenge
- Social justice
- Underserved population
- Trying to make the world a more equitable place
- Holmes is an oddity
- Highly diverse
- Rich kids
- TD, they called
- Probably would've chosen Whitaker
- Fit the model
- First choice
- Second choice
- Whitaker would have been my third
- Some advantages
- Mission
- Wants to teach in a poor school
- Previous experience
- Teacher education
- Personal mission
- Altruism
- Wants to be part of the solution
- To serve
- Attrition
- Mentoring
- Wanting to help
- About Holmes High School
- TD Job Offer
- Early in the school year
- Teacher quit
- Second choice
- Wanted to be there
- Principal is positive
- Well received
- Qualities Pat has
- What Pat can add to TD
- Quality person late in the hiring
- Save the world
- Didn't have a lot of information
- How the inner city schools really work
- Brutal
- Very difficult
- Most people don't survive
- "Oh my God, this is what teaching is like. I'll kill myself"
- Very tough
- Young teacher who is inexperienced
- Enthusiasm and they are idealistic
- Come into the classroom and gets their asses kicked
- Looking for another job
- High turnover
- Don't do a lot of mentoring
- Quality education for all
- Idealistic teachers
- High turnover
- Urban schools

the first week
- I didn't start Day 1
- Missed all the pre-school days
- First week of school
- Awkward, uh, situation
- Had three
- It's block scheduling
- Three classes
- 12th grade English IV college-prep
- 12th grade English basic
- 10 honors
- First semester
- College-prep class
- Favorite
- 10th honors
- Very difficult
- Reason this other person left
- Always a bit of a problem
- Not always an easy group to work with
- Two years later
- As seniors in AP

to teach
- Running behind
- Challenges of 10th grade honors
- Weird personality

- Somebody left at the beginning of the year
- Made me feel welcome
- King
- In charge of the athletic director for the district
- I had a bunch of experience
- Education
- Some potential
- Bring something to the building
- He needed a teacher
- Settle whoever was available
- I wasn't in that boat
- He was lucky there
- In that kind of school
- I brought to the table
- Positive things
- Welcoming in that regard

season
- Happy to have Pat
- Hands off teacher
- Enjoyed King's trust

English

TD's Magnet Program	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Viable magnet	• Effects of school

Being a White Teacher at TD – Race	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• First year there	• Turnover

Preparing to Teach – First Year Back Teaching	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I had a lot to do	• Making new

program
- Getting kids from across the district
- English and AP English
- Predominantly kids not zoned for TD
- Minority kids
- Better statistic
- Do pretty well
- Going to do well anyway
- Kids who were capable
- Dance program

choice
- School choice
- Magnet program
- Magnet kids vs. zoned kids
- Magnet kids
- College success
- Comparing students
-

- Expectation that you are probably not going to stick around
- First arrived
- Not really sure
- Racist
- Kids didn't like
- No winning that argument
- No point in engaging
- I'm White
- Hard to say
- Nemesis of today's world
- Black woman
- Different position
- Were a lot of thing that the minorities were able to do Wouldn't have probably been able to pull off
- Establish an identity in the building
- Environment is odd to me
- I arrived at TD
- Mister, misses,

- Though Pat would leave
- Racial tensions
- Going to leave
- Pick your battles
- Pros/cons of minority teaching
- Year Two at TD
- Identity in the building
- Mr. vs. Mrs.
- Slavery
- Black culture
- Names/titles
- More resources
- Establishing self as a teacher

- I hadn't taught high school in a long time
- Literally had thrown out all the stuff I created
- Teach high school
- Moment I arrived
- Redevelop materials
- Recreate myself as an English teacher
- Having been away for many, many years

materials
- Creating teacher identity
- Reestablishing self-identity as a teacher

miss
- No idea what their first name was
- Never heard it used
- Mister so and so
- Kind of an odd, just dynamic
- A formality to it
- Partly an outgrowth
- Black
- Catered to an African-American audience
- More formal
- Background of slavery
- Prevalent at TD

I was able to recreate some of what I had done

How Pat Felt during Her First Year

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It wasn't real high • I was really coping • Difficult situation • That would've been my first choice • I needed a job	• Low enthusiasm • Making the best of a tough situation • Working through identity issues • Rejection

Comparing Administrative Styles of Principals

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Hands-off kind of principal Day-to-day mechanics • Philosophical shift	• Comparing principals • 1970s administrators compared to modern principals • Role of the

Supports for Pat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Watching out for people • She was in her 6-0s • She retired • White woman	• Good department head • Some teachers have been at TD for a good while • High turnover • Experience

- Under the best of circumstances these were not the best circumstances

- I started teaching in the 70s
- Pretty much often the case
- Principals allowed you a lot of autonomy
- They expected that you knew your job
- Do your job
- Didn't intervene unless there was a problem
- Now we have a model
- Administrators are expected to step in
- Guiding force
- Troubling to me
- Structure
- Expectation that they are going to be involved
- Teachers are doing and they have a direct say
  You're doing that principal
- Hands-off approach
- Be a professional teacher and get the treatment you want

- School a long, long time
- Have a lot of turn over
- Some people who had been there for forever
- With all the turnover that you wouldn't find anybody
- Number of teachers
- Substantial stake

- Culture of TD

TD's Veteran Teachers

In Vivo *Sociologically*

NCLB's Impact During Pat's Early Years at TD

In Vivo *Sociologically*

Calculating Graduation Rate

In Vivo *Sociologically*

	Constructed		*Constructed*		*Constructed*
• Mostly TN folk • Grew up here • School here • Most states • Lives in a different TN than I live in • University people come from a lot of different places • Wide array of experiences • Schools the people grew up here • Went to college here • Whole life has been here • Kind of who was here	• Old Guard • Comparisons between university and TD • Lack of experience • Negative stigma attached to staying home	• Wasn't much of an issue • Wasn't really impact • Low school on the district totem pole consistently • Terms of test scores • ACT scores were actually not so bad • Magnet kids • Were actually very smart • 36 on the ACT • Really high scores • End-of-course test and district-wide test • You had to get TCAP scores • TCAP scores • Low relative to everybody else Under half	• NCLB • Little impact of NCLB • Low TCAP scores • School policy • Test scores • ACT • Graduation rate	• Depends on how you count them • Dropouts • Big debates • Lots of ways to count • Arne Duncan • He doesn't seem to have gotten the memo • Difficult to count dropouts • Different thoughts • Plays out • Under 50%	• Graduation rate • How to count • Pat's commentary on dropout counting • Against politicians • Out of touch politicians •

Attendance Problems		**Creating an Identity**		**Changes in Administrators (From King to Lewis)**	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*

- Under 50%
- We were a school
- Our claim was about 800 students
- Debatable
- You probably were not going to see 800 kids
- Attendance
- When I arrived
- There were kids who come to school
- They would be in the building
- Wouldn't be in class
- Phenomena
- Several teachers
- Forgiving let's say
- In their classroom
- Found that disturbing
- If I had a kid in English class, I wanted that kid in English class
- They needed to do to finish
- Other teacher's class
- Needed them to do
- Attendance problems
- Division
- Attendance problem
- Some teachers wanted to shelf the kids
- Some teachers wanted to teach the kids
- It was better
- It wasn't great
- I was still really the outsider
- I was there seven years
- Sixth or seventh year that I was there
- I had any insider credibility
- Distance
- Did I say aloof?
- Foresee me in that way
- Judgment call
- I wouldn't say it was like homey
- I found my niche
  Less of an outsider
- Took a long time to stop feeling like an outsider
- Establishing relationship
- Insider
- Part of a community
- He came actually after the school had started
- Came there in '05
- Upset the applecart
- Still works for the district
- In charge of transfers
- He came there that 05-06 school year as a new principal
- Mass exodus at the end of the year
- It was in the fall
- He was going to be there for a while
- Show him the ropes
- Takeover in January
- At least October
- End of the fall semester
- Brash young guy
- Gonna shake the world up
- One of the best
- New principal
- Training of principal
- Not according to plan
- Shift of power
- Commentary on Lewis
- Negative feelings towards Lewis
- New Principal
- New principal's expectations are scoffed
- Unrealistic
- Pushback
- No buy-in
- Out of teach
- Not much substance
- Pie in the sky
- Rationale expectations
- Set up for failure?

schools in the state
- I never heard about it
- More rhetoric
- The kind of thing a young, ambitious principal says
- Show up at a new school
- Nobody took it very seriously
- They weren't taking it seriously
- They didn't see it as real
- Not for a minute
- Improving the school
- The idea of making up the best we were able to be
- Best schools in the state was probably not going to happen
- It didn't seem likely
- 2000 universities
- I admire him for his ambition

- Let's live in the real world

Increase of English Test Scores

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Gateway	• Test scores low
• Same deal	• English department working hard
• Bottom of the district	• Pat is selfless
• This will not be a reflection of me	• Collaboration
• I was there, our scores improved	• Working together
• Our writing scores improved	• Common goal
• A lot of things	• Obtainable goal
• Taking an interest	• Better, not best
• Make that happen	
• Concentrated effort	
• They could make a difference	
• Focused on achievable goals	
• Scores improve	
• Improving	
• Getting better	
• Weren't great	
• Upward swing	
• Really a good thing	
• Like I said, it didn't have anything to do with me	

Purpose for Teaching

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Other mission	• Pat's Mission
• To prepare them for college-level English	• Based on college English
• My own mission	• Separate mission
• Different	• College-ready
• College prep English	• Upper level English courses
• AP English	•
• Introduce them to the analytical work that college English would expect	
• Not very (successful)	

Graduates of TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Classic patters	• Lack of college success
• TD graduates	• Low expectations for graduates
• Dropout or flunk out	• Pattern of failure
• Semester or year in college	•
• Vast majority	
•	

- Honors kids never had a problem
- They were going to do it
- My colleagues

Racism

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• TD had problems	• Improve TD
• Weren't doing as well as they should be	• LCS's efforts
• Element of racism	• Sustained racism
• For years	• Systemic racism
• Predominantly black school	• Pat identifies racism
• We're not going to worry about them	• Support programs
• "Oh God no, that wasn't true"	• Project Grad
• Operated this fashion for years	• Won't admit we weren't trying
• Never really had been addressed	• Money
• Right people in the district	
• They did all kinds of things to save CT	
• Never saw the results	
• Different grants, different programs	

Project Grad Critique

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Buy-in at one level	• Project Grad
• Not at another	• Critique
• Project grad	• Distrustful
• A lot of baggage	• Lacks integrity
• High school kids	• Support
• Part was problematic	• Money
• Not real effective	• Scholarship
• Off to college	• Lack of support after high school
• Can graduate	• High school vs. College
• Do on their own	• Project Grad and TD
• Meet requirements	• Collaboration between teachers and Project Grad
• Mentoring	• Pat's critiques
• Finding funding	• Lies
• Select colleges	• Trust
• Predominantly poor kids, predominantly African-American	• Demographics of Project Grad Staff
• Money to help them	• Qualifications of Project Grad Staff members
• At CT there was a	

Story about Colleague Who Left

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• They have options	• About one teacher
• Wasn't really given the opportunity	• Instance of lack of opportunity
• She had other options	• Top-down teaching placement
• Black	• Boxed in
• Opportunity to do that	• Lack of voice
• Got stuck	• Unsatisfied
• Administration felt	• Pat's Compassionate
• Doing a good job	
• Stuck her in that role	
• Without a chance to escape	
• Unfair	
• Where the kids actually had some skills	
• Remedial English	
• It's tiresome	
• Don't want to do	

- Project Grad
- Saving grace
- Scholarship money

lot of support
Staff people

- Poor skills, poor grades, poor chances of ever getting into college
- “Yes, you’re going to college...”
- Sounds a lot like a lie
- Dishonest
- Best they can
- Encourage this kid
- Do work
- Work
- Figure out how to do work
- Honest with them about that
- I didn’t believe all those kids were going to college
- Well in their classes, to actually learn
- I had no problem collaboration with them
- I thought they

that

were doing something useful
- Minorities, college degree
- Social work
- There was a minister
- Anger workshop
- Highest concentration of African-Americans teachers in the district

Not saying much

Critiques of Lewis

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Lewis came in • Change agent • Misguided as far as I'm concerned • New principal is busy trying to figure out how to be a principal • Change may be on their mind • Don't really have the tools • District's strategy of bringing in Lewis	• Critique of Lewis • Not ready for CT • Too much too fast • High expectations for change • Unable to fulfill job requirements • Lack of skills • Critique of Lewis's scheduling strategy • Scheduling • Lack of listening

Impact of NCLB

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Outside experts who are coming from the state • Helping us address our issues • Problem areas • Big project • Starting to feel the effects of NCLB • School improvement plan • Literally every year • Graduation rates,	• 06-07 school year • Outside expects • School plan • Accountability • NCLB • No help • Lack of dedication • Professionalism • See the job through •

Pressures Put on Pat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Never any real bond • Test scores • Struggling to improve our graduation rate • Behind the scenes mechanism • They fail my class, they don't graduate • A lot of subtle and not so subtle ways to make sure	• No relationship with Lewis • Enemies? • Implications for teaching senior English • Pressure to pass kids • Graduation rates • Accountability • Administrative pressure • Ethics of teaching • Pressures of

was misguided
- Didn't have another option
- I don't think he was the right person at the right time
- The first year there was a mass exodus
- Schedule for the English teachers
- Last day for teachers
- We finally got the picture
- Unheard of
- Outside input
- Regroup how people in the English department were doing some things. We had some issues.
- Too many in one class
- Conflict in terms of textbooks
- Weren't enough to go around
- Not addressed
- Didn't address that issue
- I've been doing senior English, Brit
- Top-down leadership
- Course change
- Lack of voice
- No input
- Delay
- Outside manipulation
- Materials
- Recreate materials
- Lack of communication
- Plan on the shelf
- Did anybody look at it?
- Confidant
- Collaboration, lack there of
- Not a need to know
- Not an insider of Lewis
test scores
- Had to do a school improvement plan every years
that the kids in my class graduate
- Iffy position
- You want to do everything you can
- Earn a credit
- If you came to class and you did the assignments, and you made a real effort to complete all the assignments
- At least a D
- Failed
- Never came to class
- Young lady... reasonably sharp
- Not an unreasonable request or expectation
- Project Grad sent her to college
- Wrap herself in a blanket and go to sleep
- Not really buying into it
- 50 or 60
- Recovery credit
teaching
- Lewis' intervention
- Story of girl going over Pat's head
- To college
- Project Grad
- Accountability
- Doing my job vs. Graduating undeserving kid

Lit
- He gives me 11th grade English, American Lit
- You know, is fine
- It means I've got to do all the pre work
- I haven't taught this for over 20 years
- I can pick and choose
- Recreate a whole program for 11th grade
- Things like that that he did
- "look, I don't have what I need for 11th grade. I need a teacher that can come in and do these things."
- I've decided you're going to do this.
- He is the administrator
- Had to do a school improvement plan every years
- Didn't change very much
- I was not as involved
- She walked
- Hiring me to do something
- They've at least acquired some of the skills I'm trying to teach
- 135 hours

- Been four assistant principals, the librarian, and myself
- Seven of us
- The librarian and I ended up doing it ourselves
- Designated sections
- I got no feedback
- I told him the honest answer, "no"
- Very close to his vest
- I was not a need to know of Lewis
- He might have been uncomfortable

Very Early Stages of School Restructuring

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• 07-08 school year	• Ugly year
• Exit Lewis	• Foregone conclusion that something was happening
• Enter Bryant	• Lewis was relieved
• Lack of communication	• Bryant was brought in
• No knowledge	• Aren't giving us a wealth of
• No voice	
• Unsettling work environment	
• Teacher evaluation	
• Unknown	

Pat Loses Her Job

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• End of the school year	• Pat gets fired
• Literally called us in the library	• Bizarre interview
• Large envelope	• Lack of understanding
• I still grapple with how you get evaluated twice	• Evaluations don't match firing decision
• Excellent evaluations	• A lot left unexplained
• Not really the	• Unprofessional interview

Pat's Reactions to Being Fired

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I'd been stabbed in the back	• Life after TD
• Collateral damage	• Working through firing
• Didn't fit with whatever their vision was	• Lasting impact of rejection
• Be moved from the building	• I don't feel like the decision they made was reasonable
• Pat was kept in the dark	• Should have been a conversation
• District plan	

evaluators
- Regrets
- Sign of the times
- Should have left
- Dedication to kids
- Being a professional

information
- Things are going to happen
- Most people were going to come out of it okay
- Doing your job
- Didn't have much to worry about
- Evaluated twice
- Never by an outside person
- Excellent evaluations
- It sounds good
- It is troubling
- Wasn't a lot of stability
- School under siege
- Not probably your ideal work environment
- When Lewis came, my smart move would have been to have left
- Committed to my mission
- Reflection of him
- I was pretty comfortable

kind of teacher
- Most bizarre interview
- Midge, Carmen, Bryant
- Brought their lunches and they ate lunch while they talked to me
- I was hurt
- Offended
- Seven years of hard work
- No cause
- Cut loose

I was a tenured teacher
- Personal reaction to firing
- Fairness?
- Lingering questions
- Hurt feelings
- Unanswered questions
- Current teachers' impression of CT
- Power
- Top-down change
- District then school
- I don't think that is how you do business
- Successful school
- Feel valued
- Unanswered questions
- Disconcerting
- Very accusatory
- I think really hurtful
- The district always has a plan
- I'm not saying it's a good plan
- The district does a lot of bullying and intimidating

Other Teachers' Reactions to the Reconstitution

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• English teachers • Really good people • Lots to offer • Necessarily stayed • Not everybody stayed who were offered a job • I think there were 10 English teachers • Only two of us were given notice • A new teacher who struggled with some issues • Perceived as being disagreeable • Two or three (left on their own accord) • Maybe about 50% of the originals stayed • Very little notice • We're going to do something...	• Other teachers reactions to reconstitution • Teachers left • Young teacher fired • Personality conflict • Disagreeable • Staff knowledge

Categorization of Floyd's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Education Experience Before TD		TD's Administration When Floyd Started		Childhood Experience / Calling to Teach	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Started at TD • Internship at Holmes high School • Graduate student in secondary English at Crocket • Two years prior to that... master's degree in literature at Crocket • TA and lecturer • First master's degree in English • Stayed on • Master's in secondary education • I came here in 2001 • Came to TD in fall of 2005 • Committed to doing high school • Be a college professor • Already leaned who they were • Where I needed to be • Been at high school a while	• Experience before TD • Education • Teaching experience • Different degrees • Two master's degrees • Love for school • Dedicated to learning content • Shift from content to pedagogy • Originally wanted to be a professor of English • Formative years, influential person to teens • Values inner city •	• Lewis was principal • King had just left	• Starting at TD • Principals	• My own experiences • High school student • Nothing like an inner city kid • Rebellion and resistance • Courage inner city kids tend to have • Schools in Dallas, LA, and Detroit • My mom was a special education teacher • 40 years • Nashville • My mom moved around a lot • End of her marriage • I get suspended from high school • Go to work with my mom... her class • Sort of fell in love with teaching	• Family • Influences • Inner city • Reasons for teaching • Introduction to teaching • Love for mother • Supportive mother • First experience in high school • Troubled youth • Moving, moving, moving • Lots of cities • Discipline • High school • Floyd as a teenager • Relation • Unstable home • High school graduation, Nashville

- Wonder if I need to be in the middle school
- Committed to high school
- TD in particular
- Inner city
- "punishment"
- Bleeding heart
- Always wanted to do inner city schools
- Could relate to the kids
- Impact with that population

Internship Experience

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• That year was so difficult • Involved with me • Lydia McCombs • Showed me how to affect kids at all levels • Got rid of all their leveling • CP class • All the kids • Huge range of kids • Really good at identifying those struggling kids • Working and supports and interventions and individuals basis • Helped me be able	• Internship • Differentiation • Collapsed tracks • Holmes High School • Learning to teach • Great mentor, Lydia McCombs • Self worth • Effect on kids • Challenges • Perseverance • Gaining experience • Reacting to kids' needs

Observation Story at TD – First Experience

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Funny story • I ride a lot of bikes • First time I went to TD as a grad student • Rode my bike • Went to observe • Before I was even doing my internship • Great observation • Watched two English classes (sophomore and senior) • Came back out • Had deflated both my tires • First experience at	• Story about deflated tires • Optimism • Enjoyed meeting the people •

Joining TD's Faculty

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• First place I applied • Holmes high school • Liked Holmes high school • Diversity of students • Different demographics and populations • I applied to both • TD offered first and I took it right away • Absolutely thrilled • King... still loved it • Liked his	• Job offer at TD • Optimism • Enjoyed meeting the people • Excited to teach at TD • Met department • Liked the English department • The department is not like the school • Felt welcomed • Wanted to be there • Choice to be there • Department welcoming • Party • English teachers • Togetherness

to spot a kid who needs differentiation and then showed me how to do it
- Challenging kids
- Really tested me
- Some really difficult days
- "No, I'm not impacting these kids"
- Were days I went home and felt I was
- PDS school
- Just so crazy
- Hard to say much about my impact

TD

approach... his attitude
- I was terribly excited
- Met the English department
- Hired, fall 2005
- English department was really, really tight knit
- Comforting to walk into that environment
- Just be supported by the department
- The school felt a little fragmented
- Wanted to have a party
- Make everybody feel comfortable
- Relaxed environment at the party
- At the house
- Little things
- We always ate lunch in the same room
- Same plan
- We talked about kids and our
- Support from the English department
- Eating together
- Classroom management
- Inner city kids
- Support or talk?
- Negative presuppositions about kids
- Reading people
- Life struggles
- Disadvantaged population
- Hard home lives
- Heart for the kids
- Sharing of experiences
- Common experiences
- Remaining positive

experiences
- Knew how difficult what I was about to embark was going to be
- Support up front, and a heads up
- Encouragement largely
- Share stories
- What to expect when I walked into a classroom
- Tell me stories
- It gets a negative slant sometimes
- Go through rosters
- Tell me about certain kids
- Not always in a negative way
- “you need to watch out for with this kid”
- Classroom, uh, management
- Might be superficial or false
- Genuine management plan

Teaching ACT Prep Class

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Whole new environment • ACT prep class • No textbook, no precedent, nothing • They gave to me • "we want you to teach an ACT class" • Lewis was the whose idea it was • Assigned that task to a guidance	• Classes first year • ACT prep class • Lack of support • Fell to the new guy • Lack of real support • Challenges of ACT class • Low expectations • College ready • First year

Poor Student Behavior & Classroom Management

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• English II regular • Good group of kids • Sweet and patient kids • All kinds of discipline issues • Sheer number of kids • Crammed into that room • Physical conflicts	• Positive hopes • Not students' fault • Classroom conditions • Support, or lack of support • Fight • Cramped conditions • A fight story • Don't label TD

Floyd's Teacher Effectiveness (Test-Based)

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• TVASS scores • NDD • Academically and emotionally • Numbers don't encompass • I had some positive gains • Environment made me feel good • Teaching in an	• Small gains • What do gains really show? • Value of relationships • Test scores • Test-based accountability • Value-added • So second year, I had all 10th grade • Fundamental and

that works for you
- Better at reading, uh, people
- Inner city kids
- How your mom's going to be when she walks in the door
- She can be intoxicated and in a bad mood
- She can be in a good mood
- Read someone really quickly, right away

counselor
- Took it on as her baby
- Some money to buy resources
- Standard ACT prep book
- Tried to get some of the more experienced
- Don't know why they chose an English teacher
- Don't think the preparation was there
- I had that class
- Nightmare
- Scrambling for resources every single day
- I didn't just have to do the English, I did the math and science too
- Horribly prepared
- Populated with kids who didn't want to be in there
- Forcing these seniors to take it their senior year
- Attitude those kids challenges
- Multiple preps
- Cramped teaching conditions
- Unprepared
- Unsupported
- Students under grade level
- High expectations
- Unrealistic expectations
- Lack of student voice
- Forcing students
- Lack of student buy-in
- Problems on the horizon
- 06-07 school year
- Big gains in the Act class
- All 10th grade
- Second year
- Great results
- Disbelief
- Lack of faith
- Low expectations
- Pre/post assessment
- Reality of that class
- Two kids got in an argument in the class
- The class divided itself
- Backing up one kid and then half the other
- It all happened so fast
- Before I could even get in and separate things
- Two kids started fighting
- Then the whole class
- It was like a rumble
- I got them out in the hallway
- It was kind of a blur
- Principals came and broke it up
- Before the air conditioner was fixed
- Really frightened me
- Fast
- Scared
- Quick tempers
- Administrative support
- Reacting to the situation
- Classroom management
- Administrative support
- Gains
- Effective improvement
- Gains
- Lasting influence
- New classroom management plan
- Optimism
- Not meaningful support
- inner city school
- About the same
- I had like a gain of one
- NDD
- I had two senior CP classes and one junior CP
- Young people coming in, they got all the fundamental
- Hard classes to teach
- I got "promoted" into the easier, funnier classes
- Those kids end up in a group together
- Effective just because that is that I want to say
- I kind of hadn't grown a whole you
- I wasn't less effective
- Relating to the kids and getting them to do what I wanted them to do
- Did have a better regular, and I picked up a CP
- 07-08
- Junior and senior
- Impact on student learning
- 08-09 school year
- Tough road for new teachers
- Challenges
- Lack of support
- Teacher effectiveness
- Collapsed tracks weren't meaningful
- Teaching strategies

coming in the door was just wrong
- English II regular class... nearly 30 kids in a room
- Didn't even had room for an overhead
- Wedged in this room
- My air conditioner was out pretty much
- Middle of September
- Three preps
- Wide range of students
- Kids who couldn't barely read
- Had to get them to a certain point by the end of the semester
- ACT course was gone
- Had the most gains in it
- Pre-test ACT test in the beginning
- A test at the end
- Numbers somewhere
- Big gains
- I had to switch up my classroom management

Very supportive
- One of the principals came in to help me out
- She recommended a management plan
- I still use a version today
- Kids earned a certain amount of points each day
- Number of warnings
- Really started to learn about immediate consequences and how to discipline kids individually
- Since modified things

We did end up showing gain in that class by the end of the semester

effect on my kids
- Junior and senior EOCs
- Gateway-style test

- Guidance counselor couldn't believe it
- I don't know what happened
- "I couldn't do it again"
- I mean it about killed me
- So late every night, it was just ridiculous

Teacher Effectiveness (Other)

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Kids who give you trouble	• Power of relationships
• Those kinds of schools	• Trevor Bates
• Ready to learn, they'll come back to you	• Positive Example
• Trevor Bates is one kid's name I remember well	• Wants to be at teacher
• English II fundamental class	• Meaningful impact on student
• Refused to work (3x)	• Pride
• Built a relationship with him	• Scores vs. relationship
• Again his junior year	• Value in teaching
	• Goal of teaching
	• Taught culture
	• Test based accountability
	• Reliability of tests
	• Tested standards

Supporting Lewis

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• O6-07	• Conference with Lewis
• Lewis would call all of us in his office to review our TVASS scores	• Opinions about Lewis
• Teacher individually	• Supportive of Lewis
• I don't remember anything (like) close down if the scores aren't better	• Strengths of Lewis
• Just kind of asking how I felt about the scores	• Lewis leaves
• He was good	• Bryant enters
• Effective leader	• Lewis didn't get a fair chance
	• Controversy
	• Sports vs. Academics
	• Ethics
	• Purpose of school
	• Community angst

Critique of Lewis' Administration

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Observations were definitely more of ceremonial	• Observation
• Principals always coming in and telling me what a great job I was doing	• Critique of administrative team
• Keep it up	• Weaker instruction guidance
• Hungry for...	• At Risk was communicated
• As a team, that was a weakness	• Real critique of administrative
• I didn't see that improve until the day I left	• No longer optimistic
• The administration	

- Worked his butt off
- He did well
- Community college and is doing pretty well
- Come back to visit me
- Be a teacher and football coach now
- Feel great
- It didn't show a lot gain
- Relationships and helping kids just get through some stuff where they could learn
- I made big gains
- Difference in the test
- Content and curriculum
- Kids a sense of the history and culture
- EOC is very grammar-based
- Did not reflect my students' learning
- It's just deflating
- Make such huge gain
- Pendulous nature of
- Not successful
- Teaching content
- Important to Floyd (content)
- Comparing scores
- Lack of success
- Frustration
- Annoyance
- Purpose of teaching
- Consistent with kids
- Stood his ground and communicated well with parents when the pressure was on
- Most critical area is support in the classroom
- I felt like they had my back
  Helped me out with classroom management
- I had negative feelings not towards Bryant but towards Lewis' leaving
- Lewis was starting to make some changes that were good for the school
- Most controversial
- Could not participate in athletics unless they had a C or
- Power of coaches
- Extrinsic rewards
- Influence of coaches
- Teaching in an inner city school
- "Balancing act"
- Lewis' strength
- Critique of Bryant
- How to teach in an inner city school
- Relationships
  changed and philosophies changed, and structures changed
- I just didn't feel like the support was ever there
- I chose to go with TAP
- We were on the list
- Certain things had to do with that
- Keeping track of data
- 07-08 when we really started talking about it, a lot

human thought in American history
- How it swings... radically religious to radically scientific
- “who, I really taught them something”
- Human though
- American history, my kids can answer it
- And that one barely
- One kid in my class pass that senior EOC
- Couldn’t believe when she got her scores
- We were really close
- She got her test scores
- My room and we sat and just talked
- Deflating
- Three or four pass
- You like you had a good effect
- That question is hard for me to answer
- better in all their classes
- Trevor Bates was an athlete
- A lot of those kids are really motivated by sports
- Those coaches can really make those kids change
- New rule with the C average
- It was great
- Really controversial
- Heard from other teachers
- Resistance came from parents
- Able to play, participate regardless
- Felt athletics were the only thing those kids came to school for
- If we took it away from them, then they wouldn’t come to anymore
- Stay in athletics
- Both sides had a

- "Well, at least I had some impact"

good point
- Whole lot more parents who agree that the kids would just stop coming
- At least partially instrumental in Lewis' being removed
  It was a big deal
- English teacher
- Guidance counselor now
- Whole art to teaching at an inner city school is walking the fine line between being the disciplinarian and being someone the kids can confide in
- Master at balancing act
- Be fire and stern if you had to be
- TD was by his (Lewis) leaving
- Bryant is a wonderful, sweet me

He (Bryant) doesn't have that stern side

Pressures of School Accountability

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Don't meet our goals	• Restructuring
• Can we make safe harbor	• 07-08 school year
• Graduation rates	• Change of importance
• Faculty meetings	• Things got real
• EDD	• Data
• Professional from the state	• NCLB's policies
• Crunches our numbers	• Accountability practices
• I was so focused on Ed Works and what was going on	• Not concerned about state takeover
• Never paid much attention to it	• 08-09 school year ends
• It was threat with graduation rate	• Teaching upper level courses
• Making safe harbor, writing scores	• Not in the tested grades
• Being completely out of sophomore English	• AYP
• I wasn't as concerned with all	• Test scores
	• Serious consequences for low performance
	• Accountability pressures

Change of Leadership

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I was very excited about it	• Enter Carmen
• I met with her	• 07-08
• Capable of change and improvement	• Reaction to Carmen
• Ready for something to come in on a building level	• Change agent
• Start making some big changes	• Hope for the future
• She was the one, and I, and in a lot of ways, she was.	• Turning point
• I was excited and I talked with her about her vision	• Optimism returns
• She wanted to increase the AP enrollment	• She is very good with data
• SLCs and all those things I had read about and heard about	• Her vision stayed pretty much
	• Leadership team within the school
	• That vision really appealed to me
	• I've really enjoyed working with the team

Reconstitution

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It was strange	• Reconstitution
• Everyone knew what was going on	• Interviewing for jobs
• Interviews scheduled	• Change at TD
• You'd go down	• Not memorable interviews
• It just had a weird feeling to it	• Informing teachers of losing their jobs
• Supportive environment	• Interviewers
• People are wondering if they're going to be able to work there anymore	• Letters to fired teachers
• I wasn't tenured	• Not professional
• A certain number of years	• Public firings
• I don't remember my specific evaluations that year	• Tenure is not a safety net
• My interview went well	• Interview questions
	• Fear and worries about how fired teachers would act
	• Stop teaching
	• Threats
	• Professionalism

that Gateway, EOC data
- I had junior and seniors
- 09-10, I took the job as lead teacher
- Tracked students
- Graduation rate
- Reading interventions
- Credit Recovery
- Help them keep their credit
- Graduation rates was the main thing
- A lot of senior teachers
- Pressure to get kids to pass
- Tell me directly that "it doesn't matter what we do, they have to pass us"
- Two kids passed and graduated
- Pulled out of that class and put into Credit Recovery
- Obviously huge discipline problems
- Sacrificed any of their most important standards
- NCLB
- Graduation rates
- School improvement
- Senior English
- Pressure on teachers
- Kids taking advantage
- Benefits of pressure on teachers for kids
- Back door
- Unintended results
- Pressure on teachers
- Changing curriculum

They might too
- About Carmen
- TEAM
- Carmen's strengths Colleague support
- Pretty standard interview
- Same questions they asked me in my original interview
- "how will you deal with kids who struggle with reading and how will you..."
- Carmen was there
- I don't remember what other principals
- I don't believe Midge was there
- I remember how the teachers found out who lost their jobs
- They brought letters to the school
- Called those teacher to the library and handed them their letters
- They were pretty upset about it
- Obvious to everyone who
- Deciding who should go
- Acting resistant
- Quiet resistance
- Good soldier

- Teacher made concessions

was getting fired by the way they did it
- Created a lot of negative feelings
- Didn't think that was the best way to handle that situation
- I never got a letter
- I can't remember if we were all in the library
- I do remember seeing the teachers who got the letters go up to the desk as I was leaving
- Just going to stop teaching
- Everybody's worry
- I remember one teacher in particular who said he was going to stop teaching
- None of them ever did
- They all taught
- Some of the teachers who

were let go, I thought needed to be let go
- There were others...
- One particular English teacher who I was sad to see go
- Let get because they were very vocal about things
- I've always resisted a little
- Very quietly
- Very loud about their resistance
- Got punished a little bit

School Retreat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I was excited • Met Carmen • Probably going to vide the school into SLCs • Different was that was communicated • There was so much happening...simultaneously • Hard for me to keep a	• 08-09 • School retreat • Change • New teachers • Excitement • New day • No resentment • Fresh start • Teachers wanted to be there

Response to PD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It was awesome • More excited • I left the retreat really fired up • Teaching the whole staff new strategies • Gallery walk • Marzano's strategies	• Positive response to PD • Ed Works • Quality Ed Works PD • Effective teaching strategies • Gallery walks • Use of PD

Unsustained Initiatives

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Walk-throughs • Not full observation • Strategies we were using • Hanging our lesson plans on the door • Marzano's strategies	• Administration • Unsustained initiatives • Too much going on • Prioritize reforms • Teachers shut down • Overwhelmed • Throwing

chronology of it
- Ed Works
- SLCs were a huge part of all that
- Ed Works people being there and sort of being familiar with them
- End of that... 07-08 school year
- Exciting
- Impressive that we were there
- A lot of new staff member
- Happy that there were a lot of new, younger staff members
- English department
- Marie and Gwen
- Two new, young teachers right out of college
- Wanted to be there... chose to be there
- They had other offers that they turned down
- They were received pretty well
- The retreat at night got pretty wild
- They were always part of that
- At least initially, I think
- Professional approach
- Old TD welcoming of New TD teachers
- Party
- Socializing
- Bonding
- Fired teacher are still upset
- Relationships
- Tearing them up
- Modeled for us at PD
- Accountable as that school year began
- Cross curricular... band teacher
- Poetry unit, some lyrics and history of music
- The teachers were actually using the strategies in their classrooms
- You'd see gallery walk posters in the hallway
- They would know how to do the strategies
- Management I noticed was better

strategies
- Effective strategies
- Research-based
- Improved participation by students
- Students were learning in multiple classrooms
- Evidence of teacher buy in
- Administration did not sustain the efforts
- Come and look and check
- It was amazing
- "This is the change"
- They were so overwhelmed
- So many changes
- Biggest criticism of the whole reconstruction
- It was too much too fast
- Let's pick a manageable number of strategies
- Mastered them and monitored

everything at the teachers

they were received really well by the staff
- After all the firing and letting go of the people, people were really coming and starting fresh
- (no) grudge holding from what happened in the past
- I've stayed in contact... still felt angry

Lead Teacher

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Considered applying for it the first year	• LEAD Teacher
• What it entailed	• LEAD teacher responsibilities
• Out of the classroom	• Applying for promotion
• I didn't apply	• Advancement
• Second year... position was open, so I applied	• Track student data
• They were vague	• Out of the classroom
• Changed the second year	• Two years
• Dual responsibility	• Year one
• Observe teachers on more regular basis	• Year Two
• Drop in and see that they were using	• Valued observation
	• Focused on data tracking
	• Improving

TD's Earns AYP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• No ticker-tack parades	• Bottom-up movement for 11th grade writing scores
• Little surprising	• Non-core teachers
• Our writing scores	• Lack of celebration
• Our writing scores to be like TD's	• Accomplishment
• The first time I heard about TD talked about that way	• NCLB accountability
Two high stakes assessments	• Passing

Leaving TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• A little bit of both	• 10-11 close
• Final decision	• TAP
• Master teacher we should consider changing schools	• Leaving TD
• Coming into the classrooms and evaluating teachers	• Moving to a new school
• Our position is so much different	• Bryant's influence
• Not having master teachers from CT be at CT	
• One part of me, I was relieved	
• Mixed feelings	

strategies
- Post-conference
- Incorporate them (strategies)
- Really excited about
- Track student achievement in my SLC
- Provide supports and interventions for kids who were low performing
- Teachers across the curriculum
- Only assigned to a certain number
- The ones in my SLC
- 35 teachers in my SLC and 200 kids
- Second year I had the job
- Observation piece was eliminated
- Tracked students
- Graduation rate
- Reading interventions
- Credit Recovery
- Help them keep their credit
- Graduation rates

student achievement
- Test scores
- Test data
- Accountability
- Accountability pressures
- NCLB
- Graduation rates
- School improvement
- Senior English
- Pressure on teachers

was the main thing
- A lot of senior teachers
- Pressure to get kids to pass

Categorization of Marie's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Daily Routine		Supports for Students		Teaching AP Classes	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I come in • I sign in • Accountability purposes in the front office • 7:45 is usually when I'm here • Be here by 8:00 • 25% of the people will have signed in by 8:00 • Teachers that sing other teachers in • Teamwork, right? • Next hour and a half planning • Making parent phones calls, fillings out discipline records • Streamlined by a computer program • Glitches • Technological difficulties • PBIS • 90 minutes of plan • Lap around the school	• Attendance • Daily routine • Teacher accountability • Professional responsibilities • Resentment towards other teachers • Technology • Technology challenges • Me vs. Them • Professional responsibilities • Working conditions • Use of time	• Top one is always going to be athletics • Community is huge support • Rowdiest fans of any school in the area • We are as smaller school • Community members who donate their time and their money • Students have support • Student support programs are for students who have already done something to put them off track • First year that AVID came • AVID has been in the middle schools • Next three years it will build up	• Community and athletics • Support • Not helping "on track" students • Time and money • AVID • Support for on-track kids • Academic improvement • Focus on students • Students are pushed by AVID	• The great thing about AP classes is that the students didn't choose to be in there • Raise both the rigor of the school and curriculum • It makes me a better teacher • Not just through the curriculum • Start much further back • The same end result • Taking the AP exam • 9 out of 18 of my students (AP caliber) • Stark contrast to last semester • 19 students • 11 had IEPs	• Classes taught • AP • Resentful of student selection • Accountability • Raise the rigor • Extra effort • Not a fair start • Placement of students • Disadvantaged • Standardized assessment • Modifications & accommodations •

- Fight with the copiers
- Entire staff
- One of them is broken
- AP class

- AVID kids have been feeling the tension
- Students don't feel like they should be pushed as hard as they are
- Being punished almost rather than supported
- That's a program thing

Collapsing the Tracks

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• No CP • Not an inclusion or anything • Luck of the draw as far as scheduling • 3rd block is my CP • Working with an intern • 11th grade • Largest class of 15	• Collapsing of tracks • Accountability • Restructuring • Class enrollment • Focusing on better instruction • Teacher development

Small Learning Communities

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• You have schools within a school • Two schools • Freshmen all start out in the freshmen SLC	• SLCs • Remaking the school • School within schools • Improving school • Focusing on relationships • Demographics of students • Disadvantaged population • Business • Knowing what to expect • Restructuring • SLCs

Attendance Problems

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Used to be a daycare • Run by staff and students • They fail • Family support (rarity) • Before they had children • Most of them were in school • They were here • Huge problem (attendance) • Not been able to find a solution • My attendance is	• Closing daycare • Support for students • Common challenges • Attendance • SRO • Lack of discipline procedure • Unfavorable towards administration • Pressure of test • Attendance on test days • Community effort • "Drive-bys"

- Student contact
- Freshmen SLC
- Change of culture
- Separated from 10th-12th graders
- SLCs
- School redesign

fantastic
- I have two on my roster, there might be nine here
- Two frequent flyers
- Process for getting the kids referred is rather vague
- School resource officer, his main duty is attendance
- His office, and has a chat with them
- Have to make the 95% mark
- We did make it for the first time in the fall
- Attributed to the fact that the community members were called in
- Staff members were involved
- Volunteers
- "Drive-bys" – interesting term
- They literally went and picked

- 100% tested
- Accomplishment

them up
- We actually made 100% of our freshmen tested

Increasing TD's Academic Rigor

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• AP class	• AP Class
• Nine more angles	• Description of students
• Five of them are AP caliber	• Pressure
• Walk into any school and be placed	• Accountability
• 2 out of 9 in second period	• Raising rigor
• The year before I was here, there were I believe 11 AP students	• Placing students in AP
• Wanted that number to be 50	• Selection process
• I'm not really sure	• Qualifications
• That was going to be my job	• Collapsing tracks
• Work ethic, WRIT score above 8th grade	
• Experience with teachers in the building	

Reconstitution

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Different experience Over half the staff last year was new to the school	• Reconstitution
• The year before I came is when the "flush" happened	• Get tenure
• Terrifying	• Restructuring
• Even the room we're sitting in used to be an English teacher's room	• Lack of support
• Stories about her doing crossword puzzles	• Teacher responsibilities
• Horrible things I never ever would do	• I'm not sure that is the best philosophy
• She shouldn't have been let go	• Chaotic in one word
• I was a young White girl	• Reconstitution
	• New teachers
	• Old English rooms
	• Haunted ☺
	• Loyalty
	• Old TD
	• New TD

Supports for 1st Year Teachers

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Core mentoring team in place	• Lack of support
• Meet occasionally	• Mentor program
• Once a month, but that rarely happens	• New staff members
• Teachers that are willing to basically listen to complaints and fears of new teachers	• Support
• Sign in sheet	• Mentoring
• No, it is expected	• Expectations set by administration for support of new teachers
• Administration	• No money
• I am actually resentful that I have to go to the meetings	• Required to attend
• First two years	•
• After the third	
• You doing so much paperwork	
• Sink or swim	
•	

- Took away fundamental

coming straight out of college
- I wouldn't make it more than a month
- During teacher boot camp
- He is really glad he got out
- Fired him
- I feel that tension every day
- We understand it, but it is unwarranted
- I'm young, but I know what I'm doing
- Will not speak to me in the hallways
  Love my job
- Only 45% were asked back
- About 10 teachers who looked at the reconstitution of the school as good

Old TD vs. New TD – Professional Personalities

In Vivo *Sociologically*

Old vs. New TD – Demographics & Qualifications

In Vivo *Sociologically*

Old TD vs. New TD – Visual Staff Divides

In Vivo *Sociologically*

- "we get by and no one bothers us"
- Students' mentality
- They are going to graduate
- We have to have graduation rates
- They are going to pass you
- We are moving in that directions of being on par with any other school
- I'm assuming is the goal
- Be able to shift between schools and not feel there is a, they are not serviced here the same way
- The small percentage of the staff that is from the Old TD is very outspoken
- Based on the results of this school, I would say non
- Veteran teachers have excellent relationships with

Constructed

- Staff Divisions
- Old CT
- Accountability
- Graduation rates
- Pressure for graduation rates
- Description of Old TD
- Teachers
- Demographics – education
- Improvement, or lack thereof
- Old TD
- 75% of Old TD
- Educational Philosophy
- View of being in a school

- Younger, under 35
- They majority of us are White
- Difference between education levels
- Old TD, the majority of them don't have master's degrees
- Have not been through a teacher education program
- Alternative licensure program
- If you're a male, especially if you're a Black male
- Older white male
- It holds true to that divide
- I don't think is true
- 10 out of those 45
- Mostly over 40 and Black

Constructed

- Description of New TD
- Teachers
- Demographics – Education
- Negative view of ATCP
- Teacher preparation
- Comparing Old TD to New TD
- Race
- Gender
- Hierarchy of power

- Everyone that was hired after the reconstruction had to have a master's degree
- More highly qualified teachers
- Clear divide
- It's older-younger
- New to the building-been in the building a long time
- Still on board
- Sit in the back and pretend the meeting is not happening
- They're in the back (coaches)
- Coaches are in the back
- Head coaches
- They coach the majority of our sports
- Coached with the new teachers
- Don't sit with the coaches
- Band is definitely in the back

Constructed

- Reconstruction
- Reconstitution
- Hiring of new staff
- Staff divide
- Comparing Old TD to New TD
- Athletics
- Coaches
- New coaches compared to old coaches
- Location in meetings
- Staff meetings
- Body language
- Band
- Labeling teachers as not contributing

our students
- Classroom doors are closed
- No one bothers them

- Pretty much anyone that interacts with the students outside of class and in the curriculum way

Old TD vs. New TD – Attempts to Mend the Divide

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• They've attempted to • They've pulled in staff members and discussed with them about what we are trying to here • Pulled everyone from the performing arts wing • Turned into a yelling match • Old teachers standing up and screaming at administration • They have tenure • Band director at TD • Dance teacher at TD • They feel they are the only ones that can do the job adequately	• Administration • Staff divide • Intervention • Lack of working together • Privileged self • Position of power • Animosity • Division • Anger •

Improvements to TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Across the board, there has been more of a focus on learning • Difference between my first year here and even before that • When I came to observe here • Students are eager to get to class Not seeing students hanging out in the hallway	• Improvements • Accountability • Restructuring • New efforts • Progress • Change of culture

The Retreat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• More structure • Intense PD over the summer • What your classroom should look like • Beginning, middle, and end • Times that are chunked • Teaching strategies that everyone across the board is using • Awkward situation • Extended contract • 21 extra days • First time I met the staff • Teacher boot camp	• Retreat • Restructuring • Dedication to instructional practices • Across the curriculum • Meaningful PD • Change of culture • Class structure • Teacher boot camp • First got hired • Meeting the staff • Bonding activities • Knew no one • Defining extended contract • Cross curricular lesson • Mountain retreat • Staff bonding

- Three days of our ten
- Mountain hotel
- Bonding activities
- Not being the weakest link
- They place random thing on the top of the web
- Be paired with someone out of our content area
- Teach an interdisciplinary lesson
- Culinary arts teacher
- Historical literacy unit
- Idealistic in my thinking that everything we were planning...
- I made a very strong effort to connect to anyone that had been in the building before
- Hills High School
- Why didn’t you just stay at the White school?
- Disappoint
- Connecting with veterans
- Reputation of Hills High School
- Internship year
- Reconstitution
- Staff divisions
- Old TD
- New TD
- Allegiances
- Politics
- Power structures
- Race and age

- Mediocrity was accepted
- They need great teachers
- They were at the mountain retreat
- Block party on one of the floors
- Like a high school freshmen again
- We are waiting for people to get out

Old TD vs. New TD – Responses to PD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Walk-bys • Talking to them • Teacher study groups • Embracing the information being given to them • "this is very nice, and I'm glad we're learning it, but I'm going to do it the way I've always done it because it works for me."	• Administration accountability • Old TD • New TD • Division • Lack of learning •

Change of School Culture – School Identity/Community

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• More of a school identify than we had before • School identity for all students • If you were involved in football or cheerleading • You were from TD, you were a good athlete • Athletics and not academics • TD represented in	• Defining success • Stereotyping TD's students • Moving away from just sports • Recreating TD's identify • Staff burnout • Failed attempts

Change of School Culture – After Reconstitution

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Started with the teachers coming in • Best as they could and say this is a clean slate • Start fresh • Everything we can to make the school successful • Athletics have always been there • Being recognized for their academic achievements	• New staff members • Ready to contribute • Build a new TD • Celebrating academics • Moving away from just athletics • School-wide commitment • More student involvement • Focusing on students

Quiz Bowl
- Nor is there a debate team, nor is there a solidified student government
- Their attempts have been floundered
- How overworked everybody feel
- I will include myself
- I give all my energy

TD T-shirt
- For their scholarships they are getting
- TV's around the school
- Instead of just seeing athlete of the week
- This person just got accepted to...
- They are celebrating academics
- Student centered
- Administration is very open to listening to students
- Attempting to let them handle some of the issues
- Supportive administration towards students
-

School Visitors

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Student ambassador program • One of the great things about this year • We want a group of students, 9th-12th grade, that will	• Student Ambassadors • TD is moving in the right direction • Pride in TD • Focusing on students • Accountability

Becoming Student-Centered

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Teacher boot camp • I'm very grateful • Students should be functioning on their own • Teacher facilitating	• Student centered • PD • Retreat • Student autonomy • Restructuring • New TD • Schedule strategy • Pressure

Parental Involvement

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Parents are committed • School improvement plan • Involve parents in all our major committees • Small group of	• Parent involvement • Change of culture • Small group of parents • One group of parents does everything

represent our school
- Lots of visitors
- Community members, people from downtown
- School is an open door thing
- It is our location, we're close to downtown
- Pretty easy to get here
- We are failing school
- We have visitors, it's not so much a friendly visit
- Make sure people are doing their jobs
- Community support
- Interesting thing about this community is that everybody is so close
- Other communities, more spread out
- We have people that can literally just walk into the school
- Open school
- Many visitors
- School restructuring
- Failing school
- Physical closeness
- Open school
- Community involvement
- Lack of security
- Student autonomy
- Difficult to devise a plan on how to take kids
- They are going to turn it down
- Instead of just throwing them into the class
- We are hoping that that has kind of caught on Schedule things according to their ability levels
- Raising students' own expectations
- Change of academic culture

parents
- True with most schools
- That group of parents is really gung ho
- Another set of 20 parents who don't contribute but have a set of demands
- That's a depressing night for a teacher (open house)
- AP Night back in the fall semester, we had a great turnout
- I met almost all of my students' parents
- I haven't gotten a good grasp of what gets them here
- It was a great thing
- When I make a phone call, they have a face to put to my name
- Open house vs. AP night
- Higher achieving students
- Parental involvement
- Sets of parents

Pressures on English Teachers

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Everyone is expected to read and write • Not everyone is expected to do calculus • So-and-so tried to write a paragraph and couldn't • The fact that I'm an English teacher and this student can't write a paragraph... • Student just came back from alternative placement • It's the same thing with test scores • I don't feel like we are supported by our staff	• Pressure on English teachers • Accountability • Strength of English teachers • Against math • Lost hope for math • English teachers are TD's hope for AYP • Student-centered • Defining differentiation • Care of English teachers • Burden on English teachers • Responsible for literacy • Accountability • Reputation • Lack of support

Old TD vs. New TD – Differentiating Instruction

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Giving out different assignments • Five different assignments going on for the same lesson at one time • Shorten questions • Reading out of a workbook • Creative writing assignment • It's burdensome • On any given week, I will spend 15-20 hours outside of the classroom preparing	• Defining differentiation • Examples of differentiation • Planning for class • Time spent planning because of differentiation • Old TD • Differentiation • New TD

Portfolio Assessment

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Student writing portfolio • Have different requirements • Someone from downtown comes and flips through it and writes comments for the teacher • "incomplete" • "Students don't have all the necessary requirements" • I can't get them to write a research paper • That won't go in the portfolio, and then that is a reflection of me • No, unless the teacher shows them • Checked and they spend time revising that • Minimal	• Portfolio system • Student writing • Accountability • Standardized requirements • Teacher evaluation • Example comments

Teaching Writing

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Criterion On-line • Writing program • Their own prompts • Excellent for my AP students • Write in whatever mode they need • Administration ... was very firm in saying if you are not in an English room you will do at least one writing assignment • One writing assignment a week • Walk-throughs • Didn't feel that was going to happen unless they were checked • CTE teachers • Definitely getting checked • I get an administrator in my	• Student writing • Evaluation of writing • Emphasis on writing • Administrative demand • Top-down • Teacher accountability • Non-English teachers • Relevancy • Student buy-in • Culinary arts •

Leaving Old TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Really trying to stay neutral • Whatever is thrown at them • Older teachers that are just constantly restirring this negativity • Constantly being pulled in that direction • You lose your friends • If... you choose to hang out with the new teachers • Thankful that I came in not knowing anyone • We had teachers really caught in the middle •	• Staff divisions • Old TD • New TD • Loyalty • Politics • Anger • Resentment

TD's Graduates

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• End up involved in gangs and/or drugs • TD alum and just other people that hang out • Just drive up and down • Honking their horns being obnoxious • People that have gotten diplomas • Get some money • Terrible idea • Become parents • 60% will not leave • 20% go to college • Coming from a lower income community, especially as a minority, very rarely are you going to make it compared to what they could be doing	• TD Graduates • Community culture • Options for graduates • Gangs • Dead end jobs • Early parenthood • College • Predictions • Low expectations

room all the time
- Persuasive writing
- Respond a lot better to that than if they came in my room

Old TD vs. New TD – Divide at The Retreat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Two other English teachers were asked backed • Mountain retreat • I was more up to date on the research and strategies • Veteran colleagues • They were so resistant • Arms crossed, shoulders turning away from the presenter • Went to dinner with a veteran teacher • He went down the list of new teachers and apparently the veteran teachers had a pool	• English department • Body language • Division of staff • Betting on teachers quitting • Pool • Flashback moment •

- About 25-40 students that actually go all the way through

Categorization of Gwen's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Work Experience Before TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Graduated from Crocket with an English literature degree • 2005 • Close connection with difficult clients • Hospital work • Beginning of life • Instead of doing a medical degree • Master's in education • Not pursue my pharmacy degree	• Academic • Work experience • Reflection • Beginning of life

Deciding to Teach High School

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• High school or middle school • I would teach elementary • I was a good caring person • Very deliberate • Working full-time Applied for the master's (program)	• Middle school • High school • Finding her fit • Crocket MEd Program • Caring • Selecting a grade level to teach

Internship

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Was in 2007 • First classes in December/January 2007/2008 • Riverside High School • Mostly White • Some middle-class • Very homogenous • 70-80% free/reduced lunch • I loved it •	• Timeline • Education • MEd • Internship year • Student/school demographics •

Childhood Education

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Easy and automatic connection • Grown up in Riverside • Kind of like going home • I actually lived near TD • I knew the community	• Influence of father • Growing Up • School choice • Redistricting •

Reasons for Joining TD's Staff

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I went to Hills High School • I didn't want to go back home • I decided not to teach there • TD offered me a job • It was the end of the spring 2008	• Job Offers • TD job offers • Reasons for wanting to teach at TD • Wanting a challenge • Different race/culture as a challenge

Hiring Process

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Kind of vulnerable person • Personality wise • Be more just more adaptive and more take command • See a situation and turn it into what it needs to be	• Challenge • Defining challenge • Students are a challenge • Selecting TD • Job recruitment • Personal challenge

- Some of the things that were going on
- I attended Hills High School
- I didn't choose that, my father did
- Happened so quickly
- No option for me to go to TD
- He wanted me to go to Hills
- My sister was also zoned for TD but she went to Hills
- Isn't that interesting
-

semester
- I started in the fall of 08
- Lived for four years
- If I want to teach, then I want to be at the hardest place possible
- Challenges
- Challenges of comfort for me socially and culturally
- I guess a WASP
- Middle-class, White teacher
- Middle-class, White kids

- It wouldn't push me
- I want to the job fair
- Very aggressive about hiring me
- Bryant and Carmen
- Best place to work
- Basically teach whatever
- Have a small class size
- Wouldn't be so constrained by like teaching the cannon
- Teach a really, really traditional curriculum
- They didn't tell me a lot about that (reconstitution)
- Hiring a lot of new teachers
- More interested in hiring the new teachers
- Could shape them
- Been teaching more because

- At the job fair
- Being recruited
- The selling of TD to Gwen
- Introduced Banner and Bryant
- A fresh start
- Started teaching
- Selling points of TD
- Changing to meet the needs of TD's administrators

there were more resistant
- 'of course I can become what they need me to become'
- Began my journey

Teaching Summer Bridge Program

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Very disorganized • My classroom and it was full of stuff • Teacher who had left because of restructuring • Students weren't there • Pat had left • Just abandoned her classroom • Like a lot of teachers • Very hurt • Restructuring • Books piled up in closets • Office rooms were just huge messes of just stuff • Like a natural	• First impression of TD • Teaching summer class • Ladder Program • New school • Disorganization • Reality in the face • Reconstitution • Aftermath • Summer teaching • First experience at TD • Summer bridge program • Lack of support • Lack of curriculum • Missing key elements • On the fly

Creating a New School

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Just communication • Beginning of the year • Those things weren't naturally happening • My first encounter with TD Taught that summer there	• Inventing a new school culture • The beginning of the beginning • Restructuring • Starting to organize and rebuild a school

Teaching in a Restructuring School

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• More helpful and giving of materials • Saw them during break • I became keenly aware that even though tese people are adults • It's really hard to just start teaching • Your first job • Alone • In the middle of all these changes • Restructuring TD	• Challenge of teaching • New pressures from restructuring • Teaching in a restructuring school • Lack of experience

disaster had happened
- Teachers who were disorganized
- Summer bridge program
- Project Grad for freshmen
- I never taught at TD
- I had never taught outside my internship
- It was a very unstructured program
- I was going to teach a program
- A four week bridge
- We teach the English portion
- I assumed that would mean some sort of curriculum
- A book, some materials...
- It was just whatever
- It was a just a whiteboard
- I had no idea what I was doing
- People there would had been at TD for years
- Scrambling to be organized
- Insider vs. outsider
- No support from other people
- Sink or swim
- The cycle repeats itself
- Newly found comfort
- Quality of teaching
- Bridge program
- If I knew then what I know now...
- Teaching skills
- Lack of literature instruction
- Lack of relevancy

- They seemed so comfortable
- Outside at the that time
- I did the next summer
- I saw the same type of person
- I was the now who was on the inside
- I was comfortable
- I understood how TD rolled
- Not very
- Levels of questioning
- I don't know why I decided to teach that
- Teach a skill
- Read short texts
- Analyze the text from these levels of questioning
- There were good moments
- I remember feeling like "who, this is really working."
- I was really aware
- How this fit into their lives as 9th graders

Test-based Accountability

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• 9th grade and then they would take their EOC	• Knowing students
• Two years at TD to figure out how I could obtain these scores	• Test scores
• Why I should obtain these scores	• Experience teaching English
• What they meant	• Learning how to obtain test scores
• Teaching English II CP	• Learning what test scores mean
• That is all I have ever taught	• Teacher effectiveness
• That is all I have ever taught	• Effectiveness rating
• I have learned a lot	• Public/private knowledge
• Not made public	• Collaboration on test scores
• You know what the other person made	
• Never laid before the whole school	
• We know exactly what we made	
• Switched our classes	

The Retreat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It was bizarre	• Preplanning
• Go back 10 days early	• Extended contract
• First three I have never met the staff	• Teacher retreat
• Gatlinburg, TN	• Lack of information
• Two or three nights	• Ed Works
• "How are we going to do all this"	• Critique of Ed Works
• Be owned and led by Ed Works	• Fire hose
• We outsourced a consultant	• Metaphor? (kind of pervy)
• He starts talking that first morning	• Gender roles
• It was Monday morning	• Critique of Ed Works
• Why this man that I didn't know, or never met...was leading our PD	• Teaching methods
• This man	• Lacking any buy-in
• "today I need you to sip form the fire hose"	• Meta cognition
"what is the fire	• Social learning
	• TAP (first time mentioned)
	• Comparing TAP to Ed Works
	• Staff division
	• Tensions
	• Don't be a problem
	• PD

Extended Contract Time

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Really good first few days	• PD
• We were all very nice	• Good start
• Instruct the staff like a retreat	• Safe, bonding activities
• Spend time together	• Tense moments
• Building fellowship	• Staff division
• Aggravated by... some of the things we were having to do	• Resistant
• School was going to be an SLC school	• Transforming into SLCs
• Tense tables	• Should have fired more old teachers
• Random numbers	• Restructuring the school
• At a table with a teacher who maybe had been there for 35 years	• Frustrations
• Be really, really vocal about my opinion	• Doesn't want to change
• How should we structure classes	• PD
• Frustrations she	• Extended Contract
	• Frustrations
	• PD vs. getting prepared for school
	• Instructional support materials
	• Lack of support
	• Overuse of PD

hose? What are you talking about?"

- His methods were not content-specific
- He just had a few methods
- How to get kids engaged
- Encourage kids to think about what they are learning
- Communicate or share
- More PD happening so in depth with TAP
- First year as totally unorganized
- They are learning something
- Fits into puzzle
- Huge gaps in relevancy
- Three days straight
- Sat at tables
- Met people
- There was certainly a... old
- PD
- Summer retreat
- Lack of questioning
- Top-down decision making
- Making new teachers
- Staff Divisions
- Resistance
- Old Staff Members
- Catering to old staff members
- Lack of cooperation
- PD

felt

- Tense altercations
- Disagreement with a senior teacher
- Five days
- Very stressful day
- Always in this room together
- Was supposed to start a class
- Not pacing guide or a curriculum guide
- There was nobody
- This is what 10th grade looks like
- I was getting more stressed
- More stressed as PD was going on
- A little home for me
- I started teaching
-

staff new staff king of thing
- Old staff tables and new staff tables
- Supposed to save it from them
- Supposed to come in and save the school
- Would rather hire a new teacher
- Old teacher who was kind of more stubborn
- Whatever I learned, I would do
- I was a blank canvas to PD
- Don't be negative, don't fight against what's going on Go with it

Staff Divisions at the Retreat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Five or six teachers • Been there a very long time	• Staff Divisions • Resistance • Old Staff

Benefits of TAP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Am I allowed to make that assertion	• TAP • Then and Now • Power

Collapsing the Tracks

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Third floor • I moved the next year	• First classroom • Year one of teaching

- I needed to watch out for
- Not, um, upset them
- Not say anything that was too revolutionary
- Like walk out of meetings
- Almost verbally just attack our presenter
- Tense tables
- Random numbers
- At a table with a teacher who maybe had been there for 35 years
- Be really, really vocal about my opinion
- How should we structure classes
- Frustrations she felt
- Tense altercations
- Disagreement with a senior teacher
- Members
- Catering to old staff members
- Lack of cooperation
- PD
- They were being so defensive
- I see their classroom now
- Four years later
- Don't see an effective classroom
- Loose relationships
- Occasional moments of instruction
- Just doing their own show
- Those people Classroom that our kids weren't doing, you know, a curriculum
- Top down
- Gwen ascends
- Critique of old teachers
- Lack of research
- Lack of instruction
- Lack of effectiveness
- Resistant to change
- My kids
- The 10th grade scores the year before
- My kids felt like they were learning
- Effective teacher
- Very hard to teach them something
- Totally mixed ability
- CP Class
- Students were soooo low
- Higher students
- Struggling with even grade-level
- I was really confused
- Meet all their needs
- We could accomplish
- Needs differentiation
- Whatever that mean
- Kids couldn't take lower level classes
- They weren't
- Test scores
- Accountability
- Teacher effectiveness
- Questions effectiveness
- Great effort
- Differentiated instruction
- Collapsing of the tracks
- Collapsing of the tracks
- Differentiation
- Lack of preparedness
- Internship
- Definition of internship
- 2011-2012
- Experienced educator
- Defining differentiation
- Description of current class
- Lack of understanding differentiation
- Not wanting to understand differentiation

offered
- Differentiation was something I've always heard about
- Loosely attempted
- No one tells you or prepares for how to differentiate for every student in your classroom
- Trying to meet the needs of various groups in my class
- Inclusion class
- CP
- Has all SPED students in it
- Forgot to put any regular ED
- I have a leper
- 20 students with all IEPS and we get SPED hours
- I am still trying to figure out what they means (differentiation)
- Have different tests
- Different
- Not put in a fair teaching situation
- Honors kids
- Student ability
- Minimal skill set
- Text-to-world connections
- Accountability
- Expanding the tracks
-

assignments
- Required to do part of their work
- Smathering of what's going on
- I've got better in that, but I had no idea
- I feel like I've grown into something
- It's like you either sink or swim
- Thrown out there
- You drown and leave
- Five kids who were honors kids
- An ability to, to comprehend a text, different levels of text
- Related to their lives
- Connected to universal themes
- We're not really, really basic
- Kids kind of sit together
- True honors kids stuck together
- Go further and

they can write a better paper
- They had already been held back enough

Student Behavior I

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It was the second week of school • I asked a girl to.. • Ability to go in their groups • You know "no" • Huge air condition machine • She is going to shoot me and I didn't know • Very, very, very angry • How was I supposed to handle that? • Called the principal • "I'll be right up" • From lunch • She was actually suspended for the rest of the year • She wanted to threaten me	• Challenges • First example of threat • Violence • Lack of administrative support • Discipline example • Differentiated instruction

Student Behavior II

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Spring semester • Seven boys in my class • Two separate gangs • They were all enemies • It wasn't clear yet in the school what supports I should, who I should go to • You tell people • Principal would come • Watch your class twice • "they're an okay class" • I had first block plan • One of the student's phone rings	• Spring semester • Example two • Violence • Gang • Lack of support • Community violence •

Excuses for Lack of Administrative Support

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• All the principals • Busy doing restructuring • Meeting with Ed works • Had so many new teachers • Looking back I would handled them differently • What I needed support-wise • Major issues • SLCs • Deescalate things • Things are clear • Out of my classroom, when to call someone in • No one can prepare you to experience it	• Support from principals • School restructuring • Being overwhelmed • Doing school and planning school • Growth • Planning a school while restructuring

- Serious about her threat

- "You can't answer your phone"
- 15 year old kid
- Stands up and start screaming at another boy
- What I found out was...
- Shooting the night before
- Nobody had notified me
- These children in my class
- Screaming "my classroom is a safe place"
- I closed the door
- "guess we should have told you that there was a shooting and..."
- Trying to kill the driver
- He threw a desk at me

On the video camera

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I wouldn't be, like, the teacher I am today • I can offer so much just experience • 20 years of teaching experience • Packed into three or four • Different situations • You can never read about them • You have to have to actually experience them	• Growth • Relive the experience • Becoming a better teacher • Teacher effectiveness • Teacher preparation • Trial and error

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• New space • Honors class • So excited • "oh my gosh" • Worst class I ever had • Honors students just by title • Sense of entitlement • 25 of them • Hard class to control • Nobody had an honors class • I obviously learned some things are going better I owed them more	• Second year • New classroom • Year II • English II honors • Expanding the tracks • Student discipline • Title of honors

Academic and not Elective Classes

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Declined because of the restructuring • Who is getting their graduation credits • Kids being able to take • Advanced art two or three times • Put them back in English • Kids needed to take core classes • Magnet program • The restructuring really has hurt • Created this divide • ROTC or the performing arts • Who is more important on the schedule battle	• Magnet program • Reason for declining numbers • Kids failing and having to take core classes • Lack of electives • Importance on test scores • Divide between core and elective teachers

Increasing Test Scores

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• CP classes • More focused on passing the EOC	• Test based accountability • Year two

Over-Tested

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• A couple options for pre-test • Stare created pre-	• Pre-test options • Testing • Test prep

Growth – Curriculum

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Feeling really, really settled • Taking on an	• Growth of the curriculum • This year

- More and more of the focus in the restructuring
- English AYP
- Every year it would go up about 12 or 11%
- Meant a new test
- To be harder and include logic and research stuff
- Produce a practice test
- No one can show me practice problems
- 34%, 48%, 57%, 68%
- Really big jumps
- Really bizarre year
- Item analysis
- No longer does that
- A percentage for what their grades would be
- I don't have any feedback
- Kid got basic or below basic or proficient
- There's not item analysis
- EOC becomes an emphasis
- Lack of materials
- Restructuring focuses on EOC
- EOC is main stage
- Lack of support for test prep
- Rising AYP standard
- Rising number of AYP scores
- Unclear process
- Confusion
- Lack of info from state
- test
- Been tested so much during restructuring
- They don't have to take those practice tests
- Doesn't represent them

"I'm not going to try on them..."

- Student motivation, lack of
- Accountability
- intern
- We were a little PLC basically
- Really good curriculum down
- From a curriculum with just a list of standards
- The skills I'm going to cover
- We are going to test them
- Three years experience
- Teaching to test

- It doesn't help me
- There's almost 90 skills
- I have to do everything really, really well

Mentoring

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• for two reason	• Intern
• I wanted an intern	• Thoughts about intern
• Our department really felt negatively about interns	• Department views on interns
• Few people wanted an intern	• Test vs. interns
• A lot of work	• Extra effort
• Overloaded	• Too much work
• Get our kids proficient	
• Feel al little burnt out	

School Grades

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Secret room	• Calculating school grade
• Take all your scores	• Lack of understanding
• Gave the test	• Accountability
• I calculated who got proficient	• Saving of the school...?
• Got 57%	• Scores that we needed
• "Who have I not given it to?"	
• "Don't worry about it"	
• We saved the school (sarcasm) Do I seem like I saved the school	

Threats

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We are told	• Closing the school
• School is going to close at the end of the 2009-2010	• Accountability
• Benchmarks this past year	• Ultimate sanctions
• Bryant	• Testing counts for so much
• Jumbled kind of	• TAP
• They make us vote on a school wide initiative	• Forced vote
• 2011-2012	• Timeline of events
• TAP	• Restructuring
• You cannot choose TAP	• State takeover
• Taken over by the state	• School initiative
• Make you do TAP	
• We chose TAP	
• No year of pre-implementation	

Selecting TAP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• "Whatever the state assigns you when you get taken over"	• Bad meeting
• Meeting with the staff	• School wide initiative
• "this isn't a vote"	• TAP
• Not everyone voted	• State takeover
• One of 'those' meetings	
• Bryant announced at the end of the day	
• We had voted on TAP	

Pressures on English Teachers

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Extended contract	• 2010-2011
• Last days after	• Critique of algebra
• Important year for writing and English	• Focus on English and writing
• Algebra I think was like working hard but...	• Test based accountability
• Given up on algebra	• Strategy for satisfying AYP/safe harbor
• Started to decrease	• Poor scores in algebra
• We only made Barely over 20% proficient	• Math teachers at TD
• Math teachers	• Last two years
• Algebra Excuses for low math scores	• New
• We only need to mess it up for one year	• Two math teachers
• Wipe all that out	• Here before the reconstruction
• Only made it by safe harbor	• Test based accountability
• English and graduation rate	• School improvement
• Graduation rate	• Test targets
	• Math vs. English
	• Graduation rates
	• Can't trust math
	• 10th grade EOC

Extended Contract

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Part of restructuring	• Extended contract
• Extended contact	• Different programs
• Work an extra 21 days	• Benefits of extended contract
• When I realized how much money there was	• Contact results in gains made
• Could have been more effectives	
• Those days and those times there are so many things	
• PBIS	
• Different tutoring programs	
• SLCs	
• PLCs	
• We just had implemented without all that support	
• Some of the technical gains	

we only made it by one student
- Margins are precarious
- I don't feel like it means a lot that we made it
- A little bit of the pressure off
- Technical goals
- Graduation went up
- Maybe it is 87%
- 68% proficient
- We have pretty much can't rely on them
- Statistically our children won't be making the 60% this year
- 11th grade writing assessment
- Small piece of the pie
- We can teach
- Our scores matter 11th EOC, almost the lowest county
- We are going to make them
- We are just test vs. Writing test
- Pressure
- High stakes accountability
- Threats
- Progress vs. setbacks
- With an eye towards the future
- Belief in TD
- Test based accountability
- Teacher identity

prep machines
- Before I used to be able to turn off being a teacher
- I'm like that all the time
- Overwhelmed I'm consumed by my job

Ed Works Leaves

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• The second year of Ed Works • Really, really rough • We've heard it all before • Disappear sometime in my second year • After Xmas • They had not renewed • Their contract was not renewed • We had felt like it wasn't working	• Ed Works • Ed Works leaves • Ed Works' impact • Contact ends

Implementing TAP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Big part of our • Grant to pay for what you need to do • That's costing the county 27 million • 13 schools • Calculated into the extra pay • Masters and mentors • Extra staff • Copyrighted system • Portals • Trainings • Very controlled like • You don't do TAP without	• TAP • Trainings • Difference in the school • Cost • Commitment to TAP • Critique of TAP • In support of TAP • Staff divide • Critique of LCS • Late implementation • Value of teaching • What should be emphasized • Choice – instruction or relationships

Role of TAP Mentor

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• TAP mentor • Author's purpose and mode • Guide them • Structure everything • Constantly giving them EOC type questions/scenarios • A lot of work no their part • Be getting ready to get to higher education • EOC about mode, audience, and purpose • Two weeks • Not autonomous	• TAP mentor • Purpose of teaching • Benefits of TAP • Aligning instruction to TAP • Teaching for the test • Chances for a TD's graduate success • Supports for students • Lack of supports for students after graduation • Accountability

doing TAP all the way
- TAPized
For four years of the programs
- TAP sort of divides
- Masters and mentors from staff
- I have to, it's my job
- Not getting all the training all I've gotten
- If you knew everything that I knew
- Kids can really learn
- LCS implemented it late
- Behind with their hiring by like three months
- I was supposed to be hired
- Last fall
- Get hiring finished until the summer
- Just been a
- Received all these supports
- Administrative assistant

whirlwind
- All my teachers individually
- We want you to see what's working
- Something is usually working
- Take away their relationships

Proud about their relationships

TAP's Impact on Instruction

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Structured "do now" • Was just a bellringer • Wrote a journal • Walking about • Thinking better think • So it is reinforcing • Ended with yesterday • I choose my experts • Clearly getting them, vocabulary • You guys are totally successful	• TAP changing instruction • Gwen's classroom • Structure of lesson • Competition in classroom • Change of culture • Centered on student learning • Celebrating learning

Categorization of Kristy's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Internship Experience - Overview		Professional Experience Before Teaching		Attraction to Education	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Alternative ways	• Internship	• Before I went back to grad school	• Before teaching	• Originally stated my undergraduate work	• Appealing parts of education
• Overly complex and confusing	• Unusual internship	• Leigh County Health department	• Professional experience	• Go into elementary education	• Attraction to education
• Go straight back in and get everything	• Placement	• Thought about going into education	• Make sure	• Terrible instruction at XXX	• What she gets out of education
• I was really happy actually	• Experience	• Need to experience Leigh County	• Decision making	• First day of class	• Learning as a process
• I could make a difference	• Teacher preparation	• As far as bureaucracy	• Fight	• Basically stupid	• Pedagogy
• A kid's education	• Decision to go for MEd	Go into and fight	• Layers of bureaucracy	• Knew nothing	• Friend visit
• Make a difference once a year in a kid's educational process	• Decision to go to Crocket	• 2004 with my bachelors	• Graduation	• Dumbest of the dumb	• Inspiration
• More than one kids walks away with	• Critique of ATCPs	• English lit degree in 2004	• Undergrad	• Friend went there	• Purpose of teaching
• I really learned something	• Bits and pieces of licensure	• I did reception work	• Time frame	• Toured the campus	• Student centered
• Not about literature, but about myself	• Getting placed at TD	• English degree	• Contentment	• Met some of the professors	• Love of discipline
• That's success	• Internship selection/placement	• Difficult	• Emotions	• Loved it	• Female English teacher
	• Reaction to TD	• Not in education	• Experience	• I do love kids	• Positive experiences in education
	• Purpose of teaching	• Worked as a purchaser	• Work experience	• I am glad I have high schoolers	• I cannot learn from this man
	• Defining success in the classroom	• I was unhappy	• Unfulfilled	• First day of class	• His style
	• Goal of teaching	• Finally sunk in		•	• He broke everybody down
	• Centered on learning	Life is far too			• I really didn't need to be there
	• Growing as a	short to be			• Weeding out the people

	person over academic material	unhappy			• Amazing woman • English class • "That what I want to do and that's how I want to do it" • 2001

First Experiences at TD (Pre-Internship)		**Connection to Students**		**Areas of Professional Support**	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I did observations here • Certain number of observation • Pre-intern selection • Everyone I believe actually came here • I know the "reputation" of TD	• Experiences at TD • First experience at TD • Internship placement/selection • Reputation of TD	• North Ash High School • False, just like the reputation • Want to be involved • Eradicating that reputation • Working with some truly unique individuals • Children as well • They are growing up • Financial situations • They are growing up • Single moms • Raised by their mothers	• Kristy's own educational history • Educational experience • Childhood • Connection to students • Comparison of educational pasts • Demographics of students • Reputation • Purposeful work	• Going the extra mile • I wouldn't be where I am • Go the extra mile • They really stretch out • Emotionally supportive to the kids • Educationally encouraging • Family environment	• Dedication of TD's teachers • Teacher support • Support for Kristy • School culture • School community

- Similar to what I had with a very young mother
- Connected very well
- Different racial situations
- Just doesn't seem to matter
- "Yeah, I was a kid and I was really poor"
- "My mom was a single mom too"
- I connected with these kids

School Community

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It's mixed • It's both • Newer ones • Some of the older ones • It's a mix of all of them • Definitely was not the reconstruction • Mentor some of the younger teachers • "this is how you can	• Intrinsic desire • Wanting to get back • Helping younger teachers • Mentor • Community • No staff divide

Internship Experience – Mentor Teacher I

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We teach fall once class • Mentor was Floyd • Absolutely no more different, night and day • Personality wise • Fly-by-the-seat-of his-ants • Collaboration • Organization • Clip board	• Working with Floyd • Comparing Floyd to Kristy • Feeling comfortable • Collaborative effort • Positive student response • Teaching class • Kids in the class

Internship Experience – Mentor II

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Spring semester • Change and turnaround • Teaching 9th grade • 11th grade with Marie • Word of the days • Independent book projects • No ordained schedule	• New class • Internship challenges • Lack of guidance • Collaboration with fellow interns • Freedom of content selection • Authority • Intern centered • About 9th grade

really get these kids engaged”

- Many different styles of writing
- Very engaged
- Did presentations
- Beautiful creation
- My third year teaching
- AP writing seminar
- Not college board
- Elective writing seminar class
- `11th grade AP

- Ability levels
- About Floyd
- Authority
- Empowering Kristy
- Freedom
- Internship experience

It’s now a mix of different

- Focus on poetry
- A lot of energy
- Aren’t ready
- Co-interns
- My savior
- Illnesses and family issues
- Different world
- Supposed to be structured
- More paced
- A state EOC

- Teaching 9th graders
- Lack of support
- No mentor
- Relying on interns

Test-Based Accountability

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Something hanging over my head • No access to it • I did feel pressured • Ultimately was great • Kids did fantastic • They knew the skills • The pressure actually came • Someone else’s name was	• Test pressure • Accountability • Keep scores with mentor • Doing it for the mentor • Measuring student learning • About the test • Confidence of kids’ ability levels • Lack of

Internship Experience – Job Offer

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I found out before may • Extremely nerve wracking • (Identification of interviewers’ name omitted for confidentiality) • Finally made it in there • Having to be flexible • Bryant said	• Job offer • From intern to teacher • Recognition • Interview • Competition • Competing for jobs • Fellow interns • Interview • Question during the interview

Attending Summer Trainings (2012)

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Like the final day • Need someone to go to PD • Getting certified to teach AP literature • Entire summer or doing a training or a meeting • Unscheduled in-service hours • Could have spread it out	• After getting the job • Reaction to the job • Responsibilities for the summer • Busy summer (2010) • Training • Lack of payment • Unscheduled in-service hours

associated with it (the scores)
- I was the intern
- Teacher of record
- It follows her or him
- Responsibility
- Mar or wreck something
- Otherwise fantastic
- Kids were smart enough
- They would pass
- Barely passed
- I always felt pressure
- EOC
- Valued added
- TVASS
- None of that was ever explained during the internship
- Proud of them

knowledge about tests
- Types of tests/accountability
- Pressure
- Belief in students

- Giving a list minute "oh by the way"
- If a student fails
- Where does the responsibility lie
- Collaboration because education is an active, participant arena
- Can't be inactive
- You have to engage
- Up to the teacher
- Have a good relationship
- Build that relationship
- Get that education
- "salting the oats"
- I felt comfortable
- Met with all of them so many times
- Didn't feel confident

Great relationships
- Odd
- Good relationship
- You want them to have the

- Support of student
- Who is accountable
- Relationships
- Competing against interns
- Jobs
- Competition
- Pros and cons

- 70 unscheduled in-service hours
- Over one school year
- Three years' worth
- Got 40 alone for the AP training
- Actually getting the room reading
- Getting it prepped

opportunity
- Were my kids' scores higher
Healthy competition

Extended Contract

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Everybody comes back early • Had three or four extra days • Didn't come back the full 10	• Extended contract • 10 days

Threat of State Takeover/School Closure

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We know it's out there • Don't think it will happen • General attitude • It exists • Everyone is confident it won't occur • PD meetings • Staff meetings • SLCs meeting • State takeover • Nobody knows • The biggest problem • Nobody knew what that means • Losing our jobs • Reapplying again • Complete overhaul of the status quo	• Accountability • School threats • Communication • State takeover • Lack of happening • Won't likely happen • Lack of communication • Understanding the threats • Lack of defined threats

Benchmarks for Avoiding State Takeover

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• AYP benchmarks • Writing • Algebra I • 90% proficient • English II was over 90% proficient • The 11th grade writing assignment was around 89 • Graduation rate • They wanted it to be 90%	• Benchmarks • Targets • What scores are needed • Writing • AYP • Numbers

- No one could really tell us
- They didn't communicate with us

Classroom Experience Post-Internship

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Kristy's teaching experience • Teaching senior English • In the classroom • Impact of graduation rate • Instruction • Student involvement	• Taught seniors last year • Graduation rate was the big thing • Get through the class and get out • Final kids • Just under 90% • We squeaked by, like 88% • Didn't affect the instruction • I communicated the situation • They had a responsibility • Younger brothers and sisters • All to attend her • They had a bargain • Part of that bargain

Credit Recovery – Critique

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I do not feel it should substitute my class • If you fail in the fall… • You take it in the spring • Take it over • It's a cake walk • They write • Overly structured • A freshmen could write them • Classes are workbooks • Analyzing text • We actually do to pass the class • Normal classroom environment • A lesser version of it Allowed the	• Critique of Credit Recovery • Lack of rigor • Does not equal a teacher's class • Pressure of graduation rate • Version of school reform • Not preparing kids • Focusing on test skills

Tutoring Thursday

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Tutoring Thursday list • Every two weeks • Six last fall, five in the spring • D and F list • English IV • Top priority • Stayed on them like hawks • All missing assignments • Did very poorly on an assignment • Gain and half the missing credit back • Reassess the skills • Redo the work • Focus on the kids • Failing or in danger of failing • Special request	• Positive school reform • Focus on learning • Support from administration • Cross curricular effort • Change of school schedule • Monitor students • Focus on accountability classes (like English IV) • Maximizing time • Dealing with kids who are not in Tutoring Thursday but are in the school • Benefits of Tutoring Thursday

	credit	made by the teacher • Make up a test • Roughly an hour • Your room • Get settled fast enough • Abbreviated schedule on Thursdays • Classes are shortened • Teacher has all the specific work • Sit down and focus • You need extra tutoring • Either say… hang out in the cafeteria • You walk • Make up essays • Get the one-on-one time • Kids that are just missing work • Nothing more than a make-up session • "do your missing work"	• Giving students what they need

Achieving AYP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Announced it • Different people would walk in • Meetings as the end of the school year • Speculative • We did well enough • We'd be clear • Every meeting it was reiterated • We were safe • Happy and relieved • First five times we hear it • About the fifteenth • One big joke • Everybody kept saying it over and over again	• TD making AYP • Being freed of accountability • Communication of success • Lack of celebration

Acknowledgements for Making AYP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Graduation rate really doesn't get talked about • Graduation ceremony • Abysmal • Doesn't bother me • 10th grade does not get the kudos they need or deserve • I hear that from people who teach 10th grade • Don't knit pick • 11th grade has such massive gains • Past four years Lot of accolades	• Teachers responsible for TD's success • Different classes • Accountability measures • Raising the scores TD must hit

Instructional Sacrifices for AYP

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• 75% of our time getting them to write • Skills work • Not writing in 10th grade • Curriculum suffers • Content suffers	• Narrowing on the curriculum • How gains were earned • Writing • Focusing on tested skills

Impact of Test-Prep Instruction on Students

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• They don't know what • Real confusion • Nothing but skills	• How Kristy receives kids • Breaking the narrowed

Kristy's Graduated Students

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Break into my room • Leave me notes • Behavior wise	• After they leave Kristy's class • College bound • Student reports

Effects of Teaching English IV

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I felt good last year • Exhausted • But also good	• Summer after first year • Tired • Rejuvenation

- for one year
- Nothing but writing for another year
- Combine those skills
- Content
- Still have to write
- 11th grade is straight persuasive essay, five paragraph
- Analytical
- Let's look at characterization
- Good bit to adjust
- curriculum cycle
- English IV
- Focus on writing
- Integrating skills
- So naturally, uh, structured
- Your cell phone
- Don't interrupt your professor
- 300 people in an auditorium
- It's silent
- Nobody is talking
- Taking notes Really positive
- Student visit
- Kristy feels good
- Very difficult
- Overwhelming spring
- Mixed bag
- 50% proficient
- There's no fundamental, basic CP
- Just English IV
- Difference now
- Student success on EOC
- How Gwen was feeling

Collapsing the Tracks

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Be able to serve our kids	• Un-collapsing the tracks
• Lower level class	• Student ability
• Give you more one-on-one	• Collapsing tracks
• There's only CP	• Impact on instruction
• Differentiate to a point	• Student ability levels
• Kids really need that one-on-one help	• Differentiation
• Differentiation alone is not	

Carmen's Role in TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Schedules	• Carmen's role in the school
• Class size	• Money
• SIG grant	• Support for students
• She gave an estimate	• Data analysis
• All the data	• Still feeling out the situation
• Found what we needed	• Delay
• She worked a lot on it	• Becomes frustrating
• Grant-type issue	
• We left on good terms	

Writing Handbook

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• School-wide writing initiative	• Writing handbook
• Unscheduled in-service	• Change of administrators
• You taught English III	• First draft
• Science teachers	• Writing groups
• Math teachers	• PLC
• General template	• Teachers teaching teachers
• I created Powerpoints	• Writing initiative
• We sent out handouts	

sufficient

We've gotten back together
Carmen's replacement

- Professional development
- Borrow her giant book from this training
- Carmen
- I stooped
- That was her deal
- New person
- So I just ceased

Critique of TAP Implementation

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• TAP came in	• TAP
• New organizational tool, structuring tool	• Critique of TAP
• Almost everybody that was involved with TAP	• How Kristy was impacted
• Out of the building	• School delays
• Two weeks	• Over involvement
• Getting sparse information	• Delaying planning of school events
• Pro-active	• Too many people in it
• Were out of the loop	• Impact on department
• Getting prom things going	• Unable to communicate
• Involvement early	• Frustration
• 12	• TAP in the classroom
• 7 are TAP mentor or master teachers	• Frustrations

TAP Trainings

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Tuesday for an hour	• TAP trainings
• Tuesday or Thursday	• Pace of training
• Depending on your schedules	• Critique of training
• Just an hour	
• They're good	
• Extreme pace	
• I've digested what has occurred from one week	
• Rubrics at a pace	
• Moving straight through the next section	
• People don't deal with change	
• Too much too	

TAP Observation

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Evaluated on the 16th	• Critique of Kristy's first observation
• Still haven't talked to anybody	• Unfair evaluation
• Old LCS system of 48 hours	• No response
• Boom	• TAP people are not yet trained
• Meet with your evaluator	• Being trained while implementing
• You talk about it	
• The scripts	
• Having to request	
• Request your scripts	
• Not just being provided	
• Prior to sitting down with you	
• Wanting to go	

- Five how are not
- Frustrating days
- Difficult time communicating
- Be pulled out for TAP stuff
- They'll be sent here for TAP training
- Can't meet
- Our department can't get together
- If we want to collaborate
- Keep my relationships
- My kids
- Do what needs to be done
- I'm not worried
- May not fit every teachers' style
- That complete structure
- We talk about the objective
- Certain stipulations
- I truly don't know
- Just implementation
- Straight on it
- Critique on me
- We getting our checks

- Severe relationships with students
- Implementing TAP
- Implementation year
- Teachers are trained

quick Implementation year

back to your mentor

- I don't like how it's being presented

- Evaluating me correctly
- How I am going to be then reviewed or evaluated?

Categorization of Bobby's In Vivo and Sociologically Constructed Codes

Experience Working in Non-Profit (Pike)		Decision to Return to Henley		Reflections on Being a Student at Hills High School	
In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*	*In Vivo*	*Sociologically Constructed*
• 2007 I graduated from college • Been volunteering at a non profit • Helping them interpret poetry • Short stories • English Language and Literature • Just an English degree • Majored in that • Volunteering there • Needed somebody to run their afterschool program and field trips • I accepted • I worked with students on writing • Supporting students • I was dissatisfied • Work that was being don there • Write with students • Projects • Focused on working with teenagers	• Spring 07 • Building experience • First experience with education • Afterschool • Focus on student academic • Didn't enjoy job • Strains of job • Critique of Bobby by non-profit • Rock concert • Youth advisory board • Likes working with teens • Deciding to leave the non-profit • Return to school • Lack of credentials • I'll show them • Listen to me	• Growing up here • Mom was involved • Youth and teenagers • Worked at a Boys and Girls club • Poverty that was in Henley • State of education • Debates • All these amazing resources • Progressive educational place I was kind of interested in coming back	• Decision to move to Henley • Family • Returning home • Comparing Henley to Pike • Resources • Reasons to return home	• Hills High School • Textbook most days • Read classic authors • Reading YA books • Not heavily emphasized • Lack of kind of alternative education places • It was really limited • Herding cattle • Kids are going to college • Taking a year or two off to travel • Very traditional	• Reflections on growing up • Bobby's own high school education • Being a student • Privilege • Meaning of teaching • Critique of Hills High School •

- Youth advisory board
- Group of teenagers
- Advised our organization
- Teen centered
- Student centered things
- Listening to their ideas
- Taking their ideas and helping them develop things into programs
- Rock concert
- Raised money
- I was really good working with students
- Good rapport
- I didn't have any training in education
- "You've never studied these things"
- To become a teacher in WA
- Go to a program and become a teacher
- I passed those

[teaching] tests
- It was in the back of my head
- Becoming a teacher

Working for a For-Profit (Henley)

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Unemployed for a little while	• Bobby's return to Henley
• Huntington learning centers	• Being unemployed
• Person who runs their tutoring room	• Finding employment
• Basically convincing people that couldn't afford it	• Bobby's soul/integrity
• Their kid would become a better reader	• Lack of satisfaction
• Complete bullshit	• Coercion of parents
• Kids didn't seem to enjoy it	• Money
• It just did not feel good	
• About parents	
• Second mortgages	
• You can't just have them read a book?	
• It was just a horrible situation; I quit	

Decision to Return to School

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I need to do something	• Unemployed again
• Before the application was due	• Returning to school
• Grad school	• Becoming motivated
• Advance in the workforce	• Finding place
• Be taken seriously	
• Be a professional	
• Earn my master's in education	
• I applied to a program	
• Space to talk	
• Type of school	
• Thinking about and worrying about	
Credentialed	

Being Placed as an Intern at TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I chose to go to TD	• Interning at TD
• Interview process for schools	• Coming to TD
• Couldn't get together there	• Selecting TD
• Organization reason	• Role of education
• I wanted to be at a school… like TD	• Power of education
• Low-income school	• How education can help low-income people
• Non-traditional learners	• Wanting to serve low-income students
• Aware of like these inequalities in education	• Politics
• Education being able to change or offset some of the inequalities	• Going to TD
• American democracy	• Internship
• Empower individuals	• Starting internship
	• Finding meaning
	• Gaining direction in life
	• Becoming a professional
	• Passion for the job
	• Alternative texts

- I was excited
- Teaching alternative texts
- Being open to graphic novels
- Using music at all
- Movies
- Pretty exciting
- I was wanted, it felt like
- Felt good
- I was back on track
- I was really directionless for a while
- I was kind of directionless
- I was back on track
- Working in education again
- Working with students
- It felt good

First Experiences at TD

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• A few surprising things	• First day at TD
• Sitting in meetings	• Data
	• First experience

NCLB Accountability

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Explained over the next week or so	• About state takeover
	• Restructuring

Superintendent's Negations for Test Scores

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We had a series	• Superintendent
• Two of three	• Deal cutting
• Before school	• State oversight

- Kind of surprised
- Bureaucratic nature of it
- I had a notebook
- Talking about students
- Very first day we are there
- We have an hour in the classroom
- Milling about
- People haven't seen each other all summer
- Catching up
- Powerpoint
- Carmen , Bryant
- Tests last year
- Where does that put us
- Very positive like our student are improving
- Cherry picked
- Things that we didn't do very well were downplayed
- We're teachers
- Like public relations
- Pitching us these
- Success stories
- Pre-planning
- Test scores
- Low test scores
- Picking best test scores
- Making a negative into a positive
- Public relations
- Selling the scores
- Tracking improvement
- Focusing on improvement
-
- Different meetings with us
- Can be taken over by the state
- You're taken over by the state
- Very vague
- Would lose their jobs
- Some people would
- We need to continue
- Maybe another restructuring

New testing goals repeat

- Uncertainty
- Lack of communication
- started
- Was able to talk
- He was able to cut a deal with the state
- Our attendance
- Our graduation rates
- 11th grade writing assessment
- We would be spared
- Accountability
- Credit to the superintendent (not!)
- Benchmarks to hit

- Test scores are very low still
- We're succeeding, we're doing better
- English II AYP EOC scores improvement
- To move away from the "list"
- We are on the "list"

Accountability Target Scores

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Explained to us	• 2010-2011
• New goals	• New goals
• This year	• Uncertainty
• We were hitting them	• Benchmarks
• We were doing	• Threat of takeover
• We needed to do	• Threat
• Our new goal	• Teachers' response to threat
• Graduation rate	• How teachers respond
• Attendance rate	• Used to it
• 11th grade writing assessment	• Pressure
• Business as usual	• English department
• English department	• School riding on the English department
• No other academic department	
• Had that type of goal placed on them	

Internship Teaching Assignment

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I'm teaching English III CP	• Bobby's teaching assignment
• Junior English	• Internship
• Two junior classes	• Working with Marie
• You're either English III CP or you're in AP English	• Teaching assignment
• Given a block	• Rigor of classes
• 11th grade English	• Tracking of students
• An intern and mentor supporting those students	• Improving student enrollment in higher classes
• I was told	• Bobby's placement
• Interns teach	• Why Bobby is teaching English III with Marie
• Help teach	
• Should be 11th grade	

Narrowing of the Curriculum

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Comfortable supporting students	• Teaching writing
• I was very comfortable	• Working with students
• Relationship around writing	• Offering feedback
• It's my philosophy	• Student-teacher relationships
• Teaching philosophy	• Bobby's emotions towards teaching
• Your team	• Background experience, benefits of
• Your side	• Developing student writing
• Throw them under the bus	• Trust
• That is grading	• Building relationships
• Showing them that they can be academically	• Parts of writing
	• Working with students

There would be two people

successful
- A lot of experience
- Reluctant writers in Pike
- Didn't view themselves as writings
- Like ways
- Processed the world
- Confidence up
- Get a kid to write
- Your team
- Comfortable sharing their writing
- I felt confident
- Working on writing
- Forget about the standards
- Teach persuasive writing
- Our number one concern
- Get this score
- TD needed to pass
- 90% of our students needed to be proficient
- Prioritize writing
- Confidence in teaching writing
- Prioritize writing
- Accountability pressures
- Prioritize writing
- Impact of writing on curriculum
- Huge emphasis on writing
- Literature instruction
- Lack of instruction
- Emphasis on writing

instruction about anything else
- EOC scores were unimportant
- Irrelevant to the writing assessment
- We read
- We didn't read a lot of literature
- We read *The Crucible*
- The only thing we read all of the fall
- Took a month on that

Threats

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Taken over by the staff • Achievement school district • What does that mean? • Not our community school anymore • They talked about that • We want to keep this in the community	• State takeover • Threat • Accountability • Restructuring • Communication

Test Day

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Were the tests • That date was shared • We will come • Somebody will come and knock on your door • Get you out of bed • You to take this assessment Kick ass on this assessment	• Test Day • Tests • Standardized • Preparation • Prepared • Getting kids to school • Dedication • Importance of test day

Scheduling (for test prep purposes)

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Carmen reconfigured 11th grade English • Focus on just 11th grade English • Yearlong classes • Full semester of English • Writing before the assessment	• Schedule reconfiguration • Emphasis on writing prep • Time in class

TD Writing Initiative

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We went to a writing formula • Entire faculty • Based on their approach to writing • This is how you write a persuasive essay • A hook • Grabs reader's attention • A little narrative • A little anecdote • Linking sentence • Relates to your thesis • Thesis statement • Way to write an essay • Write two paragraphs • On-line grading • Criterion • Every single class • You had to write • Dissatisfaction • Openly talk about how they did not know	• Writing preparation • School initiative • Everybody is teaching writing • Parts of the five paragraph essay • Formulaic approach to writing • Everybody can write ☺ • Criterion • Whole school initiative • Teacher response to writing initiative • English teachers vs. other teachers • Staff division (by discipline) • Responsibility for writing instruction

Writing Initiative for All Classes

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Kids had to write two essays • We are doing something similar again • 2011-2012 • It worked so well • Teaching writing the same way • Formulaic coached writing • Push back on • Creative writing activity • Confuse our kids • Add too much Perception of what writing was	• School initiative • Everybody is responsible for writing • Writing requirement • Accountability • Confusing kids • KISS principle • Push back • Persuasive writing ONLY!

Writing Initiative Supports

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• There was PD offered • Spend PD time • Break up into groups • Writing groups • Helping them with their grading	• Supporting non-English teachers • Full school initiative • PLCs • PD

- Did not know how to help students with this
- Not what they were trained to do

Limited Writing to Persuasive in Bobby's Class

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• We did journals	• Creative writing
• Free writes on topics	• Journal
• Like having a picture	• Frequency of journals
• Two to four times depending	• Journals as part of class instruction
• Bellringer	
• Different types of things for them to write	
• Bit of writing poetry	

Test Day

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I'm feeling good	• Test Day
• December all feeling good	• Preparation for test day
• We don't do anything else but writing	• Confidence
• Breaking kids up into two groups and we are just writing	• Hay is in the barn
• Practicing writing	• Leading up to test day
• We wrote	• Before/after winter break
• Good because we were writing	• Knowing students
• Showed me their essay	• Prompt practice
• I knew, I could tell	
• I didn't even need them to write an essay	
• They still had problems	
• They were all	

Positive Test Results

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Proficient in writing	• Test results
• Out of my 28 students	• Lack of celebration
• Only one did not pass	• Satisfaction
• She got a three	• Student results
• One point away	• Scores
• I had a lot fours	• Results are in
• Lowest level of proficiency	• Qualifying scores
• Four and above is proficient	• Scoring rubric
• Below is a, is a deficient	• Reactions (lack of)
• Needed to hit	
• Pleased with themselves	
• Made me feel good	
• Feel good about thins	
• She didn't care	
• Chronic absences	

writing proficiently
- We've probably already brainstormed
- Assessing their facebook or twitter accounts
- We've written something similar
- Looked at each other and smiled
- Our kids are going to rock this
- Just kind of turned
- Being jubilant over meeting the scores
- Didn't really care

Reaction to Passing Test Scores

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• General sense that…	• Teacher reaction
• We did a good job	• Scores
• Did what we needed to do	• Freed of accountability (maybe)
• Congratulations	• TD's reaction
• Came up to me	
• Said stuff to me	
• Made me feel nice	
• "Congratulations, those were your scores too"	
• There was recognition	
• Making you teach	

Got Hired

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• I got hired	• Bobby gets a job
• I think my work towards them	• Working at TD
• Carmen never saw me teach	

Unsustained School Reform

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• A walk through initiative	• Administrative support
• Did not do a very good job	• Initiatives
• Being very consistent	• Unsustained initiatives
• August through October	• Critique of administration
• October on, not so much	

- "we got our goal"
- A lot of good work

Leadership Change

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• It was a little icebreaker • I get a phone call • Let's get together Friday • She's gone • Voice recorded message • New principal at Holmes High School • As an assistant principal • Last day of school • Introduced him • About halfway • "Well, I just found out that I'm the new curriculum principal last night" • "Apparently, I got a phone call right after you guys did" • New curriculum principal • We leave • We come back	• Banner leaving • New person taking over • Lack of sustained leadership • Critique of LCS's move of changing leadership • How Bobby was informed • Anger, resentment • Change of culture • Lack of data • Unpreparedness

Extended Contract

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Worked in my classroom • I get paid 10 extra days more • Was a waste of time • Sporadic meetings Ha, ha	• Waste of extended contract • Burning time • Not working • Killing time

Released from State Takeover Threat

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• State takeover • We've been told we are off the list • Just very vague • Different lists that we can possibly be on • We were told to hit 95% on the writing test • Three things, or four things, or 20 things • Stay away from state takeover • 95 was a lot of hard work • Pressure has been • Keep doing • How are we doing to repeat 95% proficiency again? • He doesn't know that is what we did • 11th grade does not read literature	• Off the list • Freed from accountability demands • Lack of communication • New accountability demands • Same accountability demands • Change • Drive for scores • Change of leadership

Monday
- It's very disorganized
- There is no kind of state of the school

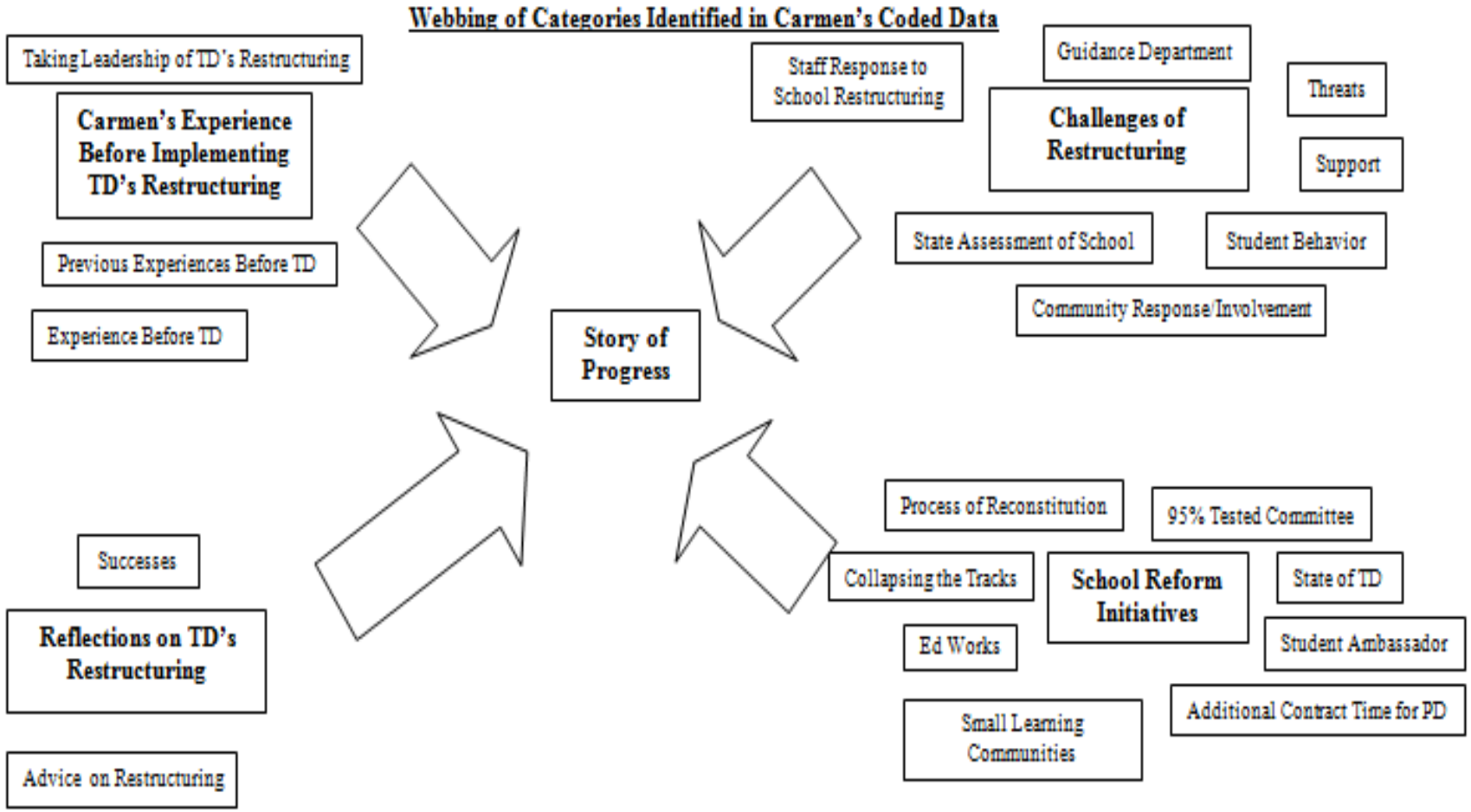
- Continuing the yearlong schedule
- Next year will be better
- He said "new year will be better. I'm still trying to figure this out. Next year will be better."
- I mean, it's a formula
- Practice the formula

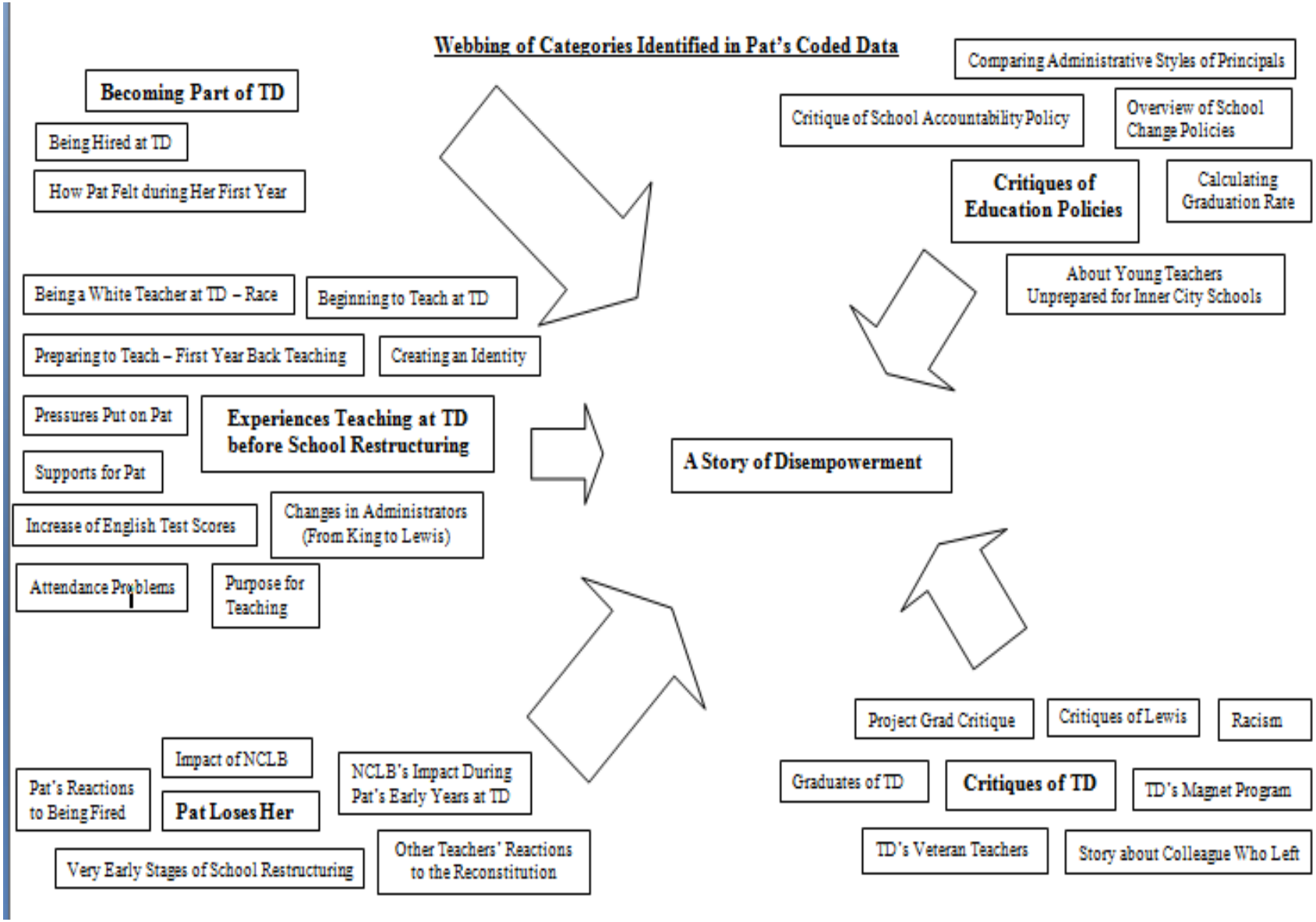
Illusion of Proficiency

In Vivo	*Sociologically Constructed*
• Clear my conscience of this • Who cares about student writing • Can help students • Values • A very mixed bag • Frustrating getting your students to be like proficient at something that they are not proficient in • I was reading their essays • They write is how	• Critique of writing • What does writing mean • Writing a communication • Defining proficiency • Real world applicability • Accountability

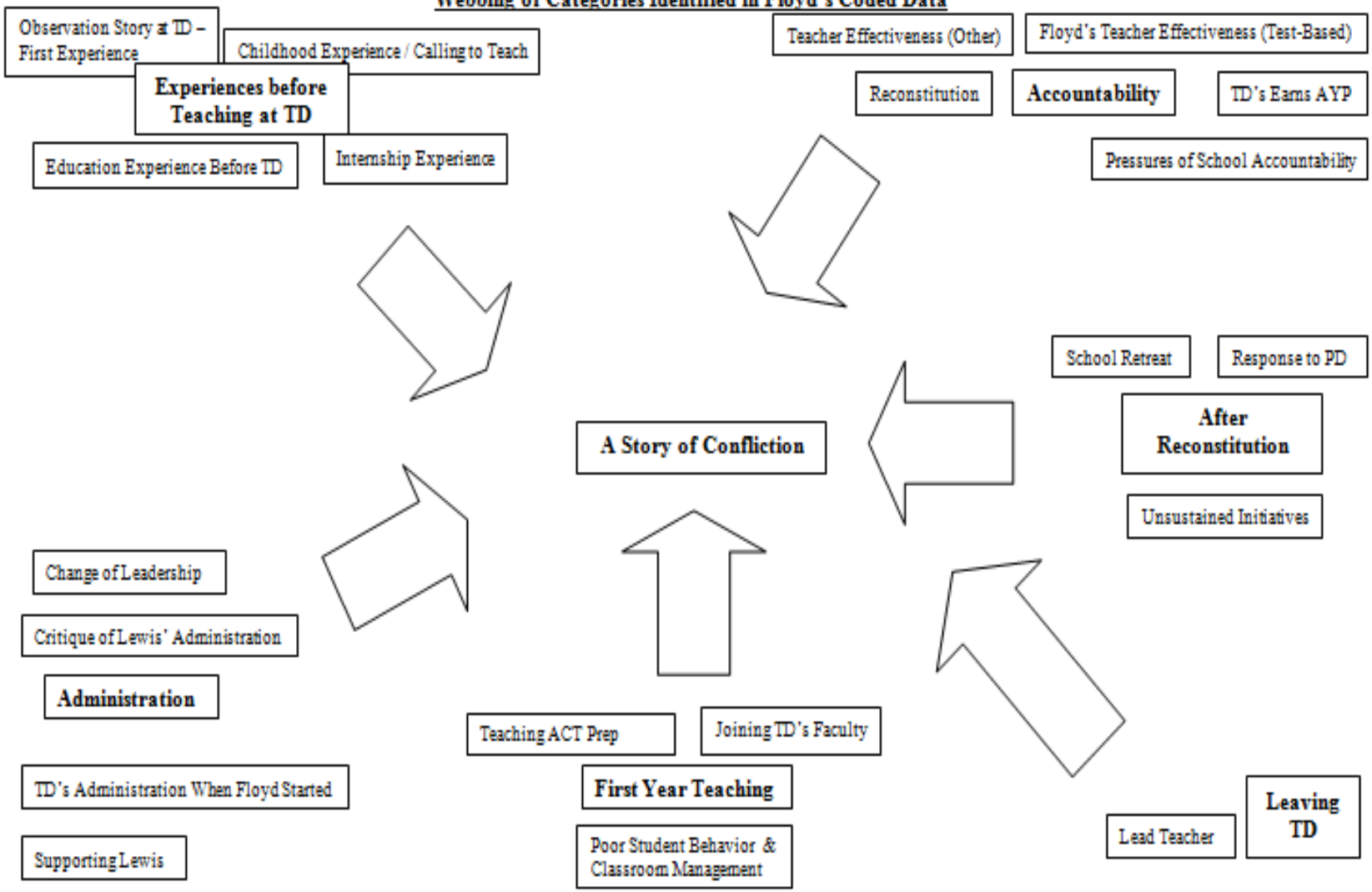
they address emails to a boss
- They write to tell their doctor something
- It’s not practical

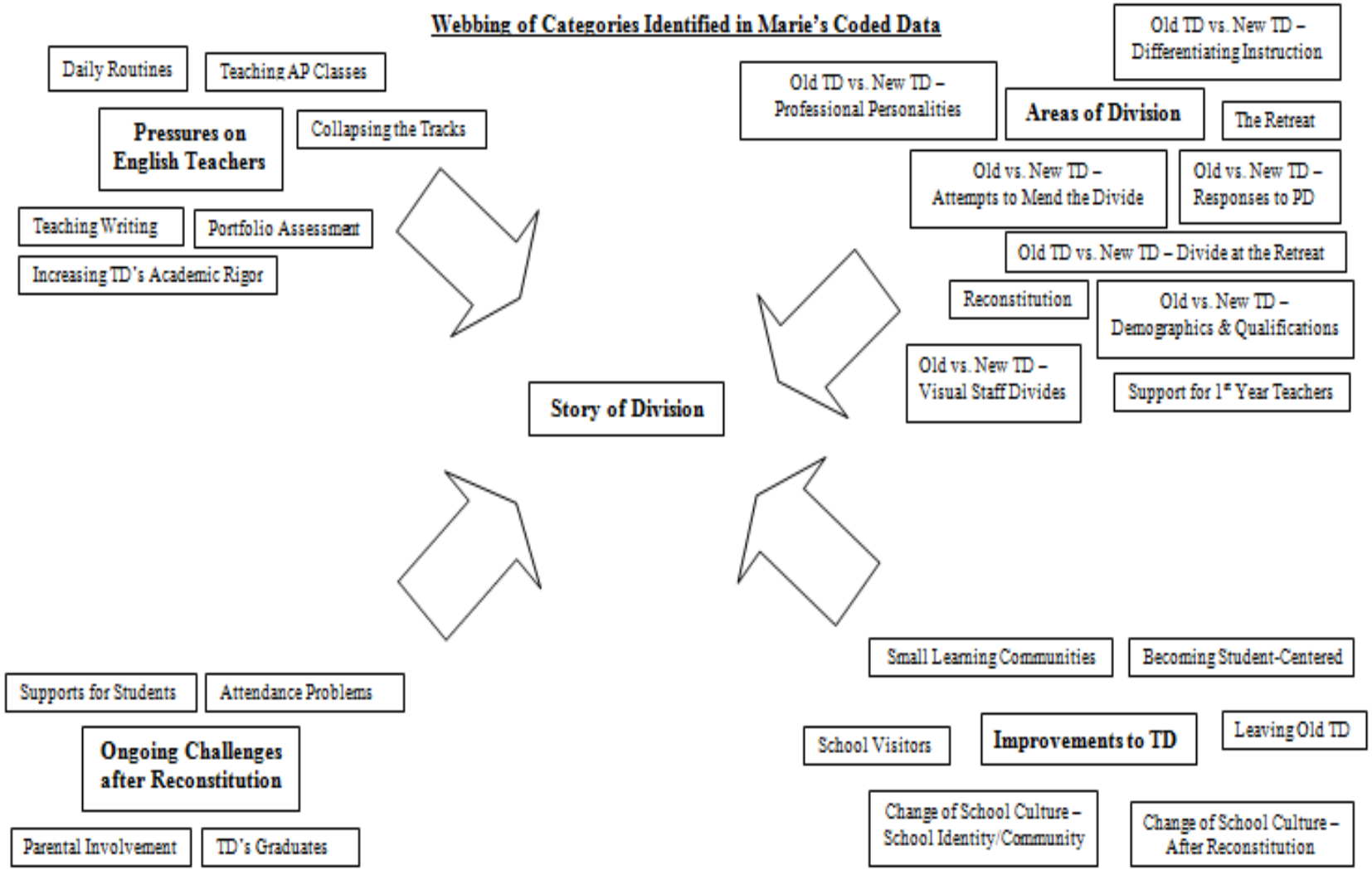
Appendix I. Webbings of Categories Identified for Each Participant.

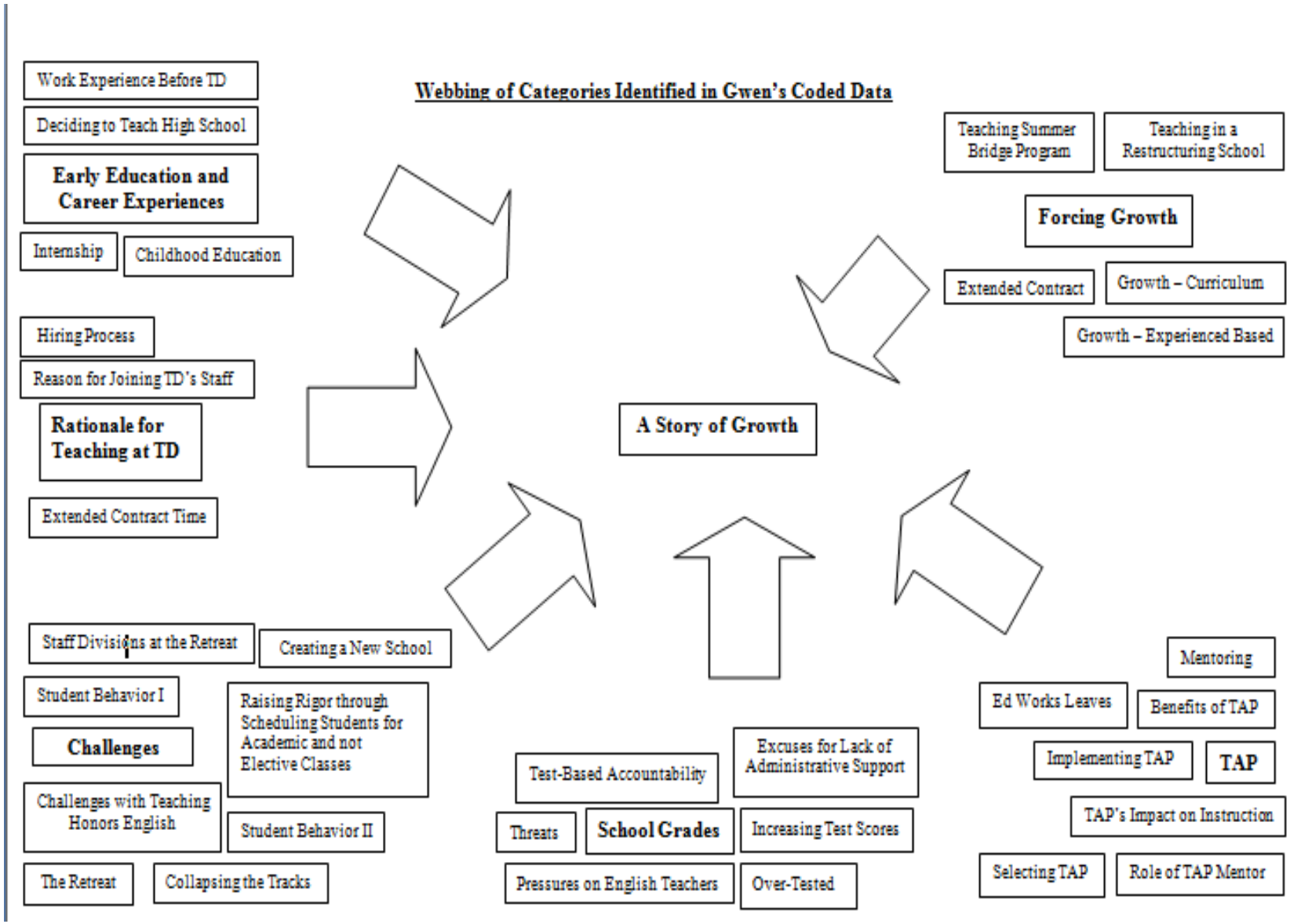


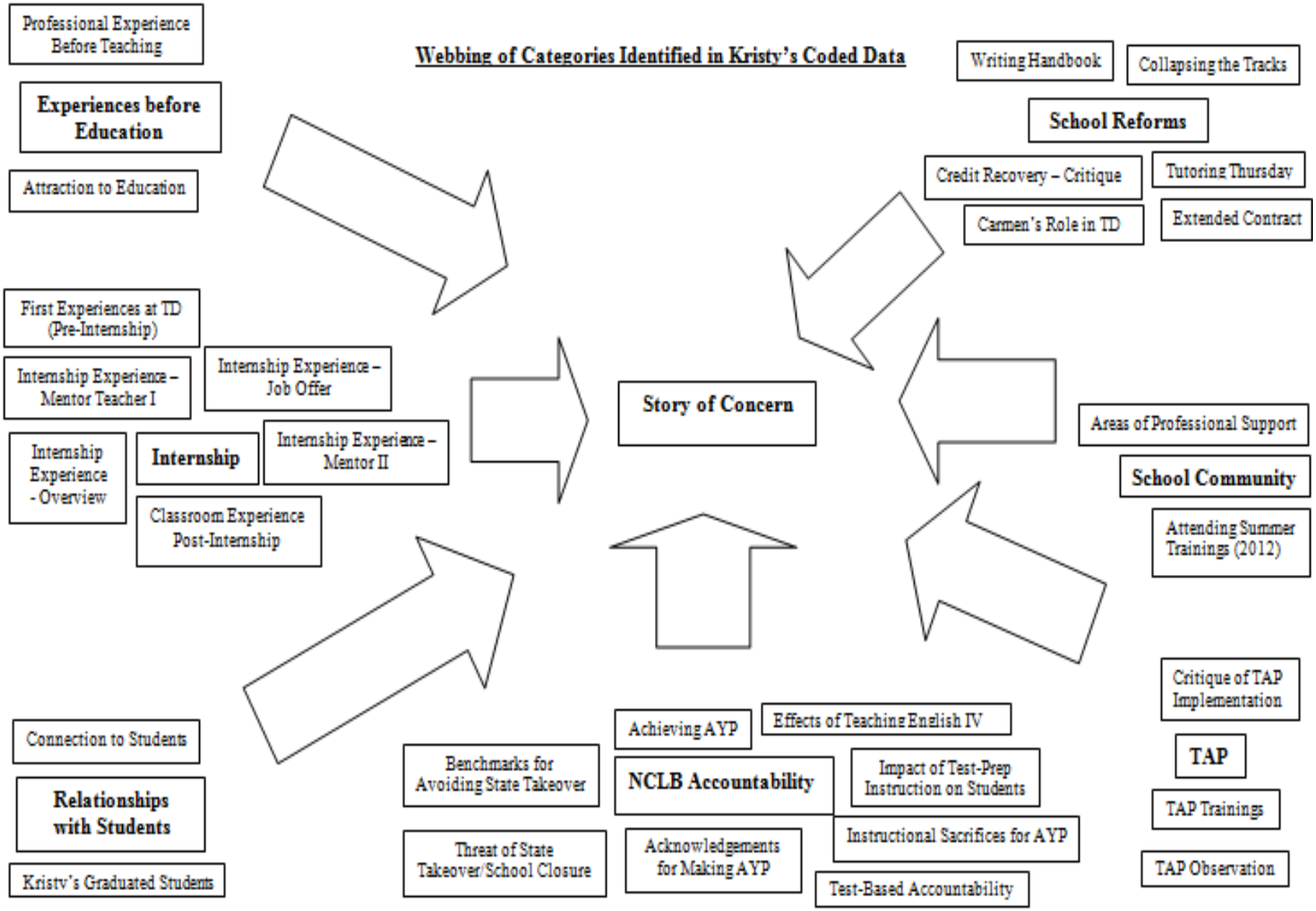

Webbing of Categories Identified in Pat's Coded Data
Becoming Part of TD
Being Hired at TD
How Pat Felt during Her First Year
Being a White Teacher at TD – Race
Beginning to Teach at TD
Preparing to Teach – First Year Back Teaching
Creating an Identity
Pressures Put on Pat
Experiences Teaching at TD before School Restructuring
Supports for Pat
Increase of English Test Scores
Changes in Administrators (From King to Lewis)
Attendance Problems
Purpose for Teaching
Impact of NCLB
Pat's Reactions to Being Fired
Pat Loses Her
NCLB's Impact During Pat's Early Years at TD
Very Early Stages of School Restructuring
Other Teachers' Reactions to the Reconstitution
Comparing Administrative Styles of Principals
Critique of School Accountability Policy
Overview of School Change Policies
Critiques of Education Policies
Calculating Graduation Rate
About Young Teachers Unprepared for Inner City Schools
A Story of Disempowerment
Project Grad Critique
Critiques of Lewis
Racism
Graduates of TD
Critiques of TD
TD's Magnet Program
TD's Veteran Teachers
Story about Colleague Who Left

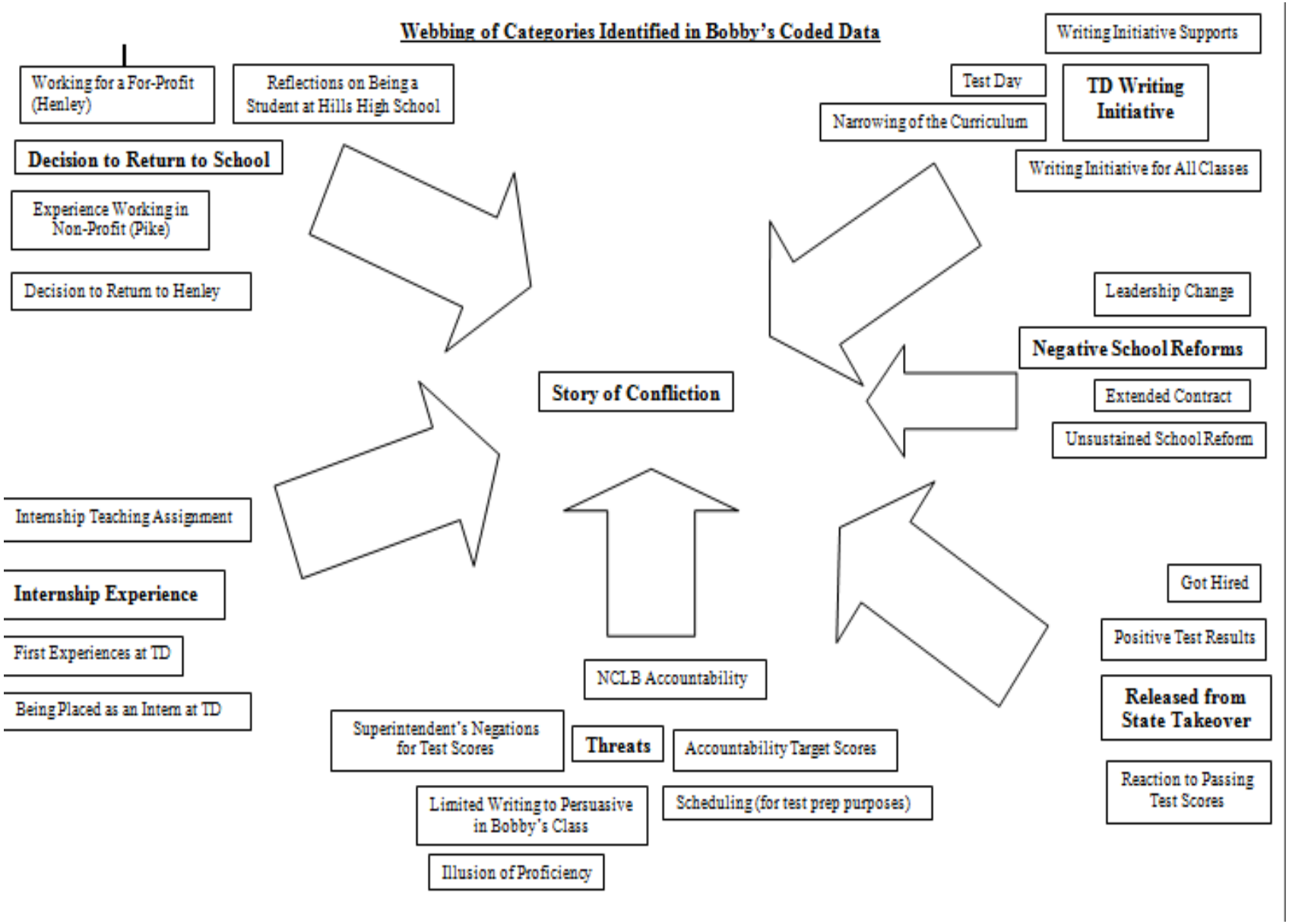
Webbing of Categories Identified in Floyd's Coded Data




Webbing of Categories Identified in Marie's Coded Data
Story of Division
Pressures on English Teachers
Daily Routines
Teaching AP Classes
Collapsing the Tracks
Teaching Writing
Portfolio Assessment
Increasing TD's Academic Rigor
Areas of Division
Old TD vs. New TD – Differentiating Instruction
Old TD vs. New TD – Professional Personalities
The Retreat
Old vs. New TD – Attempts to Mend the Divide
Old vs. New TD – Responses to PD
Old TD vs. New TD – Divide at the Retreat
Reconstitution
Old vs. New TD – Demographics & Qualifications
Old vs. New TD – Visual Staff Divides
Support for 1st Year Teachers
Ongoing Challenges after Reconstitution
Supports for Students
Attendance Problems
Parental Involvement
TD's Graduates
Improvements to TD
Small Learning Communities
Becoming Student-Centered
School Visitors
Leaving Old TD
Change of School Culture – School Identity/Community
Change of School Culture – After Reconstitution


Webbing of Categories Identified in Gwen's Coded Data
A Story of Growth
Early Education and Career Experiences
Work Experience Before TD
Deciding to Teach High School
Internship
Childhood Education
Rationale for Teaching at TD
Hiring Process
Reason for Joining TD's Staff
Extended Contract Time
Challenges
Staff Divisions at the Retreat
Creating a New School
Student Behavior I
Raising Rigor through Scheduling Students for Academic and not Elective Classes
Challenges with Teaching Honors English
Student Behavior II
The Retreat
Collapsing the Tracks
School Grades
Test-Based Accountability
Excuses for Lack of Administrative Support
Threats
Increasing Test Scores
Pressures on English Teachers
Over-Tested
Forcing Growth
Teaching Summer Bridge Program
Teaching in a Restructuring School
Extended Contract
Growth – Curriculum
Growth – Experienced Based
TAP
Mentoring
Ed Works Leaves
Benefits of TAP
Implementing TAP
TAP's Impact on Instruction
Selecting TAP
Role of TAP Mentor


Webbing of Categories Identified in Kristy's Coded Data
Professional Experience Before Teaching
Experiences before Education
Attraction to Education
First Experiences at TD (Pre-Internship)
Internship Experience – Mentor Teacher I
Internship Experience – Job Offer
Internship Experience - Overview
Internship
Internship Experience – Mentor II
Classroom Experience Post-Internship
Story of Concern
Writing Handbook
Collapsing the Tracks
School Reforms
Credit Recovery – Critique
Tutoring Thursday
Carmen's Role in TD
Extended Contract
Areas of Professional Support
School Community
Attending Summer Trainings (2012)
Critique of TAP Implementation
TAP
TAP Trainings
TAP Observation
Connection to Students
Relationships with Students
Kristy's Graduated Students
Benchmarks for Avoiding State Takeover
Threat of State Takeover/School Closure
Achieving AYP
Effects of Teaching English IV
NCLB Accountability
Impact of Test-Prep Instruction on Students
Acknowledgements for Making AYP
Instructional Sacrifices for AYP
Test-Based Accountability


Webbing of Categories Identified in Bobby's Coded Data
Working for a For-Profit (Henley)
Reflections on Being a Student at Hills High School
Decision to Return to School
Experience Working in Non-Profit (Pike)
Decision to Return to Henley
Internship Teaching Assignment
Internship Experience
First Experiences at TD
Being Placed as an Intern at TD
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Limited Writing to Persuasive in Bobby's Class
Scheduling (for test prep purposes)
Illusion of Proficiency
Writing Initiative Supports
Test Day
TD Writing Initiative
Narrowing of the Curriculum
Writing Initiative for All Classes
Leadership Change
Negative School Reforms
Extended Contract
Unsustained School Reform
Got Hired
Positive Test Results
Released from State Takeover
Reaction to Passing Test Scores

Vita

Todd Sloan Cherner was born in Orlando, FL in 1980. Todd received his public education in the Seminole County School District, and he graduated from Lake Mary High School in 1999. Todd earned his Bachelor's Degree in English Language Arts Education from the University of Central Florida and graduated in 2004. In addition to his degree, Todd also earned a Professional Teaching License from the State of Florida in English (Grades 9-12) with an English to Speakers of Other Languages endorsement. Following his graduation, Todd taught 10th grade English at Leesburg for the next two years. During that time, Todd founded the *Hive-Jive*, Leesburg High School's student newspaper, coached bowling, and was an active member of both the school's Literacy Council and School Advisory Committee. After the 2005-2006 school year, Todd left Leesburg High School to earn his Master's of Education degree from Clemson University. While at Clemson, Todd worked as a graduate teaching assistantship while taking full course loads. However, after spending a full academic year at Clemson but before his graduation, Todd returned to Leesburg High School in the fall of 2007. For the next two school years, Todd resumed working in his role as a high school English and journalism teacher while completing the coursework necessary to earn his Master's of Education, which he received in the spring of 2008. Then, after the close of the 2009-2010 school year, Todd again left Leesburg High School to pursue his Doctorate in Education from the University of Tennessee. As a doctorate student, Todd was offered a graduate teaching assistantship that allowed him to gain more experience mentoring pre-service English teachers and teach college level education classes. Todd graduated with his doctorate in the spring of 2012, and left the University of Tennessee to become a professor of English Education at Coastal Carolina University.