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A Content Analysis by Political Cultures and Values of State Compliance Documents for the Federal Legislation, *No Child Left Behind*

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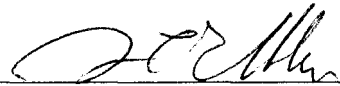
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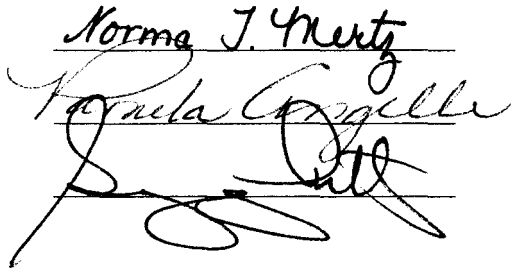
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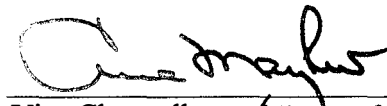
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Gerald Ubben, Major Professor

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Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor and Dean of
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**A CONTENT ANALYSIS BY POLITICAL CULTURES AND VALUES OF
STATE COMPLIANCE DOCUMENTS
FOR THE FEDERAL LEGISLATION, *NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND*.**

**A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Education
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

Constance Marie Didlake Cole

December, 2006

DEDICATION

**This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of
my parents, Julian and Helen Didlake.
Their love of learning has served me well.**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express sincere thanks to Dr. Gary Ubben whose advice and direction have been invaluable to this study. Gratitude is also expressed to the other member of the committee: Dr. Pamela Angelle, Dr. Norma Mertz and Dr. Greg Petty. Their willingness to provide guidance and time is greatly appreciated.

Special thanks also goes to my husband, Tom, for his continuing help and support, to my daughters, Ellen and Mary, for their continuing encouragement, and to my many friends and co-workers who have provided continuing well-wishes.

ABSTRACT

Education policy designed at reforming the public schools in the United States has been a central concern in the policy arena for several decades. Most of the school reform policies have not provided the desired results. The federal mandate called *No Child Left Behind*, signed into law in 2002, promised school reform for all fifty states in terms of accountability for the achievement of all students, improvement of teacher quality, empowerment of parents, and promotion of school safety.

The intent of this study was to analyze state educational documents that have been developed to comply with the *No Child Left Behind* legislation to see how states are structuring their documents with regard to historical political cultures and values. Content analysis was the method used to analyze these plans. This study was designed to answer these questions:

1. Are states developing accountability plans that are consistent with the historical political cultures traditionally associated with that state?
2. Which cultural values are present in state accountability documents and are these the ones generally associated with that political culture?

Based upon the work of Daniel Elazar, Ira Sharkansky, Frances Fowler, and others, two states from each of the eight political cultures (a total of sixteen) were selected for this study. The compliance documents from these sixteen states that addressed the requirements in the federal mandate for accountability and teacher quality were analyzed for the values within their content. The results were then compared with

the historical political cultural profile of each state. Five values-*choice*, *efficiency*, *equity*, *fraternity* and *quality*, were used to derive the word counts for the content analysis.

Conclusions drawn from the data obtained from this study are:

1. The sixteen selected states are not developing accountability and teacher quality plans consistent with their historical political cultures in terms of the compliance documents for *No Child Left Behind*.
2. In the analyzed documents, there appears to be a shift toward values that are more conservative or more representative of a business model of operation.
3. The value of *efficiency* was the overall preferred value in the state documents regardless of political culture. Differences in value preferences were less than might be expected based upon historical political cultural patterns for the states.
4. The analysis of the federal document showed an overwhelming preference for the value of *choice*. The compliance documents of the states do not mirror this value preference.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The development of sound and effective education policy is crucial today when education concerns dominate political agendas and the view of ordinary citizens.

Because education currently occupies a strong and essential place in the common national culture, information that enhances its outcomes is valuable for policy makers in planning effective policy action.

Much of what has dominated education policy in the last several decades are measures aimed at reforming the public schools in the United States. As the United States emerged from World War II as a “super power”, changes to impact education policy were made (Perkinson, 1991; Ravitch, 1983; Spring, 1998). While the highly industrialized economy produced numerous scientific inventions and made daily life more comfortable, international tensions, especially with the Soviet Union, intensified resulting in the Cold War. With the launching of Sputnik in the fall of 1957, Americans became concerned that schools were not educating students adequately in science, mathematics, and foreign languages fearing that the country could not keep pace with the Soviets. They demanded federal funds for these disciplines along with higher academic standards.

Following this wave of reform, the next round of school reform policies emphasized the elimination of discriminatory practices that left African-American, Hispanic, Native American, female, and handicapped students with less educational opportunities (Perkinson, 1991; Ravitch, 1983; Spring, 1998). The federal redistribution

policies of the 1960's and 1970's shifted many educational resources toward poor children, children with handicaps, non-English speaking children, and others (Fowler, 2000).

By the 1980's, dissatisfaction with public education was growing again, much of it as a result of a federal commission report, *A Nation At Risk*, which appeared in 1983. Putting most of the blame for the problems in the United States on the failure of schools to prepare graduates to adequately compete in the global economy, the report described a broad outline of reforms necessary to save the endangered nation (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Bracey, 1997; Fowler, 2000; Lugg, 1996). The result was a vigorous education reform movement that in many instances was overlapping and contradictory yet still flourishes to this day.

While measures to reform the public schools in the United States continue to dominate education policy, a look at past reform efforts revealed that most have not provided the desired results (McNeil, 2000; Ravitch, 1983; Sarason, 1990). Reforms are costly in time, money, and effort. The record showed that many reforms have failed to produce the intended results with regard to curriculum standards, teacher quality, better school funding and parent and community involvement (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Darling-Hammond, 1997).

With the passage of *No Child Left Behind*, an act signed into law in January, 2002, the federal government launched yet another reform effort. The mandate promised to eradicate the gap between poor and minority students and their wealthier counterparts, improve teacher quality, empower parents, and promote school safety. Like all other education policies, the degree of success or failure of *No Child Left Behind* is dependent

upon many factors including economic, social, and political (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1992).

States and regions in the United States have cultural and value differences that have long been identified (Almond & Verba, 1989; Elazar, 1972; Fowler, 2000; Gray, Jacob & Vine, 1983; Namenwirth & Weber, 1987; Sharkansky, 1978). These cultural and value differences have influenced policy responses in the past (Elazar, 1972; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Wildavsky, 1987). Policy documents reflect cultural views and values that states deem important (Fowler, 2000; Gray, Jacob, & Vines, 1983; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Namenwirth & Weber, 1987; Sharkansky, 1978). *No Child Left Behind* is a policy document that, while federally mandated, allowed the fifty states some autonomy in designing implementation. Provisions in the act granted the states latitude in developing policy responses for such provisions of the act as highly qualified teachers, adequate yearly progress, testing and accountability and parental choice.

The state compliance plans for meeting the requirements of *No Child Left Behind* are policy documents, and like all policy documents, are embedded with cultural patterns and values. Based upon theoretical conclusions concerning historical state culture and values, it seems likely that when states are allowed some freedom in constructing policy responses for education mandates, such as *No Child Left Behind*, these responses will fall into established cultural and value laden patterns (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989; Spring, 1998; Vinovskis, 1999; Wirt & Kirst, 1972). Additional research was necessary to better understand the role that culture and values play in policy design, adoption and implementation and to aid in predicting future responses to policy directives

with an eye toward designing policy that is compatible with established state culture and values.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation that under girds this study was based upon the concepts of historical political cultures and values as expressed in the work of Frances Fowler. Fowler's work has centered in the politics of education, but her use of the idea of distinct political cultures residing within the United States and their effect on education policy came from the model first developed by political scientist, Daniel Elazar. Elazar (1966) maintained that as different groups settled America they brought with them different perspectives on the role of government, protection of the marketplace, and the rights of individuals and groups.

Using the dominant beliefs and values of these groups with regard to individual and group self-interest and the role of government, Elazar identified wide variation in the political cultures of the American states, and characterized the states in terms of three distinct political cultures: *moralistic*, *individualistic*, and *traditionalistic*. Sharkansky (1969) later modified these original political cultures. Sharkansky observed that as groups from one political culture settled into other areas they brought their culture with them and often influenced the political culture already present. He suggested that modifications were necessary to Elazar's original classification to account for the influx of new ideas. Sharkansky proposed eight cultural indicators to reflect this blending of Elazar's three original designations. The modified subcultures were *moralistic*, *moralistic-individualistic*, *individualistic-moralistic*, *individualistic*, *individualistic-traditionalistic*, *traditionalistic-individualistic*, *traditionalistic*, and *traditionalistic-*

moralistic. Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) used the idea of political cultures and values to conduct a cross-state comparative study of educational policy. Using Elazar's framework of political culture as a model for their analysis they examined how different states responded to policy initiatives based upon the political cultures present and the values embedded within those cultures.

In her book, *Policy Studies for Educational Leaders* (2000), Frances Fowler applied the notion of political culture (Elazar, 1966) and the idea that values are reflected in these cultures (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989) to discuss education policy for school leaders. She contended that educational leaders must take political assumptions into account when dealing with policy issues. Fowler believed that the understanding of political culture was necessary if education policies were to be effective. While Fowler acknowledged that the policy environment was complex, she concluded that the sensitive understanding of political cultures afforded educational leaders and policy planners opportunities to work *with* the system rather than *against* it.

Fowler also strongly suggested that values shape education policy. Her belief was that values were a driving force in the policies that effect education. Following the research of Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt basing policy making at the state level, Fowler expanded the idea of values as an influence on the development and implementation of education policy. She did this by categorizing values that influence education policy into two groups-*democratic values* and *economic values*. She termed the democratic values as *liberty*, *equality*, and *fraternity*. The economic values were termed *efficiency* and *quality*. Fowler then developed a series of questions that she recommended school leaders use when trying to distinguish which values were present in policy action.

Fowler believed that values led people to propose policy solutions that were based upon their assumptions about how “things should be” and that these values could be identified within educational policy responses. Fowler’s work incorporated Elazar’s original idea of historical political culture and Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt’s use of values and culture in state policy documents to suggest to educational leaders that a link existed between these two concepts when analyzing state educational policies.

This study used both the notion of historical political culture and that of democratic and economic values as set down in Fowler’s work to analyze state responses to the federal mandate, *No Child Left Behind*. Although this legislation is national in scope, requiring all states to address its mandates including adequate yearly progress, teacher quality, and parental rights, one of the stipulations set forth in the act was that states are given some leeway in shaping their own responses. Currently, all fifty states have compliance plans that have been approved by the US Department of Education. If states are influenced by their own political cultures and values in designing policy, when they are given the right to develop policy responses; these responses should reflect the accepted culture and values held by the state. This study analyzed the content of selected compliance plans to determine if the plans are consistent with the political cultures and values that have historically been associated with each state as identified by Fowler. (2000)

Statement of Problem

Attempts to reform public education in the United States through national policy mandates have steadily increased since World War II (Fowler, 2000; Ravitch, 1983; Sarason, 1990). Yet the majority of these attempts have been notably unsuccessful

(Darling-Hammond, 1997; Gardner, 1984; McNeil, 2000; Sarason, 1990). Such policies are mandated at the national level, but interpreted and implemented at the state and local levels, adding a pertinent dimension to the process. State political cultures and values have had an impact on policy design and implementation in the past (Fowler 2000; Gray, Jacob & Vines 1983; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Namenwirth & Weber, 1987). *No Child Left Behind*, the federal policy mandating sweeping changes in the ways schools operate, was intended to achieve significant school reform outcomes in every state. Since the mandate was mediated through each state, the effect of a state's culture and values on the interpretation and implementation of the policy and the likelihood of success in achieving the reforms intended must be considered. If the different cultures and values of the states, and if these impact the interpretation and implementation of policies like *No Child Left Behind*, as suggested by the existing research and literature, then the goals set out in the *No Child Left Behind* legislation may be diverted or subverted from the original intent, thereby disappointing the policy makers and thwarting the efforts to reform education.

Much can be learned about a culture by understanding which values its policies reinforce. Policymakers constantly face dilemmas when they must choose among competing values as they form policy. Because culture shapes institutions and is reflected in written and unwritten codes of behavior, analyzing policy documents among differing political cultures helps to identify and track the values that dominate policy choices (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989)

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to analyze selected state compliance documents that have been developed in response to the requirements of *No Child Left Behind* examining these plans for consistency with states' historical political culture and values.

Guiding Questions

The questions that guided the research in this study were:

1. Are the states developing accountability plans as allowed through the provisions of *No Child Left Behind* that are consistent with the historical political culture traditionally associated with that state?
2. Which cultural values are present in the state accountability documents and are these values generally associated with that political culture?

Significance

While the theory of historical political cultures and values has been applied to past educational research, limited research exists that shows how state political culture and values influence policy design and implementation. This study added to this body of literature.

Additionally, educational policymakers at the state and national levels have been given the responsibility of creating effective educational policy. This study provided both state and national policymakers with information as they design and implement policy initiatives. This study provided state policymakers with information on the affects of political culture and values on the policies that they create and interpret. It also

contributed information to national policymakers about the influence of policy on political cultures and values found within various states and regions. Sensitivity to state political cultures and values allows policy construction that is more likely to result in the successful implementation of the policy.

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimitations

1. Analysis of data focused on only two of the ten titles of the No Child Left Behind Act. These were: Title 2: Highly Qualified Teachers and Principals

Title 6: Flexibility and Accountability

These two titles were selected for study because they are the most controversial, have the most implications for variation among the states, require the most state activity for implementation, and impact the overall educational environment.

This study analyzed the compliance plans of two states within each political culture as identified by Fowler, Elazar, Sharkansky and others for a total of sixteen state documents. In an effort to include all of the political cultures yet keep the study manageable two states were selected from each of the eight political cultures. This selection was done by choosing the state with the greatest population and the state with the least population within each political culture. Where there were only two states within a political culture, both were selected. This choice of states for analysis based upon population totals was done to provide the study with variation. Population, along with fiscal stress and urbanization, is a factor in the development of effective policy.

(Adams &Kirst)

2. This study used the original documents that were presented to the U.S. Department of Education for approval rather than any of the developing revisions coming on line at a later date.

Limitations

1. This study is limited to the ability of a content analysis method to determine political culture.
2. State documents that have been developed to comply with the provisions of *No Child Left Behind* may not be a reflection of the culture of the state. Compliance documents may have been developed with the intention of satisfying the Department of Education rather than adhering to preferred cultural preferences.

Definitions

Agendas: issues discussed in relation to a specific policy domain.

Control: those in charge of developing policy or planning the implementation of policy.

Culture: meanings that people attach to various aspect of life, their way of looking at the world and their role in it.

Federalism: a governmental system in which several governments (national, state, and local) share sovereign power among themselves and in which the national government cannot abolish the subsidiary governments.

Ideology: a coherent set of values and beliefs about the way the social, economic and political systems should be organized and operated, and recommendations about how these values and beliefs should be put into effect.

Policy: the dynamic and value-laden process through which a political system handles a public problem.

Policy actor: individuals, informal groups, or formal organizations that have legal authority regarding policy, are powerful enough to block decisions, will be significantly affected by policy change, or whose cooperation will be essential in implementing any proposed policy change.

Policy implementation: the stage of the policy process in which policy that has been formally adopted is put into practice.

Policy makers: those people responsible for providing the framework for policy, recommending policy revisions, and developing rules for action.

Political culture: a collective way of thinking about politics that includes beliefs about the political process, its proper goals, and appropriate behavior for politicians.

Values: principles held by groups that shape the way policy problems are defined and constrain the ability to perceive possible solutions to policy problems.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

Educational policy is anchored in and thrives within the fifty states. The U.S. Constitution leaves the states power and responsibility to decide how to organize an educational system. Yet, increasingly, the federal government has attempted to control a greater breadth of education policy. With the passage of *No Child Left Behind*, the federal intervention into state educational policy has been significantly advanced. Historically, contentions over who should govern schooling have affected education. (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). A greater understanding of the state educational policy system is needed, for it is still the arena with the greatest capacity and responsibility for reforming education notwithstanding the aforementioned thrust by the federal government into educational policy making. Clearly, there are many questions about the interrelationships among governmental structures, values, policy choices and culture in the American states that affect what occurs in state educational policy making. A greater understanding of these interrelationships by is possible through the use of a cultural paradigm that focuses upon how values are structured into policy initiatives.

Political philosophers and students of comparative politics have long recognized the importance of understanding the cultural context and values in which policies are developed in the American states (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). In recent years, those who observe politics and policy development in the United States have come to appreciate the influence that political culture and values play in accounting for political similarities and differences among states (Boeckelman, 1991; Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983;

Lieske, 1993; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Morgan & Watson, 1991). This is due largely to the work of Daniel Elazar (1966; 1972; 1984) who provided a sophisticated framework for understanding the relationship between people's fundamental beliefs about politics and political institutions and their practices.

In its simplest sense, culture may be regarded as the "way of life" of a people. The concept of culture refers to the explicit and implicit or overt and covert patterns of shared beliefs, values and traditions about life held by a particular people (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). Culture consists of rules, common symbols, and common sentiments that are learned by individuals as they grow up within a group. In this way, culture tends to become "second nature", - affecting behavior without self-conscious reflection. All people, groups and societies are located within particular cultures. According to Elazar, a political culture consists of a shared framework of values as well as basic assumptions about the relevance of political action for achieving those values. This shared framework established the goals of politics and the forms of individual and group action that are appropriate for pursuing those goals. (Elazar, 1972) Political culture defines politics is for a particular community, whether it be it, town, state or nation. (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). Understanding the political culture of a given community is important for an appreciation of its political system. Educational policy grows out of and is implemented within these political cultures. To better understand the dynamics between school and state and to comprehend the significance of policy actions, both federally and by state, several components that affect policy decisions need to be explored. These include political cultures, values and the federal role in education.

Political Culture

Political culture can best be understood in terms of the framework it sets for individual and group political behavior. Political culture may also be understood in terms of the political thoughts, attitudes, assumptions, and values of individuals and groups, as well the range of permissible or acceptable actions that flow from them. Political culture rarely determines behavior in situations or in response to particular issues. Instead, its influence lies in its power to set reasonably fixed limits on political behavior and to provide subliminal direction for political action in particular political systems. (Elazar, 1966, 1994; Fuhrman, 1988)

Political culture is the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is imbedded. As an element in general culture, political culture is analytically separable for some purposes. The study of political culture requires that distinction be made regarding:

1. Sources of political culture, such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, and life experiences.
2. Manifestations of political culture, such as political attitudes, symbols and style; and
3. Effects of political culture, such as actions, institutions, and policies

Political culture can be studied through its manifestations. The manifestations of political culture may be broken down into patterns of individual or community belief expressed in a variety of symbols in which the individual or the community as a whole signifies its values, its self-understanding, and its goals. (Elazar, 1966, 1994; Fuhrman, 1993).

Political culture is one of the primary sources shaping politics. According to Almond (1956) in *Comparative Political Systems*, because political orientation involves cognition, intellection, and adaptation to external situations as well as the standards and values of

the general culture, it is a differentiated part of the culture and has certain autonomy.

Like all culture, political culture is so rooted in the cumulative historical experience of particular groups that it has become second nature to those within its embrace.

General culture has a direct impact on politics from the outside, and political culture has its direct impact from the inside. Political culture is the summation of persistent patterns underlying political attitude and characteristic responses to political concerns that is manifest in a particular political order. Its existence is generally unperceived by those who are part of that order, and its origins date back to the very beginning of the particular people who share it. Political culture is an intrinsically political phenomenon, and makes its own demands on the political system. Political systems are in some measure the products of political cultures they serve and must remain in harmony with their political cultures if they are to maintain themselves.

(Elazar, 1966)

The ethnic groups that came to America brought diverse patterns of culture to be integrated, modified, and unified by a new environment. In the process, they formed alignments with some ethnic groups and came into conflict with others. While various groups maintained sundry levels of individualism, there were also points of convergence that united people of different backgrounds through shared common values. From these points of convergence the major political subcultures in the United States have developed. (Elazar, 1966, 1994)

Political culture factors stand out as particularly influential in shaping the operations of the national, state, and local political systems in three ways: (1) by molding the perceptions of the political community (the citizens), the politicians, and the public

officials as to the nature and purposes of politics and its expectations of government and the political process; (2) by influencing the recruitment of specific kinds of people to become active in government and politics-as holders of elective offices, members of the bureaucracy and active political workers; and (3) by subtly directing the actual way in which the art of government is practiced by citizens, politicians and public officials in the light of their perceptions. In turn, the cultural components of individual and group behavior are manifested in civic behavior as dictated by conscience and internalized ethical standards. (Elazar, 1966, 1994)

The American political culture is rooted in two contrasting concepts of the American political order, both which can be traced back to the earliest settlement of the country. In the first, the political order is conceived as a marketplace in which the primary public relationships are products of bargaining among individuals and groups acting out of self-interest. In the second, the political order is conceived as a commonwealth-whereby, - the citizens cooperate in an effort to erect and maintain the best government to implement certain shared moral principles. These two conceptions have exercised an influence on government and politics throughout American history sometimes by conflicting with and sometimes by complimenting one another.

The concept of political culture was first proposed by Gabriel Almond in 1956, and was subsequently applied in *The Civic Culture* (Almond & Verba, 1963) as a way to explain how people affected their political system and vice versa. Almond and Verba discerned that political culture could transcend the individual, but without negating individual action. Individuals were socialized into their culture, but also produced and

reproduced it. Culture constrained political systems, and only certain systems could “fit” a given culture. (Almond and Verba, 1963).

Using the work of Almond and Verba in *The Civic Culture* as a start, Elazar (1966) analyzed subcultures in the United States and identified three U.S. subcultures. These subcultures dominated different regions of the country, each with a distinctive set of values that created a distinctive form of politics.

In 1966, Elazar published his assessment of political cultures in the United States, which has been the focus of much study and criticism over the past four decades. Elazar proposed that the political culture in the United States developed in different regions due to east to west migration patterns as settlers moved across the continent. Patterns of political culture were established during this westward migration as individuals followed the lines of least resistance (Elazar, 1966, 1972).

Elazar provided an intriguing interpretation of the nature and origins of different state level political cultures. He argued that people who make up the population of the United States came from as wide a range of religious and ethnic backgrounds as have ever congregated in one civil society. However, diversity was not simply a fact in American politics, but was also important to the nation as a whole, its states, and localities. The common factor uniting virtually all of the immigrants who came to America’s shores voluntarily and who stayed was their desire to embrace the American way of life. In the process, they were able to invent a common culture that united them as Americans. At the same time, most who came to the New World reserved the right to maintain some elements from their original heritage.

Elazar explained the differences in political cultures by analyzing state and national politics. He termed the three political cultures that he identified as *moral, individual and traditional*. Moral political cultures emphasized the good of the society over individual freedoms and viewed government as a positive force. New England, the Upper Middle West, and the West Coast were strongholds of the moral political culture. Individual political culture emphasized individual freedom over public concerns, economic activity over political activity and viewed and accepted politics as another field of sometimes dirty and pragmatic competition. Individual political culture was characteristic to the Middle Atlantic States through the Central and Mountain states. The traditional political culture emphasized limited government and accepted elitist politics, even family political dynasties. The South was seen a stronghold of the traditional political culture

In 1975, in an essay, *The American Cultural Matrix*, Elazar elaborated on his theory of political culture. America was seen as a sociopolitical experiment working itself out of the conflict of the European cultures that fed it. Elazar categorized each state with a dominant culture and, often, a significant subculture. For example, New York's political culture is individualistic dominant with a moral subculture. North Carolina's political culture is traditionalistic dominant with a moral subculture.

Each of Elazar's three culture types was tied to certain areas of public policy. Moralistic culture gravitated toward public policies that enhanced the community. Although non-governmental action was preferred, economic regulations were legitimate, and programs for the common good might be initiated even without citizen demand. Individualistic political culture favored largely economic policies that encouraged private

initiative, free markets, and economic development, but new programs were initiated only with significant demand. Traditionalistic political culture favored maintaining traditional patterns, not initiating new policies unless they served the interest of the ruling elite—generally implying minimal government service. The national political culture of the United States was a synthesis of the three major political subcultures. These subcultures jointly inhabited the country, existing side by side or sometimes overlapping one another. All three had nationwide proportions, having spread over time, from coast to coast. Yet each subculture was strongly tied to specific sections of the country reflecting migration patterns that carried people of different origins and backgrounds across the continent in more or less orderly patterns. Each reflected its own particular synthesis of the marketplace and the commonwealth. (Elazar, 1966, 1994; Gray, Jacob & Vines. 1983)

Elazar based his assumption of the three dominant political cultures on qualitative research through observing migrations patterns of various groups as they settled the United States. He theorized that groups kept their basic cultural values as they established communities throughout the United States. Elazar claimed that, for example, Puritans whose religious views influenced their notion of how a commonwealth should function settled New England states. As these settlers moved westward, Scandinavian and other Northern European immigrants who had related traditions joined them. This combination established the moralistic political culture. Likewise, Germanic immigrants and non-Puritan English settled the Middle Atlantic States. As these groups moved westward across Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, immigrants from Western Europe and the lower Germanic states who shared the same attitudes joined them. The individualistic political culture became dominant in areas where these settlers

resided. People who organized their economic system around plantations, based upon slavery and an anti-commercial orientation, settled the southern states. The plantation system was an extension of the landed gentry's agrarianism of the Old World and provided a natural environment for the development of the traditionalistic political system.

In Elazar's divisions of states into three dominant categories, he noted differing foci that helped to categorize the political cultures in the United States (Elazar, 1984). Moralists measured government by its commitment to the public good and concern for public welfare. Communal power, whether governmental or non-governmental promoted positive change and placed moral obligations on public officials. Every citizen's participation in the political process was promoted. Moralistic cultures supported greater government interventions politically, economically, and socially (Elazar, 1984)

Differing from moralists, individualists focused more intently on private concerns and worked to limit community involvement in politics. Politicians tried to regulate the distribution of favors to control government and to better themselves politically, socially, and economically. The public good was less of an issue than individual initiative and control. Limiting community activity and encouraging individual initiatives created a marketplace where private enterprise eclipsed the public good (Elazar, 1984).

The traditionalistic political culture was elitist and tried to maintain the existing social order. There was an established hierarchy where those at the top dominated politics and government. Any public participation that might undermine the politically powerful was discouraged. Traditionalists took little initiative because they preferred the *status quo* rather than changes in government (Elazar, 1984).

The only major departures from the east-west pattern of cultural diffusion as seen by Elazar occurred when emigrants encountered the country's great mountain systems (Elazar, 1972). Since the publication of his original assessment of the political cultures in the United States in 1966, Daniel Elazar appears to be an astute observer of U.S. political orientation. His evaluation of state cultures has been the focus of much study and criticism over the past four decades.

Cultural patterns give each state its particular character and help determine the tone of its fundamental relationship, as a state, to the nation. Using cultural patterns, Elazar determined that seventeen states are predominantly or overwhelmingly influenced by the moralistic political culture, sixteen are similarly influenced by the traditionalistic political culture and seventeen by the individualistic political culture. A more detailed commentary of the three political cultures follows.

Moralistic Political Culture

The moralistic political culture emphasizes the commonwealth conception as the basis for democratic government. Politics, to this political culture, is considered one of the great human activities. In the moralistic political culture, both the general public and the politicians conceive of politics as public activity centered on some notion of the public good and properly devoted to the advancement of the public interest. Good government is measured by the degree to which it promotes the public good and in terms of the honesty, selflessness, and commitment to the public welfare of those who govern. (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Ziskmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

In the moralistic political culture, individualism is tempered by a general commitment to utilizing communal (governmental or non-governmental) power to intervene in the sphere of “private” activities when it is considered necessary for the public good. Issues have an important place in the moralistic culture of politics. Government is considered a positive instrument with the responsibility to promote the general welfare. Since the moralistic political culture rests on the fundamental conception that politics exists primarily as a means for coming to grips with the issues and public concerns of civil society, it embraces the notion that politics is ideally a matter of concern for all citizens, not just those who are professionally committed to political careers. Indeed, this political culture considers it the duty of every citizen to participate in the political affairs of the commonwealth. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

This political culture generally insists that government service is public service that places moral obligations upon those who participate in government, obligations that are more demanding than those of the marketplace. The notion that the field of politics is a legitimate realm for private economic enrichment is generally rejected. Since the concept of serving the community is the core of this political culture, politicians are expected to adhere to it at the expense of individual loyalties and political friendships. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

In practice, where the moralistic political culture is dominant today, there is considerable amateur participation in politics and a high degree of political nonpartisan

systems are evident. There is much less of what Americans consider corruption in government and less tolerance of those actions that are corrupt.

By virtue of the moralistic outlook, this political system creates a greater commitment to active government intervention in the economic and social life of the community. Yet with a strong emphasis on community, this political culture tends to channel the interest in governmental intervention into local paths. The moralistic political culture is not committed to either change or the status quo per se, but will accept either, depending upon the morally defined ends to be gained. The major difficulty of this political culture is adjusting bureaucracy to the conflict between community principles and the necessity for large-scale organization to increase bureaucratic efficiency. This problem affects the attitudes of the moralistic culture states toward federal activity of certain kinds.

The moralistic culture is the product of Puritan New England and the Yankee stream. North Sea and Jewish immigrants have strongly reinforced it. As immigrants from Scandinavia and New Englanders settled other areas, the moralistic culture became dominant. States such as Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wisconsin, as well as others, exhibit moralistic political cultures. (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Ziskmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

Individualistic Political Culture

The individualistic political culture emphasizes the conception of the democratic order as a marketplace. This culture is rooted in the view that government is instituted for strictly utilitarian reasons; that is, to handle those functions demanded by the people it serves. According to this view, government need not have any direct concern with the

questions of the “good society” other than advancing some common conception of the good society formulated outside the political arena. Emphasizing the centrality of private concerns, the individualistic political culture places a premium on limiting community intervention into private activities except to keep the marketplace in proper working order. Government action, in general, is restricted to those areas (primarily in the economic realm) that encourage private initiative and widespread access to the marketplace. The political process is based on the exchange of favors within a system of mutual obligations. The political party machine is typical in this culture. The individualistic culture is more susceptible to corruption, but at its best, operates in a smooth, efficient, businesslike manner. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

In political systems dominated by the individualistic political culture, politics is just another means by which individuals may improve themselves socially and economically. Political life within an individualistic political culture is based on a system of mutual obligations rooted in personal relationships. Since the individualistic political culture eschews ideological concerns in its “business-like” concept of politics, both politicians and citizens view political activity as a specialized one, - essentially the province of professionals of minimal concern to the layperson, and no place for amateurs to play an active role. Those in the individualistic political culture view politics as a dirty yet necessary business, better left to those willing to soil themselves by engaging in it. In practice, when an individualistic political culture is dominant, there is likely to be an easy attitude toward the limits of political prerequisites. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

The individualistic political culture is ambivalent about the place of bureaucracy in the political order. Bureaucratic operation flies in the face of the central premises of the individualistic political process. At the same time, the virtues of organizational efficiency appear substantial to those seeking to master the market.

The individualistic political culture is the product of the Middle State stream (Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and others) with its overriding commitment to commercialism and acceptance of ethnic, social, and religious pluralism. Immigrants from the English, Continental, East Europeans, Mediterranean and Irish streams have reinforced this culture by bringing the political culture with them or adapting to it as their traditional cultures broke down.

The individualistic political culture has made important contributions to the nation as a whole. In particular, its emphasis on smooth, efficient, businesslike government has made an impact nationally, as has its preference for non-ideological politics. However, it is vulnerable to the criticism that its practitioners have no principles and believe that everything is for sale to the highest bidder. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Ziskmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

Traditionalistic Political Culture

The traditionalistic political culture is rooted in an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace coupled with paternalistic and elitist conceptions of commonwealth. This culture reflects an older, pre-commercial attitude that accepts a substantially hierarchical society as part of the ordered nature of things, authorizing and expecting those at the top of the social structure to take a dominant role in government. The traditionalistic political culture accepts government as an actor with a positive role in the community,

but in the limited sphere of securing the maintenance of the existing social order. To do so, it functions to confine political power to a relatively small and self-perpetuating group drawn from establishment elite who often “inherit” their right to govern from family ties or social status. Thus social and family ties are paramount in a traditionalistic political culture. Those who do not have a definite role to play in politics are not expected to be minimally active as citizens. In return, citizens are guaranteed that family rights (also labeled individual rights) will not be taken lightly or ignored. Those active in politics are expected to benefit personally from their activity though not through direct pecuniary gain. Political competition is usually conducted through factional alignments as an extension of personal politics that is characteristic of the system; hence, political systems within this culture tend to have a loose one-party orientation. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

A traditionalistic political culture is found only in a society that retains some of the organic characteristics of a pre-industrial social order. “Good government”, in this political culture, involves the maintenance and encouragement of traditional patterns, and, if necessary, adjustment to changing conditions with the least possible upset. In the traditionalistic political culture, political leaders play conservative and custodial rather than initiatory roles unless strongly pressed from the outside.

Traditionalistic political cultures tend to be instinctively anti-bureaucratic. Bureaucracy, by its nature, interferes with the fine web of informal interpersonal relationships that lie at the root of the political system and have been developed by following traditional patterns over the years. Where bureaucracy is introduced, it is

generally confined to the sponsor of the established elite. . (Elazar, 1966, 1972, 1984; Elazar & Zikmund, 1975; Fowler, 2000; Sharkansky, 1969, 1974)

The traditionalistic political culture is dominant in the South and areas settled by Southerners. African-American and Hispanic streams have influenced this political culture. Traditionalistic political culture brings several strengths to U.S. politics. Skepticism about unrestrained commercial activity caused its representatives to raise questions, and concern for continuity provided balance in a rapidly changing society. The traditionalistic political culture also had some major weaknesses. Resistance to change had been a major factor in perpetuating racism, and its elitism discouraged widespread political participation including voter turnout. (Elazar, 1966, 1994; Fowler, 2000; Wirt & Kurst, 1972; Mitchell, 1988) The following table shows Elazar's original placement of states into dominant political subcultures. (see Figure 1)

Elazar's theory of political cultures has influenced a variety of studies especially within the field of political science. Boeckelman (1991) used Elazar's definition of political cultures to look at how states develop policy regarding economic development. Boeckelman found that the concept of political cultures is partly responsible for how states orient policies toward their economy. He found that states with moralist cultures developed policy that rather than simply serving business interests focused on providing high-quality jobs. These states also widely dispersed benefits and targeted efforts toward helping the least able (e.g. the poor and minorities) to attain the "good life". States with

Moralistic	Individualistic	Traditionalistic
California	Alaska	Alabama
Colorado	Connecticut	Arizona
Idaho	Delaware	Arkansas
Iowa	Hawaii	Florida
Kansas	Illinois	Georgia
Maine	Indiana	Kentucky
Michigan	Maryland	Louisiana
Minnesota	Massachusetts	Mississippi
Montana	Missouri	New Mexico
New Hampshire	Nebraska	North Carolina
North Dakota	Nevada	Oklahoma
Oregon	New Jersey	South Carolina
South Dakota	New York	Tennessee
Utah	Ohio	Texas
Vermont	Pennsylvania	Virginia
Washington	Rhode Island	West Virginia
Wisconsin	Wyoming	

Figure 1

Predominant Subcultures of the States as Defined by Daniel Elazar

individualistic cultures, by contrast, were more apt to pursue business-oriented policies. States within the traditionalistic culture had relatively low levels of economic development activity. The policies that were developed focused on maintaining existing industries in a manner consistent with the maintenance approach rather than with aggression or innovation (Boeckelman, 1991).

Lieske (1993) used Elazar's theory of regional subcultures as a basis to label all 3,164 counties in the U.S. Using 45 cultural indicators based upon racial identity, ethnic ancestry and religious affiliation, he categorized all of the U. S. counties into subcultures.

Jenness and Gratte (1996) also used the idea of Elazar's political cultures in their work, *The Criminalization of Hate*, which examined policies regarding hate crimes, and how they were initiated by various states. The authors' hypothesized that moralistic cultures would be the first to initiate hate crime policies; followed by individualistic cultures, with traditionalistic cultures last. They looked for differences among states of political cultures. Using statistics compiled by the FBI and Anti-Defamation League, Jenness and Grattet analyzed state policy documents regarding hate crimes for the variables of bias- motivated violence and intimidation, civil action, criminal penalty, race, religion and ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, institutional vandalism, data collection, and training for law enforcement personnel. They concluded that the approaches that states had taken to deal with hate crimes were highly indicative of their political culture. Implementation of hate crime policy was seen much earlier and to a greater extent in moralistic regions as opposed to later and less-inclusive implementation efforts that evolved in traditionalistic areas.

DiLeo (1997) analyzed the content of governors' speeches from forty-four states using Elazar's typology of political culture. . The first analysis determined whether the principal dimensions of variation in the content of governors' speeches corresponded to variations in the predominant political culture of that state as described by Elazar. The second analysis determined whether the governors tended to use language that espoused the central goals and characteristics of the political culture that Elazar identified as predominant in their states. DiLeo used content analysis to discriminate between thought patterns of the speakers. Using pre-selected words in a text and dividing that number by the total number of words derived a frequency count. Gains in validity were obtained by distinguishing between ambiguous uses of words and expected usages. DiLeo used trained human coders to read, interpret and classify portions of the texts or whole texts. The study found that the content of governors' speeches varied with the political culture in which they operate.

Using Elazar's political culture theory, Zimmerman (2002) focused her research on how states supported programs for child and family well being. She theorized that states with strong moralistic strains would support children and families more than those with individualistic or traditionalistic orientations. Zimmerman looked at the percentage of people living in poverty, the divorce rate, the teen birth rate and the unemployment rate as indicators of well being within a state. Her findings showed that the levels of child and family well-being were greater in moralistic states than in other states.

Cooper (2002) used political culture to examine how legislators communicate. Legislators were surveyed on frequency of email use, and it was found that

traditionalistic legislators were less likely to use email than those in the other political cultures as defined by Elazar.

McCright (2003) used Elazar's theory of political culture to examine the effects that political culture had on public opinion related to the environmental movement. McCright surveyed governmental officials (e.g. mayors, city council members, county CEO's) in every U.S. city with a population over 25, 000 concerning recycling activities and pollution controls. The same survey was also sent to leaders in local political parties, leaders of community groups (Jaycees, Rotary, etc.), special interest groups (Sierra Club) and random members of the general public. McCright concluded, based upon his analysis, that political culture does affect public opinion (i.e. public sentiment or citizen preferences). He found that a moralistic subculture has a positive effect on public support for both recycling and pollution controls, an individualistic subculture has no significant effect on either, and a traditionalistic subculture has a negative effect on public support regarding recycling and a positive effect on public support for pollution controls (McCright, 2003).

Mead (2004) used Elazar's characterization of political cultures to test a link between cultures and how states implemented welfare reforms. Mead used case studies of welfare reform implementation to determine if political cultures differed in their official responses to welfare reform. Due to the characteristics of their subculture, Mead assumed that the moralistic culture would refine policy in a more generous, supportive fashion than either of the other subcultures. Using case study evidence from two national projects, the Assessing New Federalism Study and the State Capacity Study, Mead looked at documentation from 24 states and their implementation of welfare reform.

Based upon six indicators-*policymaking, commitment, consensus, coordination, resources, and capacity*-Mead examined the state documents to see if the criteria had been met. Mead then assigned one point for each of the criteria met and grouped states according to their scores. His results largely confirmed that the moralistic states had the highest scores for satisfying performance criteria. Traditionalistic states scored lowest, and individualistic states scored in the middle. Mead concluded that culture clearly mattered in the performance of states with regard to welfare reform (Mead, 2004).

The three political subcultures arose out of very real socio-cultural differences found among the peoples who came to America over the years- differences that date back to the beginnings of settlement in this country and beyond that to the Old World. Because the various ethnic and religious groups that came to these shores tended to congregate in their own settlements and because, as they or their descendents moved westward, they continued to settle together, the political patterns they bore with them are today distributed geographically. Sectional concentrations of distinctive cultural groups have helped create the social interests that tie contiguous states to one another even in the face of marked differences in the standard measures of similarity. These sectional concentrations can be traced for every part of the country, and their effects can be noted in the interests shared by the states in each section. (Elazar, 1966).

Migration has passed over the American landscape in response to the various frontiers of national development. As populations settled in the same location, sometimes side by side, sometimes overlapping, and frequently on top of one another, they created cultural mixtures that must be sorted out for analytical purposes.

Sectional concentration of distinctive cultural groups helped create social interests that tied states to one another. The passage of time and the impact of new events eroded some cultural patterns, intensified others, and modified still others. While Elazar's typology of political culture was created forty years ago, it is still used to predict political and policy variations among the states (Morgan & Watson, 1991). Although debate continues over how the concept of political culture should be employed in understanding political activity, there is considerable agreement on the basic definition of the concept

Building upon the theories of Elazar concerning political cultures, in his 1969 essay, *The Utility of Elazar's Political Cultures*, political scientist, Ira Sharkansky offered the first empirical test of the effect of Elazar's typology of political culture on state politics. Sharkansky agreed with Elazar's assumptions concerning state political cultures, in that diversity in political culture by region was a product of distinct colonial settlement (Sharkansky, 1969). However, Sharkansky posited that the initial patterns identified by Elazar had been blurred by subsequent settlers. In order to identify the states that were purely moralistic, individualistic and traditionalistic from those that were hybrids or combinations of these cultures, Sharkansky developed a numeric scale for each political subculture based upon three hypotheses concerning political traits that he linked to Elazar's political cultures. He tested these in his 1969 work, *The Utility of Elazar's Political Culture*

The hypotheses were:

1. The closer a state's culture is to traditionalism, the lower it will score on measures pertaining to political participation.

2. The closer a state's culture is to traditionalism, the lower it will score on measures pertaining to the size and perquisites of government bureaucracy
3. The closer a state's culture is to traditionalism, the lower it will score on measures pertaining to the scope, magnitude, or costs of government programs.

In the article, Sharkansky tested the three hypotheses using 23 variables that he felt were likely to correlate to political culture. These included the variables of voter participation, political competition, introduction of new programs, tax efforts, and expenditures on public services.

Sharkansky created a continuum using Elazar's three original cultures designations-moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic. The moralistic traits formed one extreme, traditionalistic traits formed the opposite extreme, and individualistic traits fell in between. Sharkansky used a formula for calculating the numeric value for state political culture. The formula was

$$C = \frac{\sum c}{n}$$

where C is the numeric value assigned to the states' political culture, c is each value that Elazar assigned to regions within a state, and n equals the number of political culture designations within a state. Using this formula, Sharkansky gave each state two cultural scores. The first represented the average numerical value of the separate culture designations that Elazar made within each state and the second represented the numerical value of Elazar's summary designation for each state. Sharkansky's summation of

Elazar's separate designations produced a more precise scale of political cultures than Elazar's own summary for each state. In addition to examining the simple relationships between political cultures and the 23 variables, Sharkansky's research also investigated these relationships to see if they reflected anything more than the existence of certain socio-economic characteristics that might have been common to both the culture and the dependent variable. Then, it controlled the relationships for "region", to determine whether Elazar's notion of culture added anything beyond the findings produced from the assumption that each major region fostered its peculiar brand of state politics. The techniques used were: (1) simple correlations; (2) partial correlation; and (3) analysis of covariance. By using coefficients of simple correlation (Pearson's r), it was possible to determine which traits were associated with the scale of cultures, and whether the association was consistent with the descriptions that Elazar gave to his cultures. The variables were grouped by categories to include measures of voter turnout, generosity of state suffrage regulations, the number and perquisites of government employees; the magnitude of taxes, expenditures and public service outputs in the fields of education, highways, welfare and criminal justice.

By using partial correlations to control the relationships between culture and the variables for socio-economic characteristics of each state, Sharkansky's research looked to see if the relationships with culture persisted under different environmental conditions. The socio-economic variables enjoyed wide use in other comparative state analyses. These included per capita income and percentage of the population living in areas considered "urban" by the US Census Bureau.

An analysis of covariance determined whether the cultural relationships persisted across regional boundaries. Because Sharkansky felt that Elazar's cultural designations had a regional appearance, he believed that they must survive the analysis of covariance. The results indicated that Elazar's scale as modified by Sharkansky was independent of regional history and traditions (Sharkansky, 1969; Zoellick.2000).

In Sharkansky's research, about two-thirds of the variables tested for their relationship to Elazar's political cultures actually showed the expected relationship (Sharkansky, 1969; Zoellick, 2000). The coefficients of simple correlation indicated that fifteen of the 23 dependent variables showed statistical significance. Moreover, all of these significant relationships were in the direction expected based upon Elazar's descriptions. The states that placed high on the traditional end of the continuum tended to show lower voter turnout, illiberal suffrage regulations, underdeveloped government bureaucracies, and low scores on tax effort, government spending and public services (Morgan & Watson 1991; Sharkansky, 1969; Zoellick, 2000). Sharkansky theorized that the traditional culture was the weakest and that over time would be most influenced by the other two cultures. (Sharkansky, 1969)

Sharkansky's research showed expected relationships with many political characteristics of the states that were independent of personal income and urbanization. Sharkansky concluded that Elazar's designations of political cultures were "independent" and not simply a product of the level of economic well-being or urbanization within each state. Culture appeared to be a suitable predictor for certain traits even after tested for independence from region (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). Sharkansky was convinced that through his analysis of Elazar's assumptions concerning political cultures that Elazar's

findings are perceptive observations of state culture. These findings were later confirmed by others (Johnson, 1976; Hanson, 1980; Fitzpatrick & Hero, 1988). Figure 2 represents modifications that have been made over time as cultural patterns shift. Blended subculture indications i.e. traditionalistic/moralistic, individualistic/traditionalistic, etc. name the predominant subculture first followed by the subculture showing significant influence (Elazar, 1984).

The work of Elazar and Sharkansky came emanated from the political science tradition, but examining education research revealed that the influence of the theory of political culture was evident in both policy and action. Since the 1960's, states have played a much larger role in shaping and overseeing educational policy. Some have suggested that this increase in state control of education has made local control of schools meaningless (Apple, 1996; Peterson, 1974). Demands from parents, teachers, taxpayers, racial and ethnic minorities and students over value issues have brought pressure on local school boards that they could not meet because of insufficient resources or lack of efficiency (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). State political culture then has had an increased impact upon educational policy. The influence of state political cultures is revealed in educational research done from a cultural lens.

Vandenbosch (1991) conducted research using political cultural indices from Elazar and Sharkansky to see if political culture affected corporal punishment in schools. Vandenbosch found high correlations with these political cultural indices that suggested that political culture was a useful tool for explaining the variations among states in the use of corporal punishment by school personnel. Using survey data from the

M	MI	IM	I
Colorado	California	Connecticut	Alaska
Maine	Idaho	Illinois	Indiana
Michigan	Iowa	Massachusetts	New Jersey
Minnesota	Kansas	Nebraska	Nevada
North	Montana	New York	Pennsylvania
Dakota	New	Ohio	
Oregon	Hampshire	Rhode Island	
Utah	South	Wyoming	
Vermont	Dakota		
Wisconsin	Washington		

M=Moralistic

MI=Moralistic/Individualistic

IM=Individualistic/Moralistic

I=Individualistic

Figure 2

Modified Listings of Subcultures as Defined by Ira Sharkansky

IT	TI	T	TM
Delaware	Florida	Alabama	Arizona
Hawaii	Kentucky	Arkansas	North Carolina
Maryland	New Mexico	Georgia	
Missouri	Oklahoma	Louisiana	
	Texas	Mississippi	
	West Virginia	South Carolina	
		Tennessee	
		Virginia	

IT=Individualistic/Traditionalistic

TI=Traditionalistic/Individualistic

T=Traditionalistic

TM=Traditionalistic/Moralistic

Figure 2 (continued)

Office of Civil Rights and the United States Department of Education, Vandenbosch found that teachers within the traditionalistic culture used corporal punishment more frequently than teachers in either of the other two cultures. Corporal punishment was used least in moralistic or partly moralistic states.

Pazey (1993) examined proposals to integrate regular and special education students in schools. Using Elazar's theory of political cultures as a framework for analyzing the effects of this unification system, Pazey concluded that traditionalistic cultures were slowest to change from separate educational systems to unified ones. Language within traditionalistic proposals was also more negative toward students with disabilities.

Kuscova and Buckley (2004) used the theory of political cultures to examine charter school legislation. Their hypotheses were that individualistic cultures with their strong "marketplace" tendencies would promote more charter school legislation than other cultures. Using data from 36 states, Kuscova and Buckley found that this was true, however, their research also showed that charter schools flourished in areas with lower shares of other alternatives to traditional public schools and in areas that were in need of services due to growing school age population no matter what the cultural distinction.

Political culture influences people's perceptions and expectations about the proper roles of politics and government, the recruitment of specific kinds of people into political life, and the actual practice of government and politics (Elazar, 1994; Wirt, 1977). Viewing policies as cultural products provides a framework for designing policy. Divergent cultures define policies differently and look at different facets of human

behavior whenever they try to document the link between policy and action. (Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1989).

Political culture impacts educational policy, as well as other policy initiatives. Based upon political patterns, state policies, including those that deal with education, vary. The qualities that shape states' policies also affect educational policy. If states have distinctive political cultures and are allowed to operate relatively independently, it would follow that their policy outputs would differ in distinctive ways. Differing political practices, reflecting different political visions suggest the force of political culture in explaining policy differences among states and regions (Wirt & Kurst, 1972; Wirt, 1977). With increasing frequency, students of state-level policymaking point to the importance of cultural beliefs and values as determinants of basic policy decisions.

Values

Ideas, values, and thought systems are located in the human mind and are an intangible aspect of the policy environment. For generations, politics in the United States was generally considered non-ideological or unconcerned with ideas (Fowler, 2000). Early policy analysts advocated a "value free" policy analysis. By the turn of the 20th century, politics in America could no longer accurately be described as non-ideological nor was it realistic to ignore values in policy (Anderson, 1987). Ideas operate as a driving force in American politics particularly in domestic affairs and, therefore, in the politics of education. Ideas, beliefs, and values are important because they shape the way people define policy problems, and constrain people's ability to perceive possible

solutions to policy problems. Due to the importance of ideas in the development and implementation of education policy, no policy or policy proposal can be fully understood without considering the values that under gird it.

Political scientists generally agree that the values that are essential to a democratic society are *liberty*, *equality*, and *fraternity* (Fowler, 2000; Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1978). Because the United States has a democratic political system and a capitalistic economic system, the economic values of *efficiency* and *quality* are generally added to the core value system of the country (Fowler, 2000). Each of these values is multifaceted, and can be defined in several ways. Many value conflicts, including those about education policies, center on what these values mean and how they can best be achieved, protected, or expanded. (Fowler, 2000; Wirt & Kirst, 1972).

The world of education policy is populated by those who were elected or appointed to maintain a certain cultural view—a preferred way of structuring schooling to achieve a preferred set of values. This influential group understands the values of their culture and were appointed or elected to ensure that those values would be promoted. They enter the policy subculture with some understanding of the larger cultural context, pressing needs, previous politics, and the particular constituency that they represent. (Cizek & Ramaswamy, 1998; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989; Smith & O'Day, 1990).

To understand how the three social values and two economic values shape policy makers' behavior, it is necessary to describe how each has its roots in a unique political ideology or philosophy.

1. *Liberty (or Choice)*: This value is arguably the most basic of all American public values. The Founding Fathers held passionate beliefs that good government is

defined by its ability to preserve the freedom of choice for its citizens. Choice, however, is a difficult value to pursue through governmental action. Choice is generally more supported by inaction than by positive policy formation. Possibly the most prominent choice issue among current educational issues debate is the use of vouchers or other strategies that allow families to choose among schools for their children (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989).

2. *Equality (or Equity)*: Through the Declaration of Independence and its statement that “all men are created equal”, Americans have espoused equality as a core value. In reality, there has been much difficulty embodying this value in public policies; yet, it can be powerfully invoked for creating or changing policy decisions. Karl Marx framed the problem of equality in modern political theory. He argued that a steady accumulation of wealth by one social class at the expense of others would inevitably lead to class warfare. It then becomes the responsibility and duty of the government to intercede before the situation is exacerbated. According to Marx, the government is obliged to take action to restore equality and give everyone a chance to benefit from the privileges of full citizenship (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). Political leaders in the United States have acted to keep the process in this country from tending toward cumulative inequality and have recognized the importance of preventing alienation and abuse by political elites. (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989).

As a policy matter, equality is complicated. Policy makers cannot decree social equity, but can only create laws and social programs to relieve the effects of inequality after it has been identified. In school policy action, educators have been asked to treat equity issues on two levels: (1). elimination of inequality of educational opportunity

within and across school programs; and (2) provision of special education resources to disadvantaged and handicapped children to enable them to achieve greater equity in society after they leave school. (Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989).

3. *Fraternity (or Brotherhood)*: Fraternity is the ability to perceive other members of one's society as brothers and sisters in the sense that one feels a responsibility toward them. Of the three democratic values, Americans pay the least attention to fraternity. Bellah et al (1996) have argued that "civic membership" in the United States is in crisis as evidenced by declining memberships in groups such as PTA, Masons, and the League of Women Voters while "lifestyle enclaves" neighborhoods in which all of the residents have similar or the same characteristics, i.e., jobs, income, age, social standing, or race, - are on the upswing. Bellah et al (1996) believe that this undermines fraternity by restricting one's interpersonal experiences to a very narrow segment of the population and jeopardizes the feelings that all are Americans regardless of age, class, income, religion, occupation, or race.

Fraternity has been a central goal of American education policy since the Common School Movement of the 19th century that advocated that everyone attend a public elementary school to promote a sense of common identity. The more recent movements for racial integration and the inclusion of handicapped students in regular classrooms is most often justified as equity arguments, but also can be seen to promote positive social interaction among children who might not otherwise meet. (Fowler, 2000; Kirst, 1984)

4. *Efficiency*: Americans have a love-hate relationship with efficiency. While fearing the cruel efficiencies of totalitarian states, the productive efficiency of American

business and industry is frequently held out as a model for public agencies. Efficiency means obtaining the best possible return on an investment or expenditure. Policymakers are concerned about the costs of education and whether policies are worth the financial outlays they entail. Efficiency in school policy is often translated into accountability measures such as proficiency tests, funding based on student test performance and merit pay for teachers (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Timar & Kirp, 1988).

5. *Quality*: Americans also feel a need for orderly, controlled, and predictable systems to enhance the quality of life for citizens. Government action to provide direct services is most defensible if the quality of the services is on the whole equal to or better than what could reasonably be expected to arise through private activity. Rousseau theorized that citizens join together in collective action to achieve goals that they would not be able to reach through private actions and enter into a relationship with the State that secures improved life opportunities in exchange for reduced liberties (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Ravitch, 1983).

Americans have believed for over a century that the overall quality of life in this country will be increased through a system of free, mass education. The quality improvement is economically measured by the greater productivity of educated workers. Educational quality is frequently invoked in public rhetoric by the terms *excellence* and *high standards*. Quality became a major issue in education in the 1980's when U.S. schools were criticized for emphasizing the lowest common educational denominator and not challenging students enough. When these students entered the workplace, they were unable to provide high quality products or services so the argument went. Thus, the issue of quality in education seeks higher, more intellectually demanding standards in schools

such as constructed response questions on proficiency tests, portfolio assessments, curricula that stresses critical thinking and requiring more advanced coursework (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989).

These five major values permeate the state education policy decisions. Each represents underlying political values in the policy system. Mitchell (1988) found that these values are unevenly distributed among states with the distribution associated with prevailing political cultures. These five values either reinforced or opposed one another. The political basis of all educational policy making rests upon the necessity of leaders and citizens to select which values will be reinforced and which will not. In a democratic nation, policymaking is infused with the possibilities, not always realized, for citizens to choose which values will be reflected in their policy services (Marshall, Mitchell Wirt, 1989).

Data by Marshall et al (1989) suggested that the political institutions that are created shape value choices in public policy in ways that are consistent with the states' historical culture. Thus history reaches through historical institutions that it has created to shape the present. This is also true of the basic values that policy makers choose with regard to attendant policies. (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989).

Five values dominate state education policy and frequently oppose one another. For example, some groups seek *equity* of education resources while others seek *quality*. These value contradictions inevitably get hammered out in the policy arena. Thus education policy is conflicted and political. Contrasts arise with the presence of distinct subcultures having different policy issues. State policy analysts have pointed out in detail the striking policy differences that result from contrasting cultural judgments about the

political system and its parts (Brewer & deLeon, 1983; Dubnick & Bardes, 1983; Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983). Historians of education have likewise shown contrasts that manifest themselves in tensions arising over school policy as cultural attitudes clash (Lewis, 1998; Mann, 1975; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Peterson, 1974). Further, there are clashes between national influences and state preferences in education policy. During the 1960's, national influences were driven by equity concerns. Those influences changed in the 1980's to an emphasis of *quality* and *efficiency*. (Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1989).

A nation that encompasses two such contrasting values as *equity* and *freedom* provides an example of the differences in cultural paradigm. The Great Society reforms of the 1960's were designed for educational equity. However, the Reagan Administration of the 1980's transformed the landscape of American educational policies with a marked shift in the fundamental values guiding national policy. The pursuit of excellence replaced equity as the leading goal of American schooling. This pattern of shifting waves of education policy may look random and inefficient; but, in reality, is evidence that policy makers are responding to competing values. The cultural approach to understanding education policy offers an effective but not always efficient approach to the democratic political system that under girds it. (Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989).

In what has become a very important body of research in the field of education policy, Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt (1989) used both the idea of political cultures and embedded values to examine educational policymaking at the state level. Marshall et al conducted a cross-state comparison of educational policy to track the various ways that values are incorporated into the policies that were shaping school reform. They selected

six states (two from each of Elazar's political subcultures) to analyze for predominant values within policy documents. Data were drawn from moralistic Wisconsin and California, individualistic Illinois and Pennsylvania, and traditionalistic West Virginia and Arizona. Policy documents that related to state responses to school finances, personnel, student testing and assessment, organization and governance, curriculum materials, buildings and facilities, and school programming were analyzed. The researchers also interviewed key educational policymakers to determine what values they espoused concerning policy decisions. Multiple sets of data, both qualitative and quantitative, were collected in each state. Using statistical analysis from the collected data, Marshall et al searched for meanings and connections in interpretation to identify values in policy choices. Case studies from interviews with policy actors were compiled and linked to the statistical analysis. Using content analysis with analysis of code words provided another way to test validity. This complex, but coordinated, research allowed comparative analysis of the six states' processes of embodiment of values into education policy allowing the researchers to better understand how values are incorporated into policy.

Marshall et al also maintained that it is possible to predict value patterns within cultures and to connect cultural types and behaviors. These behaviors appeared in the ways that values were translated into policy action. To connect political culture and education policy action, their study looked for differences in program approaches. By matching these differences to the values of *choice*, *efficiency*, *equity* and *quality* (Marshall et al. did not seek to identify *fraternity* in their research), they developed a relationship between the values expressed in policy programming choices and political

culture. A set of behavioral indicators that represented the four values was examined and how they were transformed into policy actions accomplished this. Using a framework first suggested by Wildavsky (1987), Marshall et al. assessed the behavioral indicators within policy to explain differences by political culture. They posed a series of questions to conceptualize values within policy codes to demonstrate differences in the distribution of values by states and how these values were represented in policy.

In their conclusions, Marshall et al. reported that value preferences differ across states in how they are distributed in policy areas. In correlations between political culture and values, moralistic cultures devised policy that emphasized *quality* and *equity*; individualistic cultures designed policy that emphasized *quality* and *choice*; and traditionalistic cultures designed policy that emphasized *efficiency* and *choice*. Political culture had less effect when the policy was national in scope than when state generated.

More recently, another educational researcher, Garn (2000), examined charter school policy to study embedded values within state documents. He confined his study to the state of Arizona and its attempts at charter school legislation. Using the four values of *choice*, *efficiency*, *quality* and *equity*, Garn did a qualitative case study of charter school policy intent. Using triangulated data from documents, observations and interviews with State Board of Education and State Board of Charter Schools members, individuals from the Arizona Department of Education, including the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and legislators from the Arizona Senate and House of Representatives, Garn found that policy makers promoted *choice* and *efficiency* while placing less emphasis on *quality* and *equity*. Garn concluded that his research reinforced the work of Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) concerning values within political

cultures because Arizona, as a traditionalistic state, chose the values that are most often associated with that culture-*choice* and *efficiency*. Garn's study also presented theoretical implications about how values strengthened and opposed one another in educational policy.

Fowler (2000), in her book for school administrators, *Policy Studies for Educational Leaders*, noted how both political culture and values must be understood in the world of school policymaking if school leaders wished to improve their understanding of educational politics and policy. Using the works of Elazar, (1966, 1972, 1984) Sharkansky (1969, 1978) and Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989), Fowler combined the theory of political culture and competing values to examine educational policy and to project likely future trends for American education. Fowler's book was a result of her research into the debate surrounding school choice (Fowler, 1992). Feeling that opponents of school choice were at a disadvantage relative to school choice advocates because of the lack of a compelling theory to counter economic arguments, Fowler used applied theories from political science to highlight neglected values within school choice policies. Fowler (2000) provided a systematic and comprehensive explanation of state-level educational policymaking as well as practical guidelines and advice for educational leaders as they maneuvered through the world of policy.

Like Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989), Fowler (2000) posed questions whose answers could be used to aid school leaders in determining which values were present in policy. Fowler ranked values appearing within state policy documents by culture based upon which policy requirements were emphasized. Provisions addressing teacher certification, for example, were deemed to indicate *quality* while provisions for specific

methods of record keeping or reporting were seen as representing the value of *efficiency*. Fowler concluded that the moralistic cultures, through their policy actions, stressed first *equity*, then *fraternity*, followed by *efficiency* and *quality*. Likewise, she concluded that the individualistic culture stressed first *efficiency* and then *choice*. The traditionalistic culture, according to Fowler, preferred *efficiency*, followed by *quality*. Neither Marshall et al or Fowler attempted to categorize the hybrid political cultures by values.

The politics of education involve conflict over which values, defining what is “best” for individuals, will be accepted and administered and which will not. American school policies have consistently been controversial as schools are racked by intense debate over what to teach, how to teach, how they should be organized and financed, and moral purposes (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983; Kirst, 1984; Wirt & Kirst, 1972). The understanding of the values that permeate state educational policy allows leaders and citizens to select which values will be reinforced and advanced by public resources and support (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). With the passage of *No Child Left Behind*, understanding how the federal role in education can impact state policy became essential.

The Federal Role in Education

The fundamental characteristic of the United States political system is its federal structure. Under a federal system of government, several governments share sovereign powers among themselves, and the national government cannot abolish subsidiary governments.

Institutional arrangements are specified in the United States Constitution. The Constitution defines the relationship between the national government and individual state governments. It also provides the basic guidelines within which relations between

states must operate. The state constitutions situate state governments in relationship with local governments and individual citizens. Together, these basic arrangements constitute the role of the state in the federal political system. (Gray, Jacob, & Vines, 1983).

Federalism, however, is not a static relationship, but dynamic, changing with time. The boundaries on some governmental powers are of necessity ill defined. Some are constantly in flux as centers of power struggle with one another to extend their influence and to resist others' attempts to do the same. Some of these changes have been marginal and others quite momentous. Most observers agree, however, that the long-term trend has been toward the enhancement of the powers of the national government. To a significant extent, this is a result of Supreme Court interpretations of the Constitution (Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983; Peterson, Rabe & Wong, 1986).

There is no mention of education in the United States Constitution; so, there was no federal role of significance until after World War II. Prior to that time, federal involvement took the form of providing public land whose sale could be used to finance local schools. This idea, rooted in the Articles of Confederation, was a stimulus for the spread of free, public education after the mid-nineteenth century. No federal regulations accompanied this action, nor did regulations come with later federal school programs like providing states and districts with information about pedagogy or organization. Federal funds came to schools when Washington underwrote the costs of vocational education or when schools were located near federal or military installations. Only since the early 1960's has Washington expanded its local school involvement by financing special education programs and the protection of civil rights by imposing regulations. (Clark & Asuto, 1986; Gray, Jacob & Vines, 1983; Wirt & Kirst, 1972; Wong, 1994,1998).

Historically, there has been no consistent or coherent federal school policy. Instead, there has been a complicated web of education related policies comprised of federal statutes, executive orders, regulations, guidelines, and judicial rulings. Modern policies have generally resulted from the political demands of numerous and varied interest groups and individuals. Despite its incoherent nature, it is possible to deduce three underlying purposes of federal education policies and programs:

- (1) Promotion and extension of equal education opportunity.
- (2) Stimulation of greater efficiency and prevention of under-investment in important education related endeavors.
- (3) Preservation of diversity and choice in higher education institutions.

No federal program may fit any one purpose exclusively, and practical steps taken toward fulfillment of a particular objective may bring benefits to proponents of the other goals. Consequently, federal efforts in the pursuit of equality, efficiency, and liberty seldom emerge clear and distinct in practice. (Coombs, 1983; Garms, Guthrie, & Pierce, 1978; Guthrie, Garms & Pierce, 1988).

The federal role in educational policy emerged slowly, primarily through judicial interpretations of the Constitution's general welfare and interstate commerce clauses. However, the years following World War II have seen expansion at a remarkable rate. World War II then becomes a good dividing line between historical and modern federal proposals and programs in education (Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1988). In 1958, the federal government took a major step into education. Following the 1957 launch of *Sputnik* by the Soviets, Americans were taken by surprise at being outdone technologically. Critics of American education held that schools were too easy, standards too low, particularly in math and science, and teaching was inadequate. American

education must improve to meet the Soviet challenge. In this climate, the National Defense Education Act was passed in 1958. This act authorized federal funds for a variety of educational activities including college loans to entice students into teaching, funds to districts for the purchase of instructional equipment for math, science and foreign languages, funds to prepare guidance and counseling personnel, and resources to encourage research with television and other audiovisual materials. In 1964, as part of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty", Head Start and Upward Bound programs were initiated as part of the Economic Opportunity Act. In 1965, a landmark piece of legislation was passed. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) appropriated the largest amount of federal funds, covered the broadest spectrum of educational functions, and contained the greatest potential for political controversy of any federal education act thus far initiated. The primary purpose of this act was to provide educationally disadvantaged children with remedial and compensatory services. Many of the important programs embodied in the ESEA had no precedent in federal education policy. In 1968, a comprehensive piece of legislation was passed that significantly increased federal funds for vocational education. The Vocational Education Act of 1968 also authorized a number of new vocational education programs. Enacted in 1975, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act was a federal program of extraordinary breath that authorized funds to aid states and local school districts in the schooling of handicapped children from ages 3-21. Allocation of funds was dependent upon federal approval of state and local school district compliance with federal regulations. (Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1978).

The rapid increase in the number of federal programs for education began to slow down in the 1970's. This was a time of vacillation and entrenchment on the one hand and an even more extended federal intrusion on the other. The nature of real and potential conflicts between the President and Congress was clearly revealed in the Nixon administration. The position of the Nixon administration on federal support for K-12 schools was epitomized in the Better Schools Act of 1973. The Better Schools Act was seen as a special form of revenue sharing for the schools. Although "revenue sharing" was seen by many as just another name for federal aid, the position of the Administration was made clear on several matters. For example, federal assistance to schools was consolidated into 30 programs. Prior to this time, the U.S. Office of Education administered 100 programs affecting the schools. The Better Schools Act was approved by Congress because selected federal aid would no longer be sustained and federal control over state allotments by state governors was uncertain. There were also no specifications of dollar amounts for the program. (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usban, 1985; Reyes, Wagstaff & Fusarelli, 1999).

President Nixon and his successor, President Ford, subscribed to a concept that they termed "New Federalism." This concept was a commitment to bring government closer to its citizens, restore faith and credibility to government at all levels, and strengthen state and local governments in ways that would foster wise and responsible leadership to give the nation the strength and vitality of the earlier days of the republic. This concept was reflected in the policies of the Nixon and Ford administrations and was an effort to curtail social programs including education. (Mosher, 1977; Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usban, 1985; Reyes, Wagstaff & Fusarelli, 1999).

President Jimmy Carter also sought to empower the states by altering the federal relationship with them. However, a more significant reorganization of the federal structure in education was approved during his presidency. Carter had been strongly supported by the National Education Association (NEA) and other education groups. Based upon the wishes of proponents of public education, Carter proposed a cabinet-level department of education be established. The rationale for such a proposition was that education concerns required more attention and status. The new Department of Education was approved in 1979. (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand & Usban, 1985; Reyes, Wagstaff, & Fusarelli, 1999).

Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980, and the balance of power between the states and the federal government shifted. In his 1982 State of the Union address, Ronald Reagan emphasized “New Federalism” and called for giving states more power in several policy areas and more discretion over the use of federal funds. In education policy, the most tangible impact was a decrease in federal funding. At the beginning of the Reagan administration, the federal government provided a little over 8% of all monies for U.S. schools. Under Reagan, this percentage decreased to 6%, -a drop of more than 25%. Under Reagan, the federal government consolidated 37 programs into a single block grant entitled Elementary and Secondary Education. Under this approach, federal guidelines for spending were relaxed, empowering state governments to make decisions about the direction of education policy in several areas. (Fowler, 2000). Reagan initially sought the elimination of the new Department of Education, T.H. Bell, directed by the President, proposed four possible replacements for the department. The one most favored by the Administration proposed converting the department to a foundation much like the

National Science Foundation to oversee the federal role in education. The Department of Education, however, provided the Administration with a surprising asset in 1983 with the publication of a report entitled *A Nation at Risk*. This report focused its attention on the quality of teaching and learning in the nation's schools and colleges, compared American education with those in other advanced countries and defined problems that must be overcome to attain excellence in education. The outcome was dramatic. Education became a major national concern. In general, there was widespread support for the recommendations in the report. The media and citizens generally agreed that the nation must be rescued from the "rising tide of mediocrity" as documented set out in the report. Scores of state legislatures and local school boards prepared to respond to achieve excellence in their schools. (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand & Usban, 1985). *A Nation at Risk* explicitly linked education to economic productivity. Policy makers became obsessed with international comparisons of student performance. Business leaders assumed leading roles in the education reform movement. Rather than abolish the Department of Education, national interests voiced support for an increase in the functions of the department, and several recommended an increase in federal funding. Reagan awakened to the political viability of education issues even if certain educational efforts at the federal level weren't to his liking. (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usban, 1985).

The Reagan Administration relied on the ascendancy of leadership or the "bully pulpit" as a policy lever. In assessing his first term in office, President Reagan wrote:

"If I were asked to single out the proudest achievement of my Administration's first three and one half years in office, what we've done to define the issues, and promote

the great national debate in education would rank right up near the top of the list.” (Boyan, p. 495).

A Nation at Risk was soon followed by other extensions of the bully pulpit. Publications by the Department of Education promoting improvement of the U.S. educational system through information and leadership rather than the establishment of programs or regulatory structures proliferated.

The Secretary of Education during Reagan’s second term, William Bennett, effectively used the “bully pulpit” to expand the ideology of the Reagan administration’s educational stance. Bennett, upon his appointment, enumerated 15 themes that he would address. These included such ideas as choice, teachers, curriculum, setting, and parents. He later refined his list to the “three C’s” –content, character, and choice. Bennett and his staff used technical reports, addresses, budget statements, and congressional hearings, to advance and expand their themes of content, character, and choice. The expanded use of moral persuasion under the Reagan administration suggests that the bully pulpit affected policy makers’ assumptions and views about policy priorities. State officials, especially governors, began to take a greater leadership role in reforms such as improving standards, working conditions, and career opportunities for teachers, broad based curriculum reforms, and decreasing dropouts. (Jung, 1988).

President George H.W. Bush proclaimed in his bid for the White House in 1988 that he would be the “education president.” Yet in reality, federal education policy, programming and funding received low priority, few initiatives, and declining fiscal support. The factors behind this were economical, ideological, (politically and educationally), and attitudinal. Education fared less well than other social programs

during the eight years of the Reagan administration. Federal educational initiatives had to contend with three powerful economic decisions held by the Bush Administration, namely:

- The budget had to be balanced;
- The deficit had to be reduced;
- There will be no new taxes.

Reductions in the federal budget were passed on to the states during a time when national rhetoric called for expensive education reforms.

Ideologically, President Bush was comfortable with the conservative stance concerning education and the policy of devolution. The first education budget presented by Bush called for new initiatives in education of \$450 million to be largely found in existing programs. The bulk of these funds were earmarked for awards to excellent schools, alternative systems of certification for educational personnel, educational tax credits for low-income families, the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act, the Youth Entering Service program, and magnet schools. Almost without exception, the new programs emphasized institutional and individual competition to de-emphasize the monopoly of the public schools. (Clark & Astuto, 1986; Jennings, 1998).

In 1989, the nation's governors and President Bush convened in Charlottesville, Virginia for an educational summit. An agreement was reached that stated that unless the nation established clear education goals and education stakeholders worked cooperatively to achieve them, the United States would be unprepared to face the technological, scientific, and economic challenges of the 21st century. This 1989 Education Summit led to the adoption of six national goals that set high expectations for education performance

at every stage of a learner's life, from preschool through adulthood. One governor at the Education Summit of 1989 was then Arkansas governor, Bill Clinton. (Lunenburg & Irby, 1999).

Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992. The America 2000 educational initiatives of George H.W. Bush were promoted almost exactly as developed under the Clinton Administration as *Goals 2000*. With the infrastructure already in place, Congress passed the Educate America Act or *Goals 2000* in March of 1994. In addition to *Goals 2000*, Clinton also increased the scope of Head Start and called upon all 50 states to pass laws to provide for the creation of public charter schools. (Phi Delta Kappan, October, 1996; Reyes, & Fusarelli, 1994).

George W. Bush assumed the presidency in 2001. Bush's education plans during his campaign focused on making states and local school districts more accountable for student performance and streamlining federal programs to give states and districts more flexibility in how federal dollars are spent. Bush said, "Now we have a system of excessive regulations and high standards, but in my administration, we will have minimal regulations and high standards" (New York *Times*, May 23, 2000).

The Bush administration has continued the conservative education agenda. It emphasizes greater accountability for teachers, school districts, and states, and advocates that education strategies be examined for effectiveness before the federal government allocates money for reform initiatives. The initial Bush plan for education included more student testing, punishment and rewards to states depending on pupil performance, expanding public charter schools, spending \$5 billion on reading instruction and research. In addition, it also included allowances for low-income students in public schools that

have failed to meet standards for three consecutive years to use federal funds for transportation to another public school, for private school vouchers, or for tutoring. As a nod to state control, Bush placed responsibility for testing in the hands of state government. States would select and design assessments for students in grades 3-8. Federal money would be used to develop these tests, and the plan would require states to report school results by “race, gender, English language proficiency, disability, and socio-economic status”. Within this initial plan was a call, dating back to the Reagan years, namely tax credits, for tuition spent on private schools. (Spring, 2002). Additionally, the plan called for tax breaks to compensate teachers who spend their own money on classroom supplies, increased funding to recruit retired military personnel as teachers, provided financial incentives for college graduates who would teach math and science in needy areas, and changed the Head Start program to put greater emphasis on teaching reading. (Kennedy, 2000).

With his educational agenda squarely in place, Bush signed the re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), ambitiously named “No Child Left Behind,” into law in 2002. Touted as the most dramatic reform of ESEA since the mid-1960. Its goals were to have the federal government play a stronger role in K-12 education, boost minority and disadvantaged students’ achievement levels, and give parents more options, if their children’s schools proved, through standardized teaching, to be operating below new federal standards. The final re-authorization plan included all of Bush’s initial education initiatives except the private school vouchers plank.

The *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)* act has been called the most important legislation in American education since the 1960’s (Peterson & West 2003). The crucial

aspect of the legislation lay in the direction it gives schools. The legislation redirected educational thinking along new channels. Under its terms, every state, wishing to receive federal aid, had to put into place a set of standards, together with a detailed testing plan, designed to make sure that the standards were being met. Students at schools that failed to measure up to the standards could leave for other schools in the same district. Schools that persistently failed to make “adequate yearly progress” toward full proficiency became subject to corrective action. The law required states to assess the performance of all students in grades three through eight in math and reading each year, with an additional test administered at some point during grades ten to twelve. Test results were to be released to the public. Each year, every school needed to show that all students (as well as students within each ethnic subgroup of significant size) were making, on average, adequate progress toward full educational proficiency. Schools that did not measure up to standards would be identified as “in need of improvement.” Parents would have the option to place their child in another public school within the same district. Schools that failed to improve after five years would be “restructured” by the district, with new personnel in charge. (Education Week, July 15, 2004)

Adequate yearly progress (AYP) was the measure by which schools, districts, and states were held accountable for student performance under Title 1 of the No Child Left Behind Act. NCLB required states to use a single accountability system for all public schools to determine whether students as well as subgroups were making progress toward meeting state academic content standards. The law also required that all students reach a “proficient” level of achievement, as measured by performance on state tests, by the spring of 2014. Along the way, schools, districts, and states must demonstrate that they

are making continuous and consistent progress toward meeting that goal for all students in public elementary and secondary schools (not just those receiving Title 1 funds). This interim progress is “adequate yearly progress” toward the goal of all students reaching academic standards. According to the law, states would have the flexibility to define this yearly progress, but it must include the following elements:

- State tests must be the primary factor in the state’s measure of AYP, but the use of at least one other academic indicator of school performance was required, and additional indicators are permitted;
- For secondary schools, the other academic indicator must be the high school graduation rate;
- States must set a baseline for measuring students’ performance toward the goal of 100% proficiency by the spring of 2014. The baseline is based on data from the 2001-2002 school year;
- States must also create benchmarks for how students will progress each year to meet the goal of 100% proficiency by the spring of 2014;
- A state’s AYP must include separate measures for both reading/language arts and math. In addition, the measures must apply not only to students on average, but also to students in the four “subgroups”: economically disadvantaged students, students from major racial and ethnic groups, students with disabilities, and students with limited English proficiency;
- To make AYP, at least 95% of students in each of the four subgroups, as well as 95% of students in the school as a whole, must take the state tests, and each

subgroup of students must meet or exceed the measurable annual objectives set by the state for each year. (United States Department of Education, 2002)

Title 1 of NCLB requires states to hold schools accountable for making AYP toward all students reaching proficiency. If a school or district failed to make AYP for two consecutive years, it must be identified for improvement. While states were required to develop rewards and sanctions for all schools, the law specified a number of consequences for those schools receiving Title 1 funds-beginning with notifying parents of students who attend the school in need of improvement, providing all students in the identified school with the option to transfer to another public school within the district, providing “supplemental services” such as tutoring to students attending low-performing schools, and providing assistance to the school or district identified. Additional sanctions were added if schools or districts identified for improvement continued to fail to make AYP for several years. (Education Week, July 15, 2004)

Under the No Child Left Behind Act, all teachers were required to be “highly qualified” which meant have a bachelor’s degree, be fully licensed to teach in their state, and prove their knowledge in subjects that they teach. The federal law also required states to provide support and professional development to teachers to help them become more effective in the classroom. Most schools were required to meet those teacher quality goals by the 2005-2006 school year. Teacher quality had been a factor in improving student achievement (Chenoweth, 2004). The highly qualified requirements of NCLB applied to all guidelines.

A third component of the No Child Left Behind act is that of parent notification and provisions for remedial services and/or transfers to other public schools. The law

required that every public school, whether it received federal aid or not, must distribute to the school's parents an annual report card indicating how well the school's students have performed on that state's NCLB tests (Popham, 2003). *No Child Left Behind* also requires that parents be told the qualifications of their child's teacher and be informed if their child had a teacher who was not highly qualified. Title 1 schools that are labeled "deficient" for two years in a row must offer students the chance to transfer to other higher performing schools. After three years, they must offer tutoring and similar services to Title 1 eligible students. After four years, the district must take more corrective action from a list of alternatives, including replacing staff, using a new curriculum, or extending the school day or year (Shaw, 2003).

These sweeping new requirements have imposed tough mandates on states, localities, and schools. However, Congress left to the states the precise standards to be set, the specific design of their testing instruments and the administration of their accountability systems. In short, the legislation's impact is highly dependent upon the way it is administered by the states (Peterson & West 2003).

NCLB marked an important extension of federal authority over states and local schools, imposing new requirements for annual testing of students while sanctioning districts and schools whose student population, even in part, do not meet specific measures of annual progress. However, with all the sound and fury over the new law, for all of the hours of work put into its legislative formulation by hundreds of people, the ultimate meaning of the act will be defined by practice (Peterson & West, 2003)

So far the Department of Education has been stricter, and the states less evasive than many observers feared. Yet, evidence is mounting that states are seeking

modifications to their original accountability plans (Dillon, 2005; Draper, 2005; Feller, 2005; Frahm, 2005; Gest, 2005; Helderman, 2005; Helfand, 2005; Hoff, 2005; Kossan, 2005; Lynn, 2005; Olson, 2005; Peterson, 2005; Sack, 2005). The process is still in the relatively early stages and is caught up in the balance of federalism. With the federal government investment in education at 7% and state and local investment at 93%, the jury is still out concerning whether the act will have substantive success.

Conclusion

School policy provides an arena of conflict. Differing groups struggle to have their ideas emphasized in schools. State cultures exert strong influences on policy and policy makers. Policies are shaped by state policy cultures and the national agenda. To successfully analyze policy, these policies and the factors that influence them should be viewed as part of a larger setting in which they are initiated, implemented and progress over time.

No Child Left Behind is a federal law that is mandated in all 50 states. Yet, various states and regions of the United States have cultural and values differences that have long been identified. These cultural and value differences have influenced policy responses in the past. Knowing and understanding how various regions of the country are likely to respond to mandated educational policy will inform those developing policy. As a result policy can be created to be consistent with historical cultures and values within regions. Developing policy that takes into consideration the culture and values of states and regions will increase the likelihood that the policy will be successful. State political cultures and values have an impact on state education policy design and its

implementation, yet little is known about how state cultures and values specifically affect mandated federal education policy (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection and Procedures

The data collection of this research was through content analysis. Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communications in a systematic and objective manner. Through word definitions and counts, content analysis may be applied to any form of communication including books, magazines, newspapers, individual stories or articles, motion pictures, news broadcasts, speeches, documents, private or public writings or any combinations of these (Berelson, 1971). Content analysis understands data, not as a collection of physical events, but as symbolic phenomena (Anderson, 1989; Krippendorff, 2004). Today the concern for symbolic phenomena is institutionalized in literature, mass media, education, anthropology, sociology, advertising, politics and so on. Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context (Krippendorff, 2004). Since culture is a design for living and may be observed in text, cultural concepts cluster in bundles that may be referred to as “themes”. Content analysis allows cultures to be investigated and cultural themes and values revealed through cultural documents (Namenwirth & Weber, 1987).

Using content analysis, this study analyzed sixteen state accountability documents and “highly qualified teacher” plans to satisfy Titles 2 and 6 of *No Child Left Behind*. Elazar (1966) originally identified three political cultures and grouped the states into cultures based upon his theory of how cultures view individual and group political behavior. (see Figure 1) Later, Sharkansky (1969) modified Elazar’s original groupings

to account for shifts in cultural patterns as a result of the influence new groups moving into various areas. The result was a modification to Elazar's original three cultures. Sharkansky identified eight political cultures, Elazar's original cultures and five hybrid cultures. (see Figure 2) The sixteen sets of compliance documents in this study represented two states from each of the eight modified political cultures. The choice of two documents from each of the eight political cultures was an effort to keep the study manageable. Selection was made by choosing states within each of the eight subcultures that had the largest and the smallest population as designated by the U.S. Bureau of Census. Where there were only two states within a political culture, both were selected. (see Figure 3) The choice of states for analysis based upon population totals provided the study with variation. There is indication in research that population totals and areas of urbanization are good indicators of diversity (Adams and Kirst, 1999).

In order to serve as a good measure of values and political culture, any data selected for analysis should be roughly comparable across states, should be politically significant and should address a cross-section of important policy actors (DiLeo, 1997). The sixteen state accountability and "highly qualified teacher" plans fit these criteria because their formats adhered to specifications from the United States Department of Education, they were individually approved by the Secretary of Education as to content and intent, and they were documents that had significant meaning for federal, state, and local officials for their compliance implications. The sixteen states selected and the political cultures that they represent are shown in Figure 3. The first state listed in each category represented the state with the largest population, and the second state listed represented the state with the smallest population for each political culture.

Culture	States
Moralistic	Michigan, Vermont
Moralistic/Individualistic	California, South Dakota
Individualistic/Moralistic	New York, Wyoming
Individualistic	Pennsylvania, Alaska
Individualistic/Traditionalistic	Missouri, Delaware
Traditionalistic/Individualistic	Texas, West Virginia
Traditionalistic	Georgia, Arkansas
Traditionalistic/Moralistic	North Carolina, Arizona

Figure 3

States Selected for Use in This Study by Their Political Culture

The analyses of these documents were limited to two titles of the nine titles found within the *No Child Left Behind* act. The titles that were analyzed were Title 2, concerning highly qualified teachers and administrators, and Title 6, concerning flexibility and accountability. These titles were selected because they were the most controversial, had the greatest potential impact on schools and school systems, and were the most likely to show variation from state to state and region to region. Title 6 documents were contained within the accountability plans provided to the U.S. Department of Education and available on that website as well as on individual state education websites. Title 2 documents were available from the accountability plans for “highly qualified teachers” on individual state websites. Each of the fifty states was required to submit to the United States Department of Education individual plans showing how they would meet the requirements set down in the *No Child Left Behind* act. All state compliance plans had to be submitted to the U.S. Department of Education by January 31, 2003. Modifications were allowed after the original documents were received by the Secretary of Education. These documents were available from the U.S. Superintendent of Documents, the U.S. Department of Education website and individual state websites. A listing of the websites from which the compliance documents were downloaded is in the Appendix. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 2002 (*No Child Left Behind*) was also available from the U.S. Superintendent of Documents and the U.S. Department of Education.

The sixteen accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans developed by the states that were selected for this study to represented Elazar’s eight political cultures and met the criteria mandated by the U.S. Department of Education. Approval of the plans

was granted to each of the sixteen states prior to the use of the plans in the analysis. While each state had some leeway in the content and length of the documents, all documents had to conform to certain conditions set down in the legislation, *No Child Left Behind*. There was no indication that the data were skewed or non-representative of state policy action. The selection method of the sample states for this study eliminated any suggestion of bias of choosing one state over another.

With the advent of computerized content analysis programs, it was possible to analyze verbal images more effectively than before. In this content analysis, the study was conducted using content analysis software, *QDA Miner*. *QDA Miner* is qualitative data analysis software. This piece of software was downloaded from the Provalis Research website using a license purchased for students and faculty at the University of Tennessee. A step-by-step user's guide is also available from the Provalis site and was used to guide the data collection and analysis.

In content analysis, words and phrases that represent behaviors or preferences are called "codes". For this study, the "codes" that were used represent the values of **choice, fraternity, quality, equity and efficiency** as suggested by Fowler (2000) in her book, *Policy Studies for Educational Leaders*. Fowler suggested a set of "code" words for each value through questions that she posed to school leaders as they looked for values within policy. Fowler's questions and code words for each value are as follows:

Choice

Does the policy include such words as "free", "freedom", "choice", "independence", "autonomy", "liberty" or words/ideas that are synonymous with these words?

Efficiency

Does the policy include words such as “effectiveness”, “cost-benefit”, “accountability”, “output”, “maximization”, “performance”, or words/ideas that are synonymous with these words?

Equity (Equality)

Does the policy include such words as “fair”, “just”, “justice”, “equal”, “equity”, “level playing field”, or words/ideas that are synonymous with these words?

Fraternity

Does the policy include such words as “brotherhood”, “group”, “solidarity”, “belonging”, “community”, or words/ideas that are synonymous with these words?

Quality

Does this policy include such words as “standards”, “world class”, “excellence”, “quality”, “quality control”, “quality management”, “high performance”, or words/ideas that are synonymous with these words?

Fowler (2000) also used the cross-state comparative study of education policy conducted by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) to suggest that there were differences among the political cultures in the importance that they placed upon each of these values as they developed educational policy documents. Fowler stated that in viewing state policy documents from each of the original political cultures identified by Elazar different aspects of educational reform were emphasized and that this emphasis could be identified with a different democratic or economic value. With its concern for the common good and its confidence in an activist government, policy documents from the moralistic culture emphasized the special needs of the child and special needs children (*equity/fraternity*), planning and development of school facilities (*efficiency/quality*) and the strength of the state educational agencies (*efficiency*). The individualistic political

culture, with its conception of government as an extension of the business model, stressed cost savings in both programming and facilities (*efficiency*) and a heavy emphasis on marketplace solutions to educational changes (*choice*). Lastly, the traditionalistic culture designed policy that underscored student testing (*quality*), stronger student discipline (*efficiency*), and the weakening of the power of educational professionals (*efficiency*). This was in keeping with the traditionalistic view of the right of the elites to govern and maintenance of the status quo. Fowler noted that, since 1983 and the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, the economic values of efficiency, quality and choice had taken precedence over the value of *equity* in policy documents. She observed that the value of *fraternity* had always been the least represented value in educational policy. Yet, based upon her findings and those of Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, predictions as to the rankings of the five democratic and economic values in state educational policy documents were possible.

Using Fowler's suggested code words and supplementing them from a thesaurus, the description of the five values were entered into the *QDA Miner* program. *QDA Miner* can be used for coding textual data and for annotating, retrieving and reviewing coded data and documents. It can also be used to manage complex projects involving large numbers of documents. *QDA Miner* allows for the identification of patterns in codings and the relationships between assigned codes and other numerical and categorical properties. For this study, the documents retrieved from the U.S. Department of Education and individual state websites were downloaded, converted to Rich-Text Format from their original forms, and stored in the *QDA Miner* program. *QDA Miner* kept all documents, coding schemes, codes and notes in a set of files called a "project".

To create the “project” that was analyzed, state accountability plans for *No Child Left Behind* were manually entered by state into *QDA Miner* from the software database. These documents then became “cases”. Once the cases had been successfully entered into the project file, they appeared individually in the window of the program marked “Cases”. From this window, individual documents could be coded.

Before document coding can occur, a codebook must be developed. The main function of *QDA Miner* was to assign the predetermined codes to text documents and then to analyze these codes. For this to happen, a list of coded words was added to the codebook feature of the software. These coded words were identified according to the values that they were seeking to find i.e. choice, efficiency, equity, fraternity and quality. Beginning with the code words suggested by Fowler (2000) and adding the synonyms from the thesaurus, (Agnes, 1996) the words that matched the five democratic and economic values that were analyzed follow:

Choice-acceptance, alternative, autonomy, choice, choosing, commitment, conclusion, decision, decision-making, determination, differentiation, discernment, discretion, favorite, free, freedom, independence, judgment, liberty, preference, range, selection, selective, selectivity, substitute, variety.

Efficiency-ability, able, accountability, attainments, attendance, awards, capability, capable, competent, cost-benefit, direct-costs, economical, effective, effectiveness, efficiency, experience, expert, goals, improved performance, inputs, instructional time, materials, maximization, output, outputs, performance, productivity, proficient, qualified, student achievement.

Equity-accord, broader society, comparison, conformity, equal, equality, equivalence, fair, fair play, fair treatment, fairness, impartiality, just, justice, level playing field, likeness, oneness, opportunity, parity, sameness, semblance, similarity, unity.

Fraternity-belonging, brotherhood, community, fellowship, fraternity, group, groups, organization, relationships, solidarity.

Quality-assessment, essential, excellence, high performance, measurement, merit, quality, quality control, quality management, standards, world class, worth.

These code words were manually added to the *QDA Miner* program and appeared in the window labeled “Codes”.

To answer the research questions for this study, analysis of data had to be performed by not only looking at the state accountability plans individually, but also, looking at the plans by variable. A variable is a grouping or description of existing data that can be analyzed apart from the original cases. Analysis by variable allowed more precise analysis of the accountability documents. In this study, the variable used in analysis was political culture. This study sought to determine which values were present in individual state accountability documents and which values were present when these same documents had been grouped by their political cultures. *QDA Miner* allowed this grouping for analysis.

Content analysis seeks to assign codes to text. *QDA Miner* allowed codes to be assigned to entire documents by using the existing codes within the codebook. Each code was assigned a color to make identification easier. In this study, **choice** words were coded in green, **efficiency** words were coded in red, **equity** words were coded in purple, **fraternity** words were coded in pink, and **quality** words were coded in blue. Coding

documents using color codes allowed easy identification of which values were present within the text.

With text, codebook and variables in place, *QDA Miner* performed the search of the documents for the codes and marked each “hit”. This search was done by whole document, by paragraph and by sentence.

Once the coding was complete, it was necessary to inspect each coded document for accuracy. Manually reading through each document and noting where and how codes were applied accomplished this. If codes were incorrectly assigned to text, *QDA Miner* permitted the manual deletion or reassignment of assigned codes. For this study, code words that appeared in titles, instructions, legends, headings of charts and graphs, bibliographical notations, web addresses, and other superficial wordings were deleted and did not become part of the analyzed data.

Reliability in this study was achieved by careful coding of the text using the same words and phrases to identify the values of *choice*, *efficiency*, *equity*, *fraternity* and *quality* for each document. The consistency with which *QDA Miner* applied the codes to the documents and the manual inspection of the coded text to eliminate inclusion of random usages of the codes in parts of the document that did not represent the main body of the policy i.e. titles, charts, etc. enhanced the reliability of this study.

After coding was completed, coded segments that corresponded to the search criteria were returned into a table labeled “Search Hits”. From the “Search Hits” table, the researcher worked with retrieved segments of the data. This table contained total numbers of words in the text segments and percentage of words for the individual codes to show relative importance of these code words in relationship to the entire document.

QDA Miner allowed for analysis of codes by variable. Analysis by code variable is used to explore the relationship between codes assigned to documents and subgroups of cases defined by the values of the categorical variable. With this analysis, *QDA Miner* will display a contingency table containing either code frequencies, code occurrences, or indications of absolute or relative importance either in number or percentage of words. This analysis provided several graphic and statistical tools to be used in assessing or visualizing the strength of the relationship between code usage and the selected variable. This analysis generated counts by case, frequency, word or percentage of words to help quantify the importance of various codes. It also allowed the application of 11 statistical measures to assess the relationship between the numeric or categorical variable and the codes.

Based upon the research questions for this study, data from the accountability plans and highly qualified teacher documents were analyzed by code variable. The variables used in this data analysis were “state documents” and “culture”. The state documents were assigned a number from 1-16 to represent the individual state accountability and highly qualified teacher plans. The state documents were assigned this number alphabetically by the researcher so that Alaska was 1 and Wyoming was 16. Additionally, documents were analyzed by their political culture. Each of the eight political cultures was represented by documents for the two states that were selected to represent that political culture, i.e. the moralistic culture was represented by the documents from Michigan and Vermont, etc. The analysis showed which values were contained within accountability plans and highly qualified teacher plans by individual

state and again by political culture. This allowed for a two-way comparison of embedded values in these documents.

When the analysis was completed, information about individual states and the eight political cultures was available based upon the data analysis of the sixteen state accountability and highly qualified teacher plans. An interpretation of this data was used to answer the research questions for this study which were:

Are the states developing accountability plans that are consistent with the historical political culture traditionally associated with that state?

Which cultural values are present in the state accountability documents and are these values the ones that are generally associated with that political culture?

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Analysis of Data

Introduction

Using information gained from computer generated content analysis software, sixteen state documents were analyzed by historical political cultures. Two state accountability documents and two state “highly qualified teacher” plans for each of the eight political cultures were used to determine which values are present in these documents. The findings by culture were described for each of the state documents. The historical cultural profile was based upon the values historically favored by these cultures as suggested in the works of Elazar (1966), Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989), and Fowler (2000).

The word count totals represent the number of times the words appear within each document. Percentages were generated from these word counts representing the words’ relationship to the documents as a whole, not the percentage of the selected value terms. Therefore, in this analysis, any word totals representing numbers less than .05 were rounded down to 0. For example, the value of *fraternity* in the Missouri “highly qualified teacher” plan had a count of 7 words. This number is too small to form a percentage of the total words within the document and thus is shown as 0. In the explanations, the term “hits” refers to each time a selected word is identified within the document.

The list of values was ordered based upon how often the coded value words occurred in the documents. The list was ordered from the value with the most frequent usage to the value with the least frequent usage.

This study analyzed state accountability and “highly qualified teacher” documents for the federal mandate *No Child Left Behind* for the presence of the democratic and economic values of *choice*, *efficiency*, *equity*, *fraternity* and *quality*. This analysis was from the perspective of the different historical political cultures and determined which values were found in these documents and to what extent.

For the comparisons to be more meaningful, content analysis of the original *No Child Left Behind* document was also performed using the same criteria that were used on the individual state documents. This allowed a frame of reference for the values represented in the federal document and their frequencies indicating the possible importance placed on each value.

Federal *No Child Left Behind*

The *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) federal act is a massive document. It has 1092 pages and 3,135,826 words. Content analysis of this document revealed that the value of *choice* was by far the most prominent of the five values found within the NCLB document. The word count for *choice* was 331,850 words or 72.2 % of the five selected values within the document. The next most frequently represented value within the NCLB document based upon word count totals was *efficiency* with 51,590 words or 11.2% of the word count totals within the document. The value of *efficiency* was followed in word count totals by the value of *quality*. *Quality* had 34,739 hits or 7.5% of the selected words within the document. The value of *fraternity* was found to have the next largest word count totals with 23,673 words or 5.2% of the selected values. *Equity* was included in the document 18,026 times for a percentage of the word count totals of 3.9%. This was the least represented value in the NCLB document. (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Content Analysis of the Federal No Child Left Behind Document

Values	Word Count	Percentage of Value Words
Choice	331,850	72.2
Efficiency	51,590	11.2
Equity	18,026	3.9
Fraternity	23,673	5.2
Quality	34,739	7.5

Moralistic Culture

The Moralistic Culture was represented by the states of Michigan and Vermont in this study. The historical cultural profile of this culture indicated that the five democratic and economic values would be preferred by moralistic states in the following order:

equity, fraternity, efficiency, quality and choice

. Michigan's Accountability Plan-

Using word count totals for the accountability plan of Michigan for *No Child Left Behind*, the values pattern fell into this order: *efficiency, quality, choice, fraternity* and *equity*. Word count totals that represented the value of *efficiency* were included 4336 times in the Michigan accountability plan. This represented 2.7% of the word count totals of the plan. Word count totals that represented the value of *quality* were used 2543 times within the accountability document for a percentage of the total of 1.6%. The word count totals that represented the value of *choice* were used 1146 times in the accountability document and constituted .7% of the total words of the document. Word count totals representing *fraternity* were used 529 in the accountability plan. This was .3% of the word count totals of the Michigan plan. The word count totals representing the value of *equity* were used 433 times in the plan and also accounted for .3% of the word count totals used. (see Table 2)

Michigan's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Content analysis and a review of the word count totals for the Michigan "highly qualified" teacher plan showed that the value pattern order for this document was *efficiency, quality and choice*. *Efficiency* words were used 7900 times within the

TABLE 2

Moralistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Moralistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for Michigan's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Michigan's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Vermont's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Vermont's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Equity Fraternity Efficiency Quality Choice	Equity (5) (433) Fraternity (4) ((529) Efficiency (1) (4336) Quality (2) (2543) Choice (3) (1146)	Equity (5) (0) Fraternity (4) (0) Efficiency (1) (7900) Quality (2) (687) Choice (3) (588)	Equity (4) (852) Fraternity (5) (563) Efficiency (1) (6520) Quality (2) (4413) Choice (3) (1927)	Equity (5) (0) Fraternity (4) (0) Efficiency (1) (626) Quality (3) (64) Choice (2) (334)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

document and accounted for 8.7% of the word count totals used in the plan. The words representing *quality* were used 687 times and were .5% of the word count totals in the document. The words representing the value of *choice* were used 588 times and were .4% of the word count totals of the “highly qualified teacher” document. The word count totals representing *fraternity* and *equity* were missing entirely from the document based upon this analysis. (see Table 2)

Vermont’s Accountability Plan

Vermont’s accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* showed word count totals for the five values to fall into this pattern: *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity*. Vermont’s plan used *efficiency* words 6520 times. These word count totals represented 3.4% of the words within the entire plan. *Quality* words were used 4413 times in the plan and represented 2.3% of the word count totals used in the document. Words representing the value of *choice* were used 1927 times in the Vermont accountability document. This total was 1% of the words in the complete plan. The words representing *equity* were used 852 times in the accountability plan representing a word count total of .4%. Words indicative of the value of *fraternity* were used 563 times in the Vermont plan. This translated to a percentage of the total of .3%. (see Table 2)

Vermont’s Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Vermont’s “highly qualified teacher” plan revealed that the values used in this study were present in the following order: *efficiency*, *choice* and *quality*. Words representing *efficiency* were used within the document 626 times. This equated to a percentage of the word count totals used at 2.2 %. Words representing

choice totaled 334 and was 1.2% of the words within the document. Words that represented the value of *quality* were used 64 times accounting for .2% of the word count totals in the “highly qualified teacher” document. Word count totals for *equity* and *fraternity* were absent from the document based upon the content analysis conducted for this study. (see Table 2)

Moralistic Culture Comparisons

The Moralistic culture has traditionally emphasized through policy initiatives the values of *equity*, *fraternity*, *efficiency*, *quality* and *choice* respectively. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989) Findings from data analysis of the accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans for Michigan and Vermont revealed that word count totals for the five democratic and economic values did not match the historical cultural profile. Analysis also showed through word count totals that the accountability plan from Michigan did not match the accountability plan from Vermont when value patterns were examined. This was also true when comparisons were made on the “highly qualified teacher” plans of Michigan and Vermont.

Michigan’s accountability plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* were used most often in the plan followed by the values of *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and then *equity*. Vermont’s accountability plan showed that the value of *efficiency* was used most often in the plan followed by *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and then *fraternity*

Michigan’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* were used most often in the plan followed by *quality*, and then *choice*. No word count totals for the values of *fraternity* or *equity* were found within the

document The Vermont “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* occurred most often in the plan followed by *choice* and then *quality*. No word count totals for the values of *fraternity* or *equity* were found in the plan.

Moralistic/Individualistic Culture

In this study, the Moralistic/Individualistic culture was represented by the states of California and South Dakota. Looking at the historical cultural profile for the moralistic/individualistic culture, the values for this culture fall into this preferred order: *equity, efficiency, fraternity, choice, and quality*.

California’s Accountability Plan

Content analysis of California’s accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* showed that this document ranked the five democratic and economic values in this order: *efficiency, quality, choice, fraternity, and equity*. Word count totals representing the value of *efficiency* were used 5996 times within the document for 3.9% of the total words used. The value of *quality* appeared 2180 times within the accountability document representing 1.2% of the total. Word count totals representing the value of *choice* were used 1168 times within the document. This was .7% of the total accountability document. The value of *fraternity* was found 716 times, and the value of *equity* was found 664 times within the document. Both of these values represented .4% of the total words in the accountability plan. (see Table 3)

TABLE 3

Moralistic/Individualistic Culture Rankings and Word Count (California and South Dakota) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Moralistic/Individualistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for California's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for California's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for South Dakota's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for South Dakota's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Equity Efficiency Fraternity Choice Quality	Equity (5) (664) Efficiency (1) (5996) Fraternity (4) (716) Choice (3) (1168) Quality (2) (2180)	Equity (5) (147) Efficiency (1) (2801) Fraternity (4) (333) Choice (3) (620) Quality (2) (1625)	Equity (5) (665) Efficiency (1) (3703) Fraternity (3) (1321) Choice (4) 733) Quality (2) (1947)	Equity (4) (0) Efficiency (1) (2339) Fraternity (5) (0) Choice (3) (280) Quality (2) (1088)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

California's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Using content analysis of the California “highly qualified teacher” plan, it was revealed that the values within this document showed the following ranked order: *efficiency, quality, choice, fraternity* and *equity*. The word count totals for *efficiency* were contained within the plan 2801 times. This was 2.1% of the document’s total. The value of *quality* showed word count totals of 1625 words. This total was 1.2% of the complete document. The value of *choice* was identified within the document 620 times and was .5% of the word count totals within the document. Words representing *fraternity* were found to be within the document 333 times. This was .2% of the word count totals. Words representing *equity* were shown to be used 147 with the “highly qualified teacher” document and were .1% of the document’s word count totals. (see Table 3)

South Dakota's Accountability Plan

Content analysis of the South Dakota accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* revealed a value pattern of *efficiency, quality, fraternity, choice* and *equity*, in this order. Analysis of the accountability document showed that the word count totals representing *efficiency* were used 3703 times making them 3.0% of the total accountability document. *Quality* words were used 1947 times for 1.6% of the word count totals within the document. The words for *fraternity* occurred 1321 times or 1.1% of the word count totals in the document. Words representing *choice* were used 733 times. This was .6% of the word count totals in the document. The value of *equity* was found to occur 665 times in the document and accounted for .5% of the word count totals found in the document. (see Table 3)

South Dakota's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

A look at the results of the content analysis for South Dakota's "highly qualified teacher" plan indicated that the values present within the document were *efficiency*, *quality* and *choice*, in that order. The value of *efficiency* was used 2339 times within the document. This translated to 3.4% of the word count totals in the document. *Quality* terms were used 1088 times accounting for 1.6% of the word count totals. Words representing the value of *choice* were used 280 times in the document. This was .4% of the word count totals. No words selected for the values of *equity* or *fraternity* were found in the document. (see Table 3)

Moralistic/Individualistic Culture Comparison

The Moralistic/Individualistic culture has traditionally emphasized through policy initiatives the values of equity, *fraternity*, *efficiency*, *quality* and *choice* in that order. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989) Findings from the data analysis of the content of the accountability plans from California and South Dakota revealed that word count totals for these documents do not match the historical cultural profile. It was also shown through this same analysis that the California accountability plan and the South Dakota accountability plan do not match each other based upon words count totals of the five democratic and economic values. The California "highly qualified teacher" plan does not match the South Dakota "highly qualified teacher" plan in terms of word count totals for the same set of values.

California's accountability plan showed that word count total for the value of *efficiency* occurred most often in the document followed by *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and

then *equity*. South Dakota's accountability plan showed that word count totals for the value of *efficiency* were greatest followed by *quality*, *fraternity*, *choice*, and then *equity*.

California's "highly qualified teacher" plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* occurred most often in the plan followed by words representing *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity*, and last *equity*. The South Dakota "highly qualified teacher" plan emphasized the values of *efficiency* then *quality* and lastly *choice* based upon word count totals. No word count totals for *equity* or *fraternity* appeared in the plan for South Dakota

Individualistic/Moralistic Culture

The Individualistic/Moralistic culture was represented by the states of New York and Wyoming in this study. The historical cultural profile for the five democratic and economic values in the individualistic/moralistic culture indicates that the preferred pattern of values is *efficiency*, *equity*, *choice*, *quality* and *fraternity*.

New York's Accountability Plan

In analyzing the accountability plan developed by New York for *No Child Left Behind*, the values present are *efficiency*, *quality*, *fraternity*, *equity* and *choice*, in that order. The value of *efficiency* was represented in the document 6337 times. This was 4.3% of the word count totals in the accountability plan. The value of *quality* appeared 3657 times within the document. This was 2.5% of the word count total for the document. The third value, *fraternity*, was used 1316 times in the document. This is .9% of the word count total. The value of *equity* occurred 1251 times within the document. These word count totals accounted for .8%. The value of *choice* occurred 903 times in the document and was .6% of the word count totals contained there. (see Table 4)

TABLE 4

Individualistic/Moralistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (New York and Wyoming) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Individualistic/Moralistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for New York's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for New York's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Wyoming's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Wyoming's Accountability Plan
Efficiency Equity Choice Quality Fraternity	Efficiency (1) (6337) Equity (4) (1251) Choice (5) 903) Quality (2) (3657) Fraternity (3) (1316)	Efficiency (1) (1922) Equity (4) (0) Choice (2) (435) Quality (3) (246) Fraternity (5) (0)	Efficiency (1) (5678) Equity (4) (679) Choice (3) (1455) Quality (2) (3122) Fraternity (5) (647)	Efficiency (1) (1002) Equity (4) (0) Choice (3) (632) Quality (2) (806) Fraternity (5) (0)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

New York's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Content analysis of the New York “highly qualified teacher” plan revealed that the values found within the document were *efficiency*, *choice*, and *quality*, in that order. The values of *equity* and *fraternity* did not occur in this analysis. A look at the word count totals for the values that were present showed that *efficiency* had a word count of 1922, *choice* had a word count total of 435, and *quality* had a word count total of 246. Translated into percentages, these word count totals represented 5.6%, 1.3%, and .7% of the total respectively. (see Table 4)

Wyoming's Accountability Plan

Content analysis performed on Wyoming's accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* showed a value pattern of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity* within the document. The value of *efficiency* was found 5678 times in the document. This was 2.9% of the word count totals in the document. The value of *quality* was present 3122 times for a percentage of 1.6% of the word count totals in the documents. The word count total for the value of *choice* were found to be 1455. This was .8% of the word count totals in the document. The word count totals for the last two values contained within the document, *equity* and *fraternity*, revealed word counts of 679 and 647 respectively. The word count total for *equity* accounted for .4% of the total, and the word count total for *fraternity* accounted for .3% of the total. (see Table 4)

Wyoming's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Content analysis done on Wyoming's “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that these values were present: *efficiency*, *quality* and *choice*. Word count totals representing *efficiency* totaled 1002 words within the document. This was 8.7% of the document's

total words. Word count totals representing the value of *quality* were used 806 times within the document. This was 7.0% of the document's word count totals. The value of *choice* was used 632 times within the document. This translated to 5.5% of the word count totals. Content analysis found no usage of the selected words for the values of *equity* or *fraternity*. (see Table 4)

Individualistic/Moralistic Culture Comparison

The Individualistic/Moralistic culture has traditionally emphasized through policy initiatives the five democratic and economic values in this order: *efficiency*, *equity*, *choice*, *quality*, *fraternity*. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989) Findings based upon the content analysis of the accountability plans and "highly qualified teacher" plans for New York and Wyoming revealed that these plans did not match the historical cultural profile for the individualistic/moralistic culture. It was also shown through the same analysis that the accountability plan for New York does not match the accountability plan for Wyoming. Likewise, the "highly qualified teacher" plan for New York does not match the "highly qualified teacher" plan for Wyoming.

New York's accountability plan emphasized the value of *efficiency* followed by *quality*, *fraternity*, *equity* and then *choice*. This pattern was based upon word count totals in the document. Wyoming's accountability plan indicated through word count totals that the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity*, and *fraternity* in that order

New York's "highly qualified teacher" plan showed that word count totals representing the value of *efficiency* were used the most often followed by word count totals representing *choice* and then *quality*. No word count totals for the values of *equity* or *fraternity* were used in the New York "highly qualified teacher" plan. Wyoming's

“highly qualified teacher” plan showed that word count totals representing the value of *efficiency* were used most often followed by words representing *quality* and then *choice*. No word count totals representing either *equity* or *fraternity* were found in the Wyoming document.

Individualistic Culture

The Individualistic culture was represented by the states of Pennsylvania and Alaska in this study. A look at the historical cultural profile for the individualistic culture showed a preference for the values of *efficiency*, *choice*, *quality*, *equity* and *fraternity* in that order.

Pennsylvania’s Accountability Plan

Content analysis performed on Pennsylvania’s accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* revealed a value preference sequence of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity*, and *fraternity*. *Efficiency* had a word count total of 5230. This accounted for 3.3% of the document’s word count totals. The value words representing *quality* were found 2204 times. This was 1.4% of the word count totals within the document. *Choice* words numbered 1037 or .7% of the document’s word count totals. Words representing the value of *equity* totaled 583 within the document. This was .4% of the word count totals found in the document. *Fraternity* was the value used the least of the five within this document at 462 hits. *Fraternity* words accounted for .3% of the document’s word count totals. (see Table 5)

TABLE 5

**Individualistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (Pennsylvania and Alaska) for
No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Documents**

Individualistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for Pennsylvania's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Pennsylvania's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Alaska's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Alaska's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Efficiency Choice Quality Equity Fraternity	Efficiency (1) (5230) Choice (3) (1037) Quality (2) (2204) Equity (4) 583) Fraternity (5) (462)	Efficiency (1) (702) Choice (4) (51) Quality (2) (414) Equity (3) (145) Fraternity (5) (0)	Efficiency (1) (2999) Choice (3) (658) Quality (2) (1205) Equity (5) (141) Fraternity (4) (185)	Efficiency (1) (2644) Choice (3) (0) Quality (2) (68) Equity (4) (0) Fraternity (5) (0)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

Pennsylvania's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

The Pennsylvania “highly qualified teacher” plan contained the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *equity* and *choice*, in that order. *Fraternity* was absent from the plan. Words representing *efficiency* were used 702 times within the document. This was 4.1% of the word count totals of the document. Words representing *quality* were used 414 times, accounting for 2.4% of the word count totals within the document. The words representing the value of *equity* were used 145 times in the document, which is .8% of the total. *Choice* words were used 51 times and were .3% of the total. (see Table 5)

Alaska's Accountability Plan

Using content analysis, this study revealed that the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity*, and *equity* were present within this document in this order. The value of *efficiency* was represented most within this document with a word count total of 2999. This was a percentage of the word count totals of 1.4%. Word count totals for the value of *quality* within the document were 1205 or .6%. The value of *choice* was represented 658 times within the accountability document. This translated into .3% of the word totals for the document. *Fraternity* word count totals within the accountability document totaled 185. This was .1% of the word count totals found within the document. Words representing the value of *equity* were found 141 times within the accountability document. This also translated into .1% of the word count totals for the document. (see Table 5)

Alaska's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Content analysis of Alaska’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed the values of *efficiency* and *quality* were present. The value words representing the value of *efficiency*

totaled 2644. This was 8.3% of the document's total word count totals. The value words that represented the value of *quality* showed a word count total of 68 within the "highly qualified teacher" plan. The word count total for the value *quality* was .2% of the words in the complete document. The Alaska "highly qualified teacher" plan did not contain words representing the values of *choice*, *equity* or *fraternity*. (see Table 5)

Individualistic Culture Comparison

The Individualistic culture has traditionally emphasized through policy initiatives the five democratic and economic values in the following order: *efficiency*, *choice*, *quality*, *equity* and *fraternity*. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989)

Findings based upon the content analysis of the accountability plans for the states of Pennsylvania and Alaska showed that neither of the plans matched the historical cultural profile. The two state "highly qualified teacher" plans did not match the historical cultural profile either. It was further revealed through examination of the word count totals that the accountability and "highly qualified teacher" plans from Pennsylvania did not match the same plans from Alaska.

Pennsylvania's accountability plan had the largest word count totals for the value of *efficiency* followed by *quality*, *choice*, *equity*, and last, *fraternity*. . Alaska's accountability plan had the largest word count total for the value of *efficiency* followed by *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity*, and then, *equity*.

Pennsylvania's "highly qualified teacher" plan showed the highest word count totals for the value of *efficiency* followed by *quality*, *equity*, and *choice*. No word count totals for *fraternity* appeared in the Pennsylvania document Alaska's "highly qualified teacher" plan showed through word count totals that the value of *efficiency* had the most

coded words within the document followed by the coded words for *quality*. No word count totals for *choice*, *equity* or *fraternity* were found in the Alaska document

Individualistic/Traditionalistic Culture

The states representing the Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture were Missouri and Delaware. The historical cultural profile for the individualistic/traditionalistic culture placed the five democratic and economic values used in this study in this ranking:

efficiency, quality, choice, equity and fraternity.

Missouri's Accountability Plan

Using content analysis to identify values within Missouri's accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind*, this pattern emerges: *efficiency, quality, choice, fraternity* and *equity*. Words chosen to represent the value of *efficiency* were found 3253 times accounting for 3.2% of the word count totals within the document. The value of *quality* was represented by 1164 words. This was 1.1% of the word count totals within the complete plan. *Choice* words totaled 740 and were .7% of the total words of the plan. The words denoting *fraternity* were used 383 times in the document. This was .4% of the word count totals in the document. The value words for *equity* were used least in the plan at 285 words. This was .3% of the total word count total. (see Table 6)

Missouri's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

The content analysis of Missouri's "highly qualified teacher" plan provided word count totals for four of the five identified values. In order of usage, they were *efficiency, quality, choice*, and *fraternity*. No words representing *equity* were used in the plan. The word count total for the value of *efficiency* was 424 words. This was .6% of the document's total number of words. The value of *quality* had a word count total of 262

TABLE 6

Individualistic/Traditionalistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (Missouri and Delaware) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Individualistic/ Traditionalistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for Missouri's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Missouri's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Delaware's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Delaware's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Efficiency Quality Choice Equity Fraternity	Efficiency (1) (3253) Quality (2) (1164) Choice (3) (740) Equity (5) (285) Fraternity (4) 383)	Efficiency (1) (424) Quality (2) (262) Choice (3) (222) Equity (5) (0) Fraternity (4) (7)	Efficiency (1) (5142) Quality (2) (2043) Choice (3) (1024) Equity (5) (125) Fraternity (4) (351)	Efficiency (1) (392) Quality (2) (162) Choice (3) (81) Equity (4) (0) Fraternity (5) (0)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

words or .3% of the total words in the document. *Choice* words were included 222 times within the document and also accounted for .3% of the total number of words. The value of *fraternity* was shown to have 7 words within the document, but this number was too small to provide a percentage. (see Table 6)

Delaware's Accountability Plan

Using content analysis, the Delaware accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* showed the five democratic and economic values were used within the document in this order: *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity*. The value words representing *efficiency* was found 5142 times within the document. This accounted for 3.4% of the total words in the document. The words within the document representing the value of *quality* were found 2043 times or 1.3% of the word count totals. *Choice* words were used 1024 times for .7% of the total. Words expressing the value of *fraternity* were found 351 times within the document. This accounted for .2% of the total words. The value words identified for the value *equity* were found 125 times in the document and constituted .1% of the total document. (see Table 6)

Delaware's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

By looking at the results of the content analysis performed on the Delaware “highly qualified teacher” plan, it was shown that the plan contained the values of *efficiency*, *quality* and *choice*. The value words representing *efficiency* appeared 392 times in the document. This was 3.3% of the word count totals within the document. It was found that the words for the value of *quality* totaled 162. This was 1.4% of the word count totals in the document. The value of *choice* was represented 81 times in the word

count totals of the plan and was 5.7% of the total. Neither *equity* nor *fraternity* was represented in the word counts of the plan. (see Table 6)

Individualistic/Traditionalistic Culture Comparison

The Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture traditionally has emphasized through its policy initiatives the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity* in this order. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989) Comparing the historical cultural profile with the accountability plans and “highly qualified teacher” plans from Missouri and Delaware showed that the plans did not match the historical cultural profile. Looking at the accountability plans from Missouri and Delaware, it was shown that these plans do match each other in terms of the arrangement of values by word counts. Looking at the “highly qualified teacher” plans from Missouri and Delaware, it was shown that these plans do not match each other in terms of the arrangement of values by word count totals.

Missouri and Delaware’s accountability plans showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* occurred with the most frequency. This was followed by the words representing the values of *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity*.

Missouri’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* occurred with the most frequency in the plan followed by the words representing *quality*, *choice* and *fraternity*. No coded words for the value of *equity* were found with the plan. Delaware’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* occurred with the most frequency in the plan followed by words representing the values of *quality* and *choice*. No coded words were found in the plan for the values of *equity* or *fraternity*.

Traditionalistic/Individualistic Culture

The states representing the Traditionalistic/Individualistic culture that were used in this study were Texas and West Virginia. A look at the historical cultural profile for this culture indicated a preferred values pattern of *efficiency, choice, quality, fraternity and equity* for the five democratic and economic values used for this study.

Texas' Accountability Plan

Word count totals produced by the content analysis of Texas' accountability plan showed that the five democratic and economic values that were present within the plan were *efficiency, quality, fraternity, choice* and *equity*. Words representing the value of *efficiency* produced a word count of 7526. This count translated into a percentage of the word count totals in the document of 3.9%. The value of *quality* had a word count total in the Texas document of 4827. That was 2.5% of the total words contained within the document. The value of *fraternity* was represented by 1937 words or a percentage of 1% of the word count totals in the accountability plan. *Choice* words represented .6% of the words within the accountability plan having a word count total of 1105 words. The value of *equity* was found to have 1059 hits, which translated to a word count totals of .5%. (see Table 7)

Texas' Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

The Texas "highly qualified teacher" plan contained the five democratic and economic values in this order: *efficiency, quality, choice, fraternity* and *equity*. *Efficiency* was represented in the document with a word count of 21543. This was 5.6% of the total number of words within the document. *Quality* words within the accountability plan have a words count of 8736. This was 2.3% of the word count totals in the plan. The

TABLE 7

Traditionalistic/Individualistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (Texas and West Virginia) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Traditionalistic/ Individualistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for Texas' Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Texas' Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for West Virginia's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for West Virginia's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Efficiency Choice Quality Fraternity Equity	Efficiency (1) (7526) Choice (4) (1105) Quality (2) (4827) Fraternity (3) (1937) Equity (5) (1059)	Efficiency (1) (21543) Choice (3) (3780) Quality (2) (8736) Fraternity (4) (387) Equity (5) (321)	Efficiency (1) (6014) Choice (3) (912) Quality (2) (3658) Fraternity (5) (202) Equity (4) (528)	Efficiency (1) (250) Choice (3) (0) Quality (2) (126) Fraternity (4) (0) Equity (5) (0)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

value of *choice* had a word count of 3780 words. This count was 1% of the total words within the plan. Analysis of the Texas “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that the value of *fraternity* had a word count of 387. This represented .1% of the total number of words in the plan. The value of *equity* was found to be present 321 times in the document and was also .1% of the word count total. (see Table 7)

West Virginia’s Accountability Plan

In analyzing the West Virginia accountability plan, it was shown that the five democratic and economic values were present in the following order: *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity*. Word count totals for the value of *efficiency* numbered 6014 in the West Virginia document. This was 3.6% of the total words contained in the document. Words representing the value of *quality* were found 3658 times in the document for 2.2% of the document’s total words. The words that represented *choice* were found to be included in the document 912 times. This was shown to be .5% of the total words in the document. 528 word count totals were recorded for the value of *equity* within the plan accounting for .3% of the word count totals in the document. The value of *fraternity* had 202 word count totals within this analysis. This was .1% of the word count totals for the document. (see Table 7)

West Virginia’s Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

The content analysis of the West Virginia “highly qualified teacher” plan revealed that the value preferences found there were *efficiency* and *quality*. Word counts for the words representing the value of *efficiency* showed 250 hits. This word count was 4.6% of the total words in West Virginia’s plan. The value of *quality* recorded 126 hits according to this content analysis. This was 2.3% of the word totals for this document. No words

were found within the document of the values of *choice*, *fraternity* or *equity* based upon the analysis conducted. (see Table 7)

Traditionalistic/Individualistic Culture Comparison

The Traditionalistic/Individualistic culture has traditionally emphasized within its policy initiatives the values of *efficiency*, *choice*, *quality*, *fraternity* and *equity*. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1989) An examination of the accountability plans and “highly qualified teacher” plans from Texas and West Virginia showed that the plans from these states do not match the historical cultural profile of the traditionalistic/individualistic culture. The accountability plan from Texas did not match the accountability plan from West Virginia. The two state “highly qualified teacher” plans do not match each other. Texas’ accountability plan showed that the value of *efficiency* had the largest word count totals followed by the values of *quality*, *fraternity*, *choice* and *equity*. West Virginia’s accountability plan showed that *efficiency* had the largest word count totals followed by the values of *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity*.

Texas’ “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that the value of *efficiency* had the largest word count totals within the document followed by *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity*. West Virginia’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that based upon word count totals the value of *efficiency* was used most often in the plan followed by the value of *quality*. No code words for *choice*, *fraternity*, or *equity* were identified as part of the West Virginia plan.

Traditionalistic Culture

The states of Georgia and Arkansas were used to represent the Traditionalistic culture for this study. A look at the historical cultural profile for the traditionalistic culture showed a value ranking of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity*.

Georgia's Accountability Plan

Analyzing Georgia's accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* revealed that the five democratic and economic values are contained within the document in this order: *efficiency*, *quality*, *equity*, *choice*, and *fraternity*. The value of *efficiency* was represented in the document 2251 times. This was 3.4% of the word count totals in the document. *Quality* was contained within the document with a word count of 549. 549 was .8% of the document's total number of words. The value of *equity* was shown to have a word count total of 258 within the document. This was a percentage of .4% of the word count totals within the document. The value of *choice* showed a word count of 257 and was also .4% of the word count totals within the entire document. The words within the document used to identify the value of *fraternity* were used 75 times. This translated .1% of the total words within the document. (see Table 8)

Georgia's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Content analysis of Georgia's "highly qualified teacher" plan showed that the values within this plan were *quality*, *efficiency*, and *choice*. The value of *quality* had 114 hits, which was 1.3% of the plan's total words. The value of *efficiency* recorded 28 hits and was .3% of the word count totals within the document. The value of *choice* recorded 4 hits within the document. This number was too small to be represented as a percentage of the total in the analysis. (see Table 8)

TABLE 8**Traditionalistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (Georgia and Arkansas) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents**

Traditionalistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for Georgia's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Georgia's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Arkansas' Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Arkansas' Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Efficiency Quality Choice Fraternity Equity	Efficiency (1) (2251) Quality (2) (549) Choice (4) (257) Fraternity (5) 75) Equity (3)) (258)	Efficiency (2) (28) Quality (1) (114) Choice (3) (4) Fraternity (4) (0) Equity (5) (0)	Efficiency (1) (3243) Quality (2) (2063) Choice (3) (1069) Fraternity (4) (519) Equity (5) (365)	Efficiency (1) (835) Quality (2) (343) Choice (3) (118) Fraternity (5) (0) Equity (4) (66)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

Arkansas' Accountability Plan

Content analysis performed on the accountability plan developed by Arkansas for *No Child Left Behind* revealed that the document included the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity* in that order. The value of *efficiency* was used 3245 times based upon word count totals. This was 2.7% of the word count totals contained within the document. The value of *quality* was shown to have a word count total of 2063 within the document. This was 1.7% of the total words in the document. The word count total for the value of *choice* was 1069 within the plan. 1069 represented .9% of the total words within the plan. The value of *fraternity* had a word count total of 519 or .4% of the word totals in the accountability document for Arkansas. *Equity* was present in the accountability plan with 365 word hits. This translated into .3% of the words used in the document. (see Table 8)

Arkansas' Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Based upon content analysis of the Arkansas "highly qualified teacher" plan, it was shown that the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, and *equity* were present in the plan in that order. The value of *efficiency* was represented in the document 835 times. 835 words translated into .9% of the word count totals used in the plan. *Quality* words were present in the document 343 times for .4% of the total. The value of *choice* accounted for 118 words in the plan and .1% of the total. The value of *fraternity* was absent from the plan based upon the word count totals. (see Table 8)

Traditionalistic Culture Comparison

The Traditionalistic culture has traditionally emphasized within its policy initiatives the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity*. (Fowler, 2000;

Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1989) Comparing this historical cultural profile with the accountability plans and “highly qualified teacher” plans of Georgia and Arkansas showed that the Georgia plan does not match the profile, but the Arkansas plan does match the traditionalistic cultural profile. It was also found that when the accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans from Georgia and Arkansas were compared with each other that they did not match.

Georgia’s accountability plan had the largest word count total for the value of *efficiency* followed by *quality*, *equity*, *choice*, and then, *fraternity*. Arkansas’ accountability plan showed that words representing the value of *efficiency* were used most often when the plan was analyzed for content based upon the five democratic and economic values identified in this study. This value was followed by words representing the values of *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity*, and then, *equity*.

Analysis of Georgia’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that word count totals for the value of *quality* occurred most often in the document followed by the word counts for the values of *efficiency* and *choice*. No coded words for the values of *fraternity* or *equity* were found in the analysis of the Georgia plan. Analysis of the “highly qualified teacher” plan from Arkansas showed that word count totals for the value *efficiency* occurred with the most frequency in the plan. The other values that were found within the plan in the order of their frequencies were *quality*, *choice* and *equity*. No coded words representing the value of *fraternity* was found within the Arkansas “highly qualified teacher” plan

Traditionalistic/Moralistic Culture

The states that represent the Traditionalistic/Moralistic culture in this study were North Carolina and Arizona. Looking at the historical cultural profile for the traditionalistic/moralistic culture, the expected value preferences for the five democratic and economic values are *efficiency*, *equity*, *quality*, *fraternity* and *choice*.

North Carolina's Accountability Plan

Analysis of the North Carolina accountability plan based upon word count totals revealed that the values within the plan were *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity* and *equity* in that order. The value of *efficiency* had a word count total of 4836. This constituted 3.4% of the word totals in the document. The value of *quality* was shown to have 2308 word count totals within the document. This accounted for 1.6% of the word count totals in the document. *Choice* words comprised .8% of the total words and were used 1194 times in the plan. The value of *fraternity* registered 301 word count totals. This was .2% of the document total. The value of *equity* had a word count total of 291. This word count total was also .2% of the accountability document (see Table 9)

North Carolina's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Based upon content analysis in this study, the values within the North Carolina “highly qualified teacher” plan were *efficiency*, *quality*, and *fraternity*. The plan used the value of *efficiency* 1520 times. This was 5.5% of the word count totals in the plan. *Quality* words were used 68 times in the “highly qualified teacher” plan. These 68 words were .2% of the total words of the plan. *Fraternity* words were used 48 times within the document and, like the value of *quality*; this was also .2% of the total. The

TABLE 9

Traditionalistic/Moralistic Culture Rankings and Word Counts (North Carolina and Arizona) for No Child Left Behind Accountability and Highly Qualified Teacher Plan Documents

Traditionalistic/ Moralistic Historical Cultural Profile	Rank and Word Count for North Carolina's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for North Carolina's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan	Rank and Word Count for Arizona's Accountability Plan	Rank and Word Count for Arizona's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan
Efficiency Equity Quality Fraternity Choice	Efficiency (1) (4836) Equity (5) (291) Quality (2) (2308) Fraternity (4) (301) Choice (3) (1194)	Efficiency (1) (1520) Equity (4) (0) Quality (2) (68) Fraternity (3) (48) Choice (5) (0)	Efficiency (1) (4422) Equity (4) (880) Quality (2) (2793) Fraternity (5) (508) Choice (3) (1179)	Efficiency (1) (871) Equity (3) (0) Quality (2) (128) Fraternity (4) (0) Choice (5) (0)
(*) indicates ranking within the NCLB documents				

values of *equity* and *choice* were not present in this document according to the content analysis. (see Table 9)

Arizona's Accountability Plan

Arizona's accountability plan for *No Child Left Behind* showed that the values of *efficiency*, *quality*, *choice*, *equity* and *fraternity* were all-present within the plan and occurred in this order. The value of *efficiency* was used 4422 times according to the word count analysis. The word count for *efficiency* was 3.1% of the document. Words identified to represent the value of *quality* were used 2793 times in the Arizona accountability document. This was 1.7% of the total words in the document. The word count totals for the value of *choice* in the document were 1179. 1179 was .8% of the document total. Word count totals for the value of *equity* were 880. This was .6% of the entire document total. Analysis showed that the word count totals for the value of *fraternity* within the accountability document were 508 and accounted for .4% of the word count totals in the document. (see Table 9)

Arizona's Highly Qualified Teacher Plan

Based upon content analysis used in this study, it was revealed that the values of *efficiency* and *quality* were part of this document. The value of *efficiency* was used 871 times. This was 3% of the total number of words in the document. Words representing the value of *quality* were found to occur 128 times in the "highly qualified teacher" plan for the state of Arizona. This constituted .4% of the document's total words. Words representing *equity*, *fraternity*, and *choice* were not found to be present in the document. (see Table 9)

Traditionalistic/Moralistic Culture Comparison

The Traditionalistic/Moralistic culture has traditionally emphasized through its policy initiatives the values of *efficiency*, *equity*, *quality*, *fraternity*, and *choice*. (Fowler, 2000; Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1989) Findings from the data analysis of the content of the accountability plans and “highly qualified teacher” plans from North Carolina and Arizona revealed that these documents do not match the historical cultural profile for the traditionalistic/moralistic culture. It was shown through the same content analysis that the accountability plans from North Carolina and Arizona do not match each other by value word counts. The “highly qualified teacher” plans from North Carolina and Arizona do not match each other by value word counts. North Carolina’s accountability plan, analyzed by word count totals, emphasized the value of *efficiency* followed by the values of *quality*, *choice*, *fraternity*, and then, *equity*. Arizona’s accountability plan, analyzed by word count totals, emphasized the value of *efficiency* followed by the values of *quality*, *choice*, *equity*, and *fraternity*. North Carolina’s “highly qualified teacher” plan showed that the value of *efficiency* had the largest word count total of any of the five values coded in the document. *Quality and fraternity* had the next largest word count totals respectively in the North Carolina document. No coded words representing the values of *equity* or *choice* were found within the document according to the word count totals.

Arizona’s “highly qualified teacher” plan, when examined for word count totals, revealed that the value of *efficiency* was used most often followed by the value of *quality*. No coded words for the values of *equity*, *fraternity*, or *choice* were found in Arizona’s “highly qualified teacher” plan.

Clustering of States Based Upon Value Preferences in Accountability and “Highly Qualified Teacher” Plans

The result of this study showed that, when value preferences in accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans were examined, most of the 16 states selected for analysis cluster in groupings that are different from their historical cultures. A look at how the states cluster based upon data obtained from the content analysis of state accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans is found in the following description.

The value pattern that was present in the accountability plans of the most number of states in this study was 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. choice 4. fraternity 5. equity. This is the historical cultural profile for the Traditionalistic culture. Seven of the sixteen state accountability plans matched this pattern. (see Table 10)

The value pattern that was present in the next most number of states in this study was 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. choice 4. equity 5. fraternity. This is the historical cultural profile for the Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture. Five of the sixteen state accountability plans had this pattern. (see Table 10)

The value pattern that was present in the next most number of states in this study was 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. fraternity 4. choice 5. equity. This pattern was not the historical cultural profile of any previously defined culture. Two of the sixteen state accountability plans had this pattern. (see Table 10)

The value pattern from the accountability plans for the remaining two states also did not match value preferences established as the historical cultural profile of any culture. New York’s accountability plan showed the following value preferences:

TABLE 10

**Clustering of States by Culture Indicated in Accountability Plans
(Historical cultures are in parentheses)**

Traditionalistic	Individualistic/Traditionalistic
Alaska (Individualistic)	Arizona (Traditionalistic/Moralistic)
Arkansas (Traditionalistic)	Pennsylvania (Individualistic)
California (Moralistic/Individualistic)	Vermont (Moralistic)
Delaware (Individualistic/Traditionalistic)	West Virginia (Traditionalistic/Individualistic)
Michigan (Moralistic)	Wyoming (Individualistic/Moralistic)
Missouri (Individualistic/Traditionalistic)	
North Carolina (Traditionalistic/Moralistic)	
Did Not Match Any Cultural Profile	
Georgia (Traditionalistic)	
New York (Individualistic/Moralistic)	
South Dakota (Moralistic/Individualistic/	
Texas (Traditionalistic/Individualistic)	

1. efficiency 2. quality 3. fraternity 4. equity 5. choice. Georgia's accountability plan showed the following value preferences: 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. equity 4. choice 5. fraternity. (see Table 10)

The clustering of states based upon the accountability plans revealed that only one state, Arkansas, had an accountability plan that also matched its historical cultural profile. Only one of the eight cultures, the Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture represented by the states of Delaware and Missouri, matched each other, but did not match their historical cultural profile. Their value preferences matched the Traditionalistic profile. (see Table 10)

Clustering the sixteen states based upon value preferences found in their "highly qualified teacher" plans was more problematic. Many of the "highly qualified teacher" plans did not contain word counts for all of the selected values. Therefore, it was possible to cluster the states based upon how their "highly qualified teacher" plans matched each other, but more difficult to assign them to a specific culture.

The value pattern that was present in the "highly qualified teacher" plans of the most number of states was 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. choice. Word count totals for the values of *fraternity* and *equity* were missing from these plans. The order of the values found in the four state "highly qualified teacher" plans could suggest either the Traditionalistic or Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures, but because *fraternity* and *equity* were missing, assigning a culture based upon the values present in the "highly qualified teacher" plan was determined by looking at the states' historical cultural profile to see in which order these values were included. (see Table 11)

TABLE 11

**Clustering of States By Culture Indicated in “Highly Qualified Teacher” Plans
(Historical Culture of state in parentheses)**

Individualistic/Traditionalistic	Traditionalistic
Alaska (Individualistic)	Arizona (Traditionalistic/Moralistic)
Arkansas (Traditionalistic)	California (Moralistic/Individualistic)
Delaware (Individualistic/Traditionalistic)	Missouri (Individualistic/Traditionalistic)
Michigan (Moralistic)	Texas (Traditionalistic/Individualistic)
South Dakota (Moralistic/Individualistic)	West Virginia (Traditionalistic/Individualistic)
Wyoming (Individualistic/Moralistic)	
Individualistic	Did Not Match Any Cultural Profile
New York (Individualistic/Moralistic)	Georgia (Traditionalistic)
Vermont (Moralistic)	Pennsylvania (Individualistic)
	North Carolina (Traditionalistic/Moralistic)

Three states had the Traditionalistic value pattern of 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. choice 4. fraternity 5. equity in their “highly qualified teacher” plans. These states matched the Traditionalistic culture exactly. (see Table 11)

Three other states had values patterns of 1. efficiency and 2. quality in their “highly qualified teacher” plans. No word counts were found for any of the coded words representing *choice*, *equity* or *fraternity*. Both the Traditionalistic and the Individualistic/Traditionalistic have these values ranked first and second in their profiles, but, because three of the five values are not present in the “highly qualified teacher” documents, the determination of their assignment to a political culture required examining the states’ historical cultural profile to see the order of the values. (see Table 11)

Two states had value patterns of 1. efficiency 2. choice and 3. quality. These three values were the first three values in the historical profiles for the Individualistic and Traditionalistic/Individualistic cultures. Again, it was necessary to inspect the historical cultural profile of these states in order to determine the order of value preferences so that an assignment to a culture was possible. (see Table 11)

One state matched, through its “highly qualified teacher” plan, the value pattern for the Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture. That cultural pattern was 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. choice 4. equity and 5. fraternity. (see Table 11)

The remaining three states had value patterns of their “highly qualified teacher” plans that did not resemble any of the historical cultural profiles. Georgia’s “highly qualified teacher” plan had the value pattern 1. quality 2. efficiency and 3. choice. *Fraternity* and *equity* were not present. Pennsylvania’s “highly qualified teacher” plan

had the value pattern 1. efficiency 2. quality 3. equity and 4. choice. The plan did not contain words representing the value *fraternity*. North Carolina's "highly qualified teacher" plan had the value pattern 1. efficiency 2. quality and 3. fraternity. No words representing the values of *equity* or *choice* were present in the North Carolina plan. (see Table 11)

The clustering of states based upon the value preferences in their "highly qualified teacher" plans revealed that Delaware's plan matched its historical cultural profile. Both the accountability plan and "highly qualified teacher plan for the state of Delaware fit the Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultural profile. The "highly qualified teacher" plans of the states of Texas and West Virginia, both Traditionalistic/Individualistic states based upon historical cultural profile, matched each other. Their value preference was that of the Traditionalistic culture rather than the Traditionalistic/Individualistic culture.

Summary

Sixteen state accountability plans and "highly qualified teacher " plans were analyzed to see how the values embedded in these documents compared to their historical political cultures. Data obtained from analyses of accountability plans showed that twelve of the sixteen states (75%) used in this study matched either the Traditionalistic or Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures. Data obtained from the analyses of the "highly qualified teacher" plans showed that eleven of the sixteen states (67%) used in this study matched either the Traditionalistic or Individualistic/Traditionalistic culture. Based upon Sharkansky's continuum of political cultures, the Traditionalistic and

Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures have historically tended to emphasize more conservative societal values when compared with most of the other political cultures

Using the data obtained in this study, it appeared that the sixteen states used for analysis did not conform to the political cultures originally identified by Daniel Elazar when generating documents to satisfy the requirements for the federal *No Child Left Behind*. In general, the states were not adhering to their historical political profiles, and the analysis of the documents in this study seemed to show new cultural patterns emerging for the states.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION, CLOSING AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study has analyzed state accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans that have been developed in response to the requirements of *No Child Left Behind* to see if these plans are consistent with states’ historical political culture and values and to see if differences in their responses exist across regions. Specifically, the study was designed to answer the following questions:

1. Are the states developing accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans that are consistent with the historical political culture traditionally associated with that state?
2. Which cultural values are present in the state accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans and are these values the ones that are generally associated with that political culture?

A review of the literature revealed that political cultures have influenced policy action in the past. The literature also revealed that different political cultures emphasize certain values over others in the language of policy initiatives.

To ascertain whether states were adhering to their traditional political cultures and values as they developed responses to *No Child Left Behind*, a content analysis of the accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans was made. This analysis identified

through word counts which values were present in the eight political cultures and to what extent.

Summary of Findings

The analysis of sixteen accountability plans and sixteen “highly qualified teacher” plans for *No Child Left Behind* from states representing the political cultures first identified by Elazar (1966) provided indications as to which of the five selected democratic and economic values were present within the documents and their relative importance. A summary of the findings generated through this analysis include:

1. The states are not following their historical cultural profiles in their responses to *No Child Left Behind*. Additionally, the two states selected to represent each of the eight political cultures did not match each other in terms of value preferences. Twelve of the sixteen states used in this study matched the cultural profile for either the Traditionalistic or Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures when their accountability plans for *No Child Left Behind* were analyzed. Eleven of the sixteen states matched the cultural profile for either the Traditionalistic or Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures when their “highly qualified teacher” plans were analyzed. In only one case, did the two states that were chosen to represent the eight political cultures match each other when their *No Child Left Behind* documents were compared for value preferences.
2. The value of *efficiency* was overwhelmingly the preferred value of the states regardless of their historical cultural profile preferences. The

value of *efficiency* was the preferred value for every state accountability plan or “highly qualified teacher” plan with the exception of Georgia’s “highly qualified teacher” plan that emphasized the value of *quality*. After the value of *efficiency*, the value of *quality* was the second most preferred value in both plans. These values were preferred regardless of historical political culture.

3. The sixteen state documents emphasized different values from the federal *No Child Left Behind* document. In the analysis of the complete federal *No Child Left Behind* document, overwhelmingly the preferred value was *choice* (72.2%). The preferred value found in the state documents was *efficiency*, followed by *quality*. The value of *efficiency* constituted 11.2% of the federal document, while the value of *quality* was 7.5% of the federal document.
4. There was a decided shift away from the values of the Moralistic culture as described by Elazar, Sharkansky, and Fowler with the Moralistic values of *equity* and *fraternity* showing the least inclusion in the documents. There appears to be a shift toward more Traditionalistic values in direct contradiction to predictions by Elazar and Sharkansky that Traditionalistic cultures would fade.

Conclusions

The findings generated through the analysis of the sixteen accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans for *No Child Left Behind* from the eight historical political cultures provided the basis for the following conclusions:

1. States are not developing accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans that are consistent with the historical cultures traditionally associated with that state.
2. The shift in values suggests that educational policy documents are either consciously or subconsciously adhering to the values most associated with a business model of operation.
3. The shift in values toward more Traditionalistic or conservative values suggests that the societal values have changed since Elazar’s original theory was presented. Elazar’s original theory of state political cultures is forty years old. Beginning in the mid 1980’s, societal values have tended to become more conservative when voting trends, policy emphasis and issues debate are examined.
4. Differences in values do exist across regions, but to a lesser degree than political cultures would indicate. With the value of *efficiency* dominating the documents of almost every state, and for the states, for the most part, aligning within the Traditionalistic and Individualistic/Traditionalistic cultures, the historical political cultural designation was not as apparent as was expected. Additionally, the states within the same culture are not matching each other with regard

to value preferences. In this study, only one pair of states (Missouri and Delaware), selected to represent a specific political culture, matched one another when preferred cultural values within the accountability and “highly qualified teacher” plans were examined. While these two states matched *each other* in value preferences, they did not match their historical cultural profile.

5. There is minimal federal influence as to which values are preferred within the state documents. The states did not parrot the values of the federal document that overwhelmingly emphasized *choice* while the states preferred the value of *efficiency*.

Discussion

Elazar’s (1966) assessments concerning the political cultures that exist in the United States are forty years old. Elazar based his assumptions on observations of the migration patterns of various groups within the United States. In 1966, the year that Elazar’s work was published, life in the United States was very different than it is today. The United States had emerged from World War II as a superpower. The 1950’s saw unprecedented prosperity and opportunities. Yet with advancements in technology, access to more transportation options, and families moving from their places of origin to pursue job opportunities, the cultural landscape of the United States was being altered.

Much of the bedrock of Elazar’s original cultures remains, but in some areas, it is chipping away and being replaced by cultural ideas from newly arrived groups, mass media and the Internet. In reviewing the literature for this study, data concerning

political cultures and values remain an important variable in predicting policy action; however, the results of this study do not show the expected cultural patterns that have traditionally accompanied policy responses. This begs the question: “If Elazar’s original research was replicated today, would the same cultures emerge?” Have we seen a shift in value patterns and the erasure of some of the regional lines?

Sharkansky (1969) attempted to assign places for the eight subcultures on a continuum from most liberal to most conservative. He designated the Moralistic culture, based upon value patterns and responses to public policy problems, as most liberal, and the Traditionalistic culture the most conservative. In this 1969 study where Sharkansky quantified Elazar’s qualitative work, Sharkansky predicted that the United States would see a shift in values from conservative to liberal with the influence of Traditionalistic culture fading or subsumed by Individualistic or Moralistic cultures.

At the time of Sharkansky’s research, this certainly seemed to be the way in which the country was heading. The civil rights movement was making great strides in eliminating segregation. The women’s movement was advancing the cause of gender equity. New ideas about what constituted morality were being put forward.

Marginalized groups ranging from Native Americans to the disabled to the disadvantaged were successful in getting policy action put into place that would benefit them. This pattern, however, has not been sustained.

The 1980’s saw a return to conservative values that have dominated the cultural landscape to the present. The influence of these conservative values has not diminished. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case. A look at the distribution of blue (liberal)

states and red (conservative) states in the last presidential election showed a greater distribution for those states with a conservative leaning rather than a liberal one

The results of this study seem to bear this out. The values that have traditionally been identified with liberal policy, i.e. *equity* and *fraternity*, are underrepresented in the policy plans examined for this study. The re-clustering of states by policy responses to political subcultures showed that the Traditionalistic culture or some combination was prominent. Instead of fading or being absorbed by the other cultures, the Traditionalistic culture is alive and well and exerting influence over every region of the U.S.

An interesting finding from the data generated in this study had to do with the federal influence on state policy responses. As the state plans were coded and value patterns began to emerge, the values of *efficiency* and *quality* clearly dominated the documents. A possible explanation for this was federal influence on how the states were allowed to respond to the requirements, an influence that generally has favored the “business model” over the “public model.” Even though *No Child Left Behind* promised to give states some autonomy in how they went about satisfying the requirements, many times this was more theoretical than real, as the federal influence is not easy to overcome. Interestingly enough, when the content analysis on the federal *No Child Left Behind* document was performed, the dominant value present there was overwhelmingly *choice* rather than either *efficiency* or *quality*. The value of *choice* has been a prominent conservative value for education policy since the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the 1980’s. To achieve bi-partisan support for *No Child Left Behind*, the direct choice piece that allowed parents of students in failing schools to obtain a voucher for a school of their choice, public or private, was eliminated from the *No Child Left Behind* legislation.

However, the value of *choice* is still present within the document especially in the language. Yet, no state plan for any of the sixteen states studied emphasized *choice* as its first value. In this study, the states seem to be shying away from *choice* initiatives in favor of providing *efficiency* and *quality* for the schools that they already control.

Limitations of method

Content analysis, like most qualitative research, is not an exact science. Certainly, the *No Child Left Behind* document and the state responses, while important to current education policy and procedures, does not reflect the total American society. The findings in this study add information to the body of knowledge, but questions need to be asked. These include “Would analysis of a different policy document have revealed the same results?” “Would using different coded words have made a difference in the outcome?” “What if the documents had been analyzed for different values?” “Was the software program used for this study the best one to obtain the results that I was looking for?”. These questions can be left to other researchers.

Realignment of political cultures

Society in the United States has changed since the 1960’s. Regional differences may be disappearing or, at least, diminishing. Every town seems to have a McDonald’s and a Wal-Mart. Opinions are often influenced, not by local commentary, but by personalities on CNN or Fox News. Cultural uniformity may explain why so much of the analyses of the plans in this study were alike. If cultural uniformity has influenced value preferences, it may be necessary for a new cultural pattern to be developed for the United States.

Changing values in society

In the forty years since Daniel Elazar first proposed the idea that political cultures exist and influence society, there has been a shift in policy direction from the liberalism of the 1960's and 1970's to the conservatism of the 1980's to the present. With this change in policy direction also comes a change in the value preferences that are associated with the ideology. A goal of education policy should include efforts to balance values so that none of the five democratic and economic values are compromised. Good policy should involve finding equilibrium among competing values.

Closing

The findings from this study can be used in two ways: 1. To provide those making policy, whether on the state or national level, an insight into how states are different both culturally and by value preferences, and 2. Allow educational leaders an insight into the values that drive the policies they will be expected to follow and the value preferences held by those that make the policy.

Policymakers are eager to see that their policy designs are successfully implemented. The creation of a policy that proves ineffective is a waste of time, money and effort. Policies that are distasteful to those who will be asked to implement them need to be avoided, if possible. The knowledge of cultural expectations i.e. what will be acceptable and to what extent, within policy increases the likelihood that a given policy will be implemented as intended.

Educational leaders rarely are involved in policy formation, but are deeply involved in seeing that policies are implemented. The values embedded in a policy often determine the direction that the policy will take in its implementation. Policies that

emphasize *quality* may demand state exit exams or increased requirements for graduation. Policies that emphasize *efficiency*, on the other hand, may aim for funding that is based upon student performance or merit pay for teachers. Understanding the values that drive policy provide educational leaders with knowledge to deal effectively with policy conflicts, if and when they arise, and why a particular policy was proposed.

Both policymakers and school leaders see a responsibility to obtain the best possible policies for schools. Unfortunately, there may not be agreement on which policies are the best. Ineffective policy does nothing to help the students that schools serve. Information that leads to successful policy adoption benefits all.

Recommendations

As a result of the findings of this study and the research associated with this study, the following recommendations are presented:

1. Conduct a similar study with other documents or document sets to see if the same patterns exist. This study examined educational documents that were designed to meet a federal mandate. Other documents that are also designed to meet federal mandates, i.e. Homeland Security or OSHA, should be analyzed for cultural patterns.
2. Expand the study to include all 50 states to see how the states cluster. This study examined 16 documents selected to represent the eight political cultures. A study of the documents from all 50 states would allow the examination of all of the states within the subcultures so that a complete set of data could be

obtained to see if states could be grouped in different ways by value preferences.

3. In a similar study, use different coded words or sets of words to mark the documents in order to see if word counts and percentages are the same. Adding other synonyms to the set of coded words to represent the five democratic and economic values would provide more “hits” that could be compared with the original analysis.
4. Analyze the documents using different values to see if different value patterns exist. While the five democratic and economic values that were used in this study are the ones most commonly used to analyze documents for value preferences, other values do exist. A new study to include values such as *order*, *individualism*, *power*, and *economic growth* would provide information on how these values are incorporated in policy documents.
5. Conduct a similar study using a different software program for content analysis to see if differences exist. While *QDA Miner* is a quality software program for performing content analysis on documents, other software programs exist that also complete this task. Other programs offer different features that could provide different results.
6. Additional studies should be conducted on educational policy documents to show how state political cultures and values influence policy design and implementation. Education still remains primarily a state function. While this study sought to analyze the implications that a federal policy had on state responses, most education policy is designed and implemented at the state

level. Analysis of purely individual state education policy for value preferences would provide information on which values prevail when the federal influence is removed.

7. Policymakers should examine policy initiatives as they design and implement them in light of political culture and values to create effective policy.

Effective policy should be the goal of policymakers. Understanding cultural variations and value preferences gives policymakers one more piece of pertinent information to use when attempting to design effective policy.

8. National policymakers should be sensitive to state political cultures when constructing federal policy so that there is successful implementation of the policy without excessive deviation from the original intent. Constructing a workable national policy is fraught with complications given the variation of the individual states. Exploration of and sensitivity to state cultural differences and values avoids much of the perception of a “top down” intrusion on the states’ educational domain with the result that national policy may be more acceptable and, therefore, workable.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Websites Used to Download Compliance Documents for the Content Analysis

United States Department of Education website-www.ed.gov

Alaska Department of Education website-www.eed.state.ak.us

Arizona Department of Education website-www.ade.state.az.us

Arkansas Department of Education website-arkedu.state.ar.us

California Department of Education website-www.cde.ca.gov

Delaware Department of Education website-www.doe.k12.de.us

Georgia Department of Education website-www.doe.k12.ga.us

Michigan Department of Education website-www.mde.state.mi.us

Missouri Department of Education website-dese.mo.gov

New York Department of Education website-www.nysed.gov

North Carolina Department of Education website-www.ncpublicschools.org

Pennsylvania Department of Education website-www.pde.state.pa.us

South Dakota Department of Education website-doe.sd.gov

Texas Department of Education website-www.tea.state.tx.us

Vermont Department of Education website-www.state.vt.us/educ

West Virginia Department of Education website-wvde.state.wv.us

Wyoming Department of Education website-www.k12.wy.

VITA

Constance Didlake Cole was born on July 4, 1950 in Knoxville Tennessee, the daughter of Julian and Helen Didlake. She attended Inskip Elementary School and Central High School in Knoxville. She graduated from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1971 with a B.S. in Elementary Education. She received a Masters of Science in Library Science degree in 1975 and a Specialist in Education degree in Educational Administration in 1999 from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville,

Ms. Cole has been employed by the Knox County school system since 1972. She has 21 years experience as an elementary and middle school classroom teacher and 10 years as a school librarian. She is currently an administrator for the Knox County schools serving as assistant principal at West Hills Elementary School. Ms. Cole began her doctoral studies in 1999 with a major in Educational Administration and Policy Studies.

Ms. Cole is married to Thomas Cole, also of Knoxville, and is the mother of two daughters, Ellen and Mary. She is a member of Phi Delta Kappa and Alpha Delta Kappa as well as other professional, civic and religious organizations.