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Everyday Enactments of Resistance : Portraits of Secondary Public School Teachers Navigating New Professionalism

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EVERYDAY ENACTMENTS OF RESISTANCE:

PORTRAITS OF SECONDARY PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

NAVIGATING NEW PROFESSIONALISM

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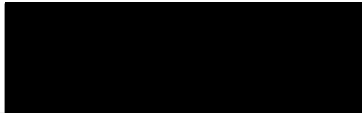
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ABSTRACT

EVERYDAY ENACTMENTS OF RESISTANCE:

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By Susan D'Elia

New professionalism has changed the roles and responsibilities of teachers. It has created a professional culture that prioritizes managerialism, bureaucracy, standardizat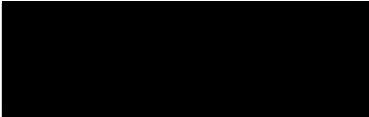ion and assessment, and performance review. This shift has created tension and anxiety amongst teachers, but a population of teachers continue to openly question, resist, or protest directives that do not align with their goals and values. The goal of this study was to gain understanding of the lived experiences of veteran, secondary, public school teachers who have attempted to find ways to navigate and resist new professionalism. Using Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot's portraiture method, participants' narratives bring life to the ways these veteran teachers have endeavored to make decisions about their profession. The insights gained from these participants' portraits have implications for teacher education and future research on veteran teacher resistance.

    Keywords: new professionalism, teacher resistance, portraiture

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

For Anna and Joseph

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CHAPTER ONE: MY PLACE IN THE STRUGGLE

Throughout the sixteen years that I have been a secondary public school teacher, I have

witnessed a distinct shift in my profession. When I entered the classroom as a recent college

graduate in 2002, my practice was guided by my scholarly interests, university based teacher

training, and relationships with my students and the school community. I was free to make

decisions about teaching and learning in ways that I saw fit. While there was always talk of the

"dreaded HSPA," or High School Proficiency Assessment, there was no sense of panic

surrounding the week of testing. The biggest stressor at the time was the rearranged school day

and the inconvenient proctoring schedule created by the administration. There was no mass

hysteria, no opting out, and certainly no real emphasis on teaching to the test. Furthermore,

because funding was not yet tied to test results, there were no real repercussions for students or

teachers if students did not perform well on standardized tests. There were no directives from

administrators instructing teachers to prepare for standardized tests. During this time in my

career, there was no pressure to make sure that my teaching matched the style of my grade level

colleagues. My classroom was mine, and I had the power to make decisions in ways that I felt

benefitted my students the most. It was a joy for me to be in the classroom at this time. I felt that

I had selected a noble profession that allowed me to use my greatest strengths to inspire and

propel others to seek their full potential. I felt a sense of freedom in the classroom to be creative

and fun. Although there were grade level texts and skills that were expected to be addressed, how

I taught was left entirely up to me. My students wrote for authentic purposes. I was able to focus

on community building and the individual needs of my students. I was not burdened by

mountains of paperwork, other than the responsibility of providing feedback to my students on

their writing. I had time to devote to extracurricular activities, and I felt compensated for the

extra time that I put in. It was an exciting time. I loved my profession. At this time, I couldn't fathom ever wanting to leave the classroom.

Meanwhile, teachers and school administrators were only beginning to discuss the ramifications of the No Child Left Behind Act, which had been passed by Congress in 2001 and signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002. As classroom teachers, we knew that NCLB mandated high stakes testing for students and held schools accountable for student achievement levels by means of funding mechanisms tied to student performance. What we did not know at the time, was that this would be the beginning of a series of neoliberal policy directives that would begin to dominate and alter what it meant to be a public school teacher, and ultimately shift our professional culture greatly.

Now, sixteen years later, we are fully immersed in these changes, and what it means to be a public school teacher is under assault. Given the current state of the professional culture in public education, I believe it is important to examine how teachers are resisting this new professionalism. What questions are teachers asking about the new realities of their jobs? How are teachers approaching new tasks that did not use to be part of their job description? What values are teachers trying to hold onto, and what fears limit their actions? I am specifically interested in studying a subset of teachers who refuse to completely change their stances and practices in the wake of the tension created by the current environment in public education. I am curious to see how teachers make their own way in this environment, while holding on to their values. In other words, how do teachers resist new professionalism? By everyday resistance, I mean the ways in which teachers reclaim their profession and their values, which have been challenged by the culture of new professionalism. The work of my research is to see what this resistance looks like on the ground within the current professional climate. Studying how

teachers navigate this new terrain and observing the decisions they make, the teaching moves they implore or subscribe to, and the impact they have on the profession, will help researchers to better understand the nuances of resistance. My research will continue to investigate how educators weigh their decisions and strategies within the struggle.

I had a few years of teaching experience under my belt, when I first learned the details of NCLB. My principal informed the staff that the state would be identifying poorly performing public schools and establishing educational standards that all students must meet. The atmosphere of the meeting quickly turned tense as he continued to explain that schools that failed to make "adequate yearly progress" toward state proficiency standards must permit students to transfer to better-performing public schools. Furthermore, schools that continued to demonstrate low performance must then implement corrective actions, such as replacing certain teachers, or risking being restructured or taken over by the state. I was then presented with what would be the first of numerous data presentations regarding student test scores. We were told that it was imperative that we work to boost the performance of certain groups of students, such as English language learners, students in special education, and poor and minority children. This is when I saw the first real change in my school. New test prep classes were created for these students. I was required to teach one. I was given a sixty page HSPA preparation workbook. I was ordered to teach each page of the workbook, and when I finished all sixty pages, I should start again on page one and begin re-teaching. It took one 45-minute faculty meeting to strip my teaching of fun, creativity and student centered engagement. I was essentially told that my job was now to teach kids to pass a test. School administrators were in a panic over losing federal funding. The teachers were confused and bewildered. There seemed to be very little consideration about how these changes would affect students socially or emotionally. They had been reduced to numbers.

Over the course of the next few years, I witnessed teachers being blamed for students not meeting new and unrealistic standards, the rise of charter schools, and the closing of numerous public schools. Additionally, testing became the only way to demonstrate teacher effectiveness. It became a straitjacket of sorts to demonstrate effective teaching. I saw firsthand how this approach limited teacher creativity, enthusiasm and classroom community.

President Barack Obama continued a competition based reform program with his 2009 initiative, Race to the Top. Obama's program linked teacher evaluations to their students' test scores. Schools that continued to record low student test scores were closed, turned into charter schools, or handed over to private management (Ravitch, 2013). This created a new sense of fear for teachers. A new teacher evaluation system was implemented that used a value added model (VAM) to evaluate student test score gains from one year to the next, as well as classroom observations, teacher attendance, surveys, and other data to calculate a teacher's rating as part of the formal evaluation. In some cases, these ratings were made public, thus shaming a population of teachers and some administrators, and giving a new form of power to a population of administrators and parents. As a result, some teachers only wanted to teach certain populations to protect themselves and their jobs. Others began to flee the profession (Darling-Hammond, et al. 2012).

The Common Core State Standards further complicated public education. By August of 2011, 44 states and the District of Columbia had adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) in English language arts and mathematics. The intended goal of these new standards was to set clear expectations for learning in grades K-12 that were consistent from state to state. The standards also aimed to ensure that high school graduates possessed the knowledge and skills for college and a globally competitive workforce. Unfortunately, these goals were met with major

challenges. Primarily, the CCSS were considered much more rigorous than the standards they were replacing. As a result, districts needed to develop and purchase new curriculum materials. However, a large majority of districts implementing CCSS complained that adequate funding was a major issue in this process. Likewise, districts complained that there was inadequate and unclear state guidance to aid in this transition (Kober & Rentner, 2011).

High stakes standardized tests, or tests that were now mandatory for graduation for students and funding for schools, were adapted to assess the common core standards (Ravitch, 2013). These new tests were not received well by school communities (Kober & Rentner, 2011). Testing now took longer, taking more time away from instruction. Many tests, such as the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC), were computer based tests. Now schools had to allocate even more funding towards technology to administer the tests. Working with already tight budgets, many schools were forced to cut athletic, music and art programs, amongst other special interest programming (Kober & Rentner, 2011). Furthermore, it became common practice for schools to outsource responsibilities that once were part of a teacher's professional practice. Schools began spending money on online grading, lesson planning and attendance platforms. Professional development was outsourced to private consultants. Schools signed expensive contracts with private companies such as Google and Pearson. All of a sudden, public services became big business for private companies (Ball, 2012). These new relationships with private companies are the results of New Public Management. New Public Management utilizes a "market-style" incentive system. This system manifests in various ways in schools, but principally operates by creating competition. As a result, productivity, output, or "displays of quality," are used to represent worth or value (Evetts, 2009, 2011). In this way, public schools, and the things that they now need, are a commodity.

These abrupt changes to public education drastically changed what it meant to be a public school teacher in the United States.

As conditions became more constricting and tense, many public teachers began to leave the profession. Factors that influenced teachers to leave include: monetary factors, top-down policies, lack of control over their career, and moral disagreement with policies (Dunn, 2015). Ultimately, veteran teachers saw themselves in a career that looked very different from that which that had entered years before. These teachers now faced a difficult choice: conform to new standards of teaching in a more uncertain climate, leave the profession, or resist this new professionalism. And although there are many reasons to leave, many veteran teachers have also decided to stay. Of the population of veteran teachers who have stayed, there seems to be those who have surrendered to the changes with in their careers, as well as another population of teachers who have found ways to successfully navigate the new type of professionalism, while keeping true to their own views of what it means to be a public school teacher. The latter is the group that interests me the most, for I see myself as one of them. Likewise, this group of teachers gives me hope that all is not lost.

As Dana Goldstein reports in her 2014 book, *Teacher Wars*: *A History of America's Most Embattled Profession*, teaching has historically been a profession fraught with contention and controversy. Goldstein asserts that historically, American public school teaching was an explicitly anti-intellectual, working class job. Teaching was viewed as a profession of service, in which workers delivered mandated lessons to the community in exchange for little compensation. Despite poor pay and political policing, teachers were expected to help eradicate poverty and fight social inequalities. Teachers such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and W.E.B. DuBois are highlighted as early activists who stood up to the unfair

expectations of their profession (Goldstein, 2014). Today, a population of teachers continue to openly question, resist, or protest directives that do not align with their goals and values. These educators range from the bold and the public activists who make newspaper headlines, to the more discreet individuals who practice everyday enactments of resistance, who fly under the radar. These multiple forms of activism make up a continuum of professional resistance, which are each important in their own way.

In general, a teacher activist is recognized as someone who sees the value in radical education and the public debate of ideas which challenge the norm (Chatterton, 2008). Recently, there have been very public teacher activists, who fit this general definition. Examples include members of Teacher Activist Groups (TAG), a national coalition of grassroots teacher organizing groups. TAG engages in shared political education and relationship building in order to work for educational justice both nationally and in local communities (Network of Teacher Activist Groups, 2016). An example of such a group is The New York Collective of Radical Educators (NYCoRE). NYCoRE teacher activists are committed to fighting for social justice in school systems and society at large, by organizing and mobilizing teachers, developing curriculum, and working with community, parent, and student organizations. They do this work through an array of strategies including, but not limited to, conferences, study groups, protests, rallies, curriculum fairs and collaboration with other stakeholders (New York Collective of Radical Educators, 2016).

Teacher activism, in this way, is very public activism. While it is loud and public, it may also provide support for the actions of quiet resistors. As Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) have shown, activists make choices in their level of participation. In their 1991 study, they provide criteria for understanding these choices. They explain that activism has the potential to be costly

and risky. They define cost as "the expenditure of time, money, and energy required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism" (p. 989). They define risk as "the anticipated dangers (whether legal, social, physical, financial, etc.) of engaging in a particular type of movement activity" (p. 989). My public school teaching experience has taught me that despite ideological similarities, not all teachers wish to be viewed or labeled as a "teacher activist" due to the costs and risks of such an identity.

New York Times writer, Tamar Lewin, has recently highlighted an example of such cost and risk (2016). The recent backlash over the harsh critique of The Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) has become a source of teacher frustration and activism. In the spring of 2016, an anonymous teacher leaked questions from a fourth grade PARCC test along with a critique of the test, stating that it was "developmentally inappropriate" and did not actually assess the skills that the test makers intended it to (Lewin, 2016). The teacher leaked this information to Columbia University professor, Dr. Celia Oyler, despite signing a security form stating that test content would not be shared or discussed. Oyler posted the questions and the critique on her education blog. Although this information helped to draw attention to some of the reasons why the test has been called problematic, it also prompted legal action from Pearson Education, the creators of the PARCC exam. PARCC has threatened legal action against Oyler, who has refused to identify the anonymous teacher. If identified, the teacher could lose employment, be stripped of state certification and face legal action for breaching test security. These are not risks that every teacher feels comfortable taking, and research suggests the costs and risks of activism are weighed by the individual in relationship to their everyday lives (Pink, 2012).

The work of Sarah Pink (2012), highlights that practices of activism cannot be understood as being performed in isolation from the wider environments of which they are a part. She argues that "human action is always situated in relation to specific environmental, material, sensory, social and discursive configurations" (p.4). Practices of activism and resistance should be viewed from this perspective. As we study the contributions of teacher activists, it is important to examine how processes of renewal and change are lived, experienced and represented through a series of contexts (Pink, 2012) because they are unique to individual professionals. This orientation helps to explain why individuals, in this case, educators, choose to live and practice in certain ways.

Some teachers engage in individual struggles of resistance. An example is New York City teacher Tony Porton. Porton had a forty-five-year tenure as a high school teacher in the Bronx River neighborhood. Porton taught English and drama. At the cost of time, money and energy, Porton also dedicated his career to educating teenagers about H.I.V. prevention. As a member of the community and an educator, his commitment to his community influenced his practice as a teacher activist. He incorporated community issues into the forefront of his curriculum. His efforts earned him awards, including recognition from the City Council and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and led to his induction into the National Teachers Hall of Fame. Within his school building, Porton established a group of peer educators to teach teens about HIV prevention and distributed HIV/AIDS education fliers. Porton also organized a civic leadership group that met before school that engaged in activities such as feeding the homeless. However, a new school administrator disagreed with Porton's school and community activism, citing it as inappropriate, and not in alignment with the Common Core Curriculum Standards (Gonzalez, 2016). After various directives from this new school

administrator, Tony Porton was forced into retirement in 2016. His public action against new

school directives ultimately cost him his job. In this case, Porton's public activism drew negative

attention from the school's administration and ultimately caused tension in his workplace and his

undesired dismissal from a career he loved. Because being an activist is important to Porton's

everyday life, he plans to continue his work outside of the context of the New York City Public

School System.

At this point in public education reform, many public educators are beginning to sense

that public education in the United States is faced with a crisis caused by the misplaced priorities

of competition over community (Weinraub, 2013; Mirra & Morrell, 2011). Today, a population

of teachers, such as the individuals mentioned above, continues to openly question, resist, or

protest directives that do not align with their goals and values. However, when being a public

teacher activist means high costs and risks, many teachers are hesitant to take action, which may

draw attention to their personal and professional lives. While the examples above describe

public teacher activism, teachers have a range of choices in how they choose to enact resistance.

For some, the idea of making their actions public can be off putting. The media seems to

highlight the actions of public activists, in both positive and negative ways, while many times the

"quiet resistors" are equally courageous given their circumstances. All types of activists,

whether public or quiet, weigh various factors and make decisions based on their circumstances.

Giroux (2012), asserts that teachers are one of the most important "resources" a nation

has for fostering skills, values and knowledge. For this reason, I believe it is beneficial to the

field of education to study the everyday enactments of resistance that take place in public schools

across the United States so that we can understand more about resistance to new professionalism,

and inspire and support a larger population of teachers to resist, rather than passively allow

disruptive policy to dismantle public education.

By everyday enactments of resistance, I mean the against the grain actions that teachers

take to support their students and their profession, which are "under the radar," and not gaining

the attention of administration or the general public at large. These teachers are capitalizing on

opportunities to strategically decide not to go with the status quo. They intentionally make

decisions to resist the new professionalism when they are faced with situations that they do not

agree with. In this way we can broaden the literature on teacher activism to include some of these

more discrete types of action. Therefore, the research question that guides this dissertation is,

"How are teachers resisting new professionalism in their daily practice?"

The idea for this study grew from a population of public school teachers who have put

energy into resisting the changing professional climate of public education. While activists in

their own way, these teachers are not loud or in the public eye. They quietly, yet boldly navigate

new professionalism in a way that allows them to be successful in the workplace, all the while

carving out space to focus on authentic teaching and learning. The task of resisting new

professionalism in not an easy one. These teachers engage in a struggle that is sometimes messy.

Their experiences and efforts demonstrate the perseverance necessary during trying times. In my

fifteen years as a classroom teacher, it has been my goal to find balance between the demands

and directives of harmful education policy, and the ability to do my work as a teacher in a way

that seems authentic, equitable and productive. This task has become more and more difficult

due to current levels of micromanagement and the punitive environment for teachers and

students. I have connected with such teachers via professional networks, graduate studies, and

out of district professional development such as conferences and workshops. While I did catch

glimpses of this work as a classroom teacher, it took taking on the role of researcher to grant me access to the classrooms of these teachers, as well as their decision making processes and their reflections. Teaching can be isolating. We close the door and do our work in a way that can be quite private from our colleagues. However, the results of one's teaching are now quite public by the way of test scores, observation results, and a system that ranks teachers. The process of teaching and learning is social (Vygotsky, 1962), so learning from the conversations of our colleagues is essential. It is my hope in designing this study that the strategies teachers use to navigate new professionalism can shed light on the opportunities that educators have to take back power, which has been stripped from them in their profession. The more we understand about resistance to new professionalism, the more likely we will be to inspire and support a larger population of teachers to resist, rather than passively allow disruptive and unimaginative policy to dismantle public education.

In summary, then, the purpose of this study is to examine how in an age of "new professionalism" (Evetts, 2011; Anderson & Cohen, 2015) that teachers enact "everyday resistance" in their practices. New professionalism is categorized by the devaluing of collaboration and creativity and the increase in levels of managerialism, bureaucracy, standardization and assessment and performance review (Anderson & Cohen, 2015). By everyday resistance, I mean the ways in which teachers reclaim their profession and their professional identity, which has attempted to be altered by the culture of new professionalism. This study aims to determine how and why a population of veteran teachers have been able to navigate the professional constraints and conditions of new professionalism. In a time when many veteran teachers are leaving the profession, I feel it is important to study the decisions and experiences of those who decide to stay and resist the negative impact of new professionalism on

the field of education. The findings from this study may contribute to the knowledge base on teacher education that focuses on issues of teacher retention and teacher activism. This study may also serve as a data source for other researchers interested in how teachers can continue to engage in productive and meaningful work, both personally and professionally, despite policy directives aimed at dismantling public education. By examining the lives and careers of three veteran teachers, I offer an insider view of how teachers are able to achieve this goal.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Thirty years ago, the journal *Rethinking Schools* published their first editorial, in which they borrowed the advice, "Don't mourn, organize," from the labor activist Joe Hill ("Teaching in the Time of Trump," 2017). Thirty years later, in the era of President Donald Trump, there is still a need to heed this advice, but how to take specific action seems somewhat unclear. While educators have learned a lot about social justice throughout the years, through movements for civil rights, women's liberation movements, and widespread public opposition to the Vietnam War, the current political context has left public education in a new and frustrating place. Teachers are faced with a whole new host of issues including dealing with an administration that is seemingly influenced by billionaires, racists, misogynists, and privatizers. Trump's personal nomination, Betsy DeVos, is the first Secretary of Education to have no experience in public education. DeVos is a disciple of Milton Friedman, and thus a strong supporter of the free market (Barkan, 2017). Devos's agenda seeks to privately manage public tax money to promote vouchers and charter schools, and endangers neighborhood public schools. While Trump and DeVos are the newest and most visible threats to public education, this movement towards privatization has unfortunately been quite some time in the making.

Lipman (2011) documents that over the past 30 years, the US working class has absorbed concessions and job losses, as the government has attempted to defray the costs of war and the bailout of the biggest US banks. This has resulted in the loss of manufacturing jobs to other countries who can provide cheap labor. This has been particularly detrimental to the working class who have suffered the loss of union jobs, too. There are now fewer working class jobs in the US, and the ones that remain provide little to no rights for collective bargaining. In sum, a broad process of structural adjustment has been implemented in which the working and middle

classes pay for government expenses. It has resulted in an attack on public institutions such as

schools, healthcare, and other municipal utilities and public goods.

Current conditions of work for education professionals in the U.S. were created in large

part by neoliberalism, new public management, and has resulted in "new professionalism"

(Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Hall & McGinty, 2015; Anderson & Herr 2015). The policies and

practices influenced by these ideologies have shaped what it means to be a public educator in

2018 (Ball, 2012). In this chapter, I revisit the concept and practice of new professionalism

introduced in chapter one, and review how new professionalism has created a new type of

professional culture that has altered the daily work situations of public educators. Turning to the

literature, I have outlined how these ideologies have increasingly impacted today's system of

public education. I specifically review how conditions of new professionalism can affect veteran

teachers, and how overall dissatisfactions with new professionalism has led to various quiet

forms of teacher resistance.

Setting the Stage: Neoliberalism and New Public Management

Neoliberalism, in theory, is essentially policies and practices that enable the free

movement of goods, resources, services and enterprises around the world in an attempt to make

the most of cheaper resources, and, in so doing, to maximize profits and production efficiency

(Harvey, 2005). Harvey (2005) asserts that in the post War World II years, corporations were not

happy with the high taxes imposed on them to fund "big government" and the rise of unions as a

result of the labor movement of the 1930s. The rise of neoliberal governments around the world -

- usually associated with President Reagan in the U.S. and Prime Minister Thatcher in the U.K.

as a major "beginning point," began to impact the public sector internationally in the 1980s and

1990s (Evetts, 2009).

Consequently, neoliberalism, as an ideology, worked toward undermining the public sector and marketizing it in an attempt to make it function more like a private enterprise (Anderson & Cohen, 2018). Furthermore, neoliberalism is characterized by economic freedom for capital, goods and services within a self-regulating market. It also includes the de-unionization of labor forces and the removal of any impediments to capital mobility, such as government or industry regulations (Giroux, 2002). In the US, neoliberalist policy has resulted in the reduction of public expenditure for social services, namely education in particular, as well as other public services such as healthcare and welfare mechanisms, by government deregulation of funding, and cuts in industry/business taxes. It has privatized public enterprises and changed perceptions of public and community good (Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

Unfortunately, neoliberalism remains the dominant political trend of our time, and has dramatically changed what it means to be a public educator, especially in the US. These directives continue to be implemented, because governments continue to argue that public education is not yielding an adequate rise in student achievement data for the money being invested. A false sense that public schools were not serving American children started with the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education), which fueled government mandated education reform (Endacott, et al., 2015). Consequently, new, businesslike methods of institutional organization were focused on public organizations, particularly public education, and attempted to restructure the way these public institutions were managed and held accountable for progress (Evetts, 2009; Ball, 2003; Ward, 2011). Frequent neoliberal instruments of education control include a focus upon management and entrepreneurial leadership, and explicit systems of evaluative standards and measures for teacher and student performance. For teachers, this means increased supervision by their administrators

and detailed performance evaluations, as well as an increased emphasis on student performance

on standardized tests. These changes have been met with resistance by public school teachers

throughout the country (Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Ball, 2015; Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

In the larger context of neoliberalism, competition is put into place so that only a select

few are able to thrive (Ball, 2015; Au, 2008). The successful, typically wealthy few are protected

and sustained by ignoring the injustices experienced by those who do not benefit from this type

of economic paradigm (Ward, 2011). In this way, those in positions of power within a market

based environment, benefit from the preservation of the system, which favors them (Giroux,

2004). In terms of U.S. public education, this means that wealthy suburbs will still have access to

successful local schools, while less affluent communities will not (Ravitch, 2013; Au, 2008,

Lipman, 2017). It also means that teachers of wealthy or high achieving students are better

protected by a neoliberalist system, because the communities that they serve can afford to

support the public schools, while teachers of low achieving or poor populations of students, face

larger challenges, such as a poor teacher rating based on students' performance, low pay due to

low school funding locally, or ultimately loss of employment because of unsatisfactory teacher

evaluations. These inequities have further fueled teacher resistance to neoliberal changes and

requirements. In communities that are not well insulated against the negative effects of

neoliberal education policy by their monetary means, teachers are under such immense pressure

to be successful in order to protect their students, jobs, and their schools (Ball 2003). In this

context at present, teacher success is measured largely by standardized test scores. As a result,

there is such a prominent emphasis on raising student test scores, that test prep and skills practice

become the focus of schooling (Ravitch, 2013). Additionally, teachers will very rarely have the

opportunity to make learning fun, creative, or interest driven (Endacott, et al., 2015). Likewise,

the Common Core Standards have attempted to standardize teaching and learning. The initial

writing teams for the standards consisted of only 25 members, none of whom were classroom

teachers (Cody, 2009). This process has created somewhat of a monopoly over the ideological

capital that guides curriculum design, professional development, and assessment (Johnson,

2014). Teachers no longer are valued for their intellectual contributions to these processes. Also,

all public school teachers are required to collect and monitor student achievement data, which

ultimately is used to sort and rank teaching performance. In short, schools and other educational

institutions have been required to operate as competing business units (Hall, Gunter, & Bragg,

2012; Ball, 2003). However, this model is not appropriate for the goal of education. The

production for profit model does not translate well in terms of human capital (Hall, Gunter &

Bragg, 2012). That is, conditions such as poverty, language and health are not considered in this

model, and yet they directly impact student achievement. As a result, students are now being

viewed as what (Ball, 2003) described as "widgets," as opposed to whole beings who represent

more than test scores and "teaching efficacy."

Neoliberal rhetoric is particularly dangerous, because it is often promoted in the context

of liberal-humanist, human rights discourse (Zeichner, 2009). For example, closing urban public

schools in low income areas, and replacing them with smaller, specialty schools or charter

schools, is presented as an opportunity for the community to grow and advance instead of seen as

an act of stripping the community of power and voice in how their children are educated,

because charter schools typically operate under a business model (Anderson & Cohen, 2015;

Lipman, 2017). Furthermore, Ravitch (2013) argues that when charter schools offer a slot to

only a small proportion of students in a neighborhood community (typically high achieving

students), they break up any sense of community spirit centered on the "whole community"

school. Likewise, charter schools create competition among students and schools, due to limited access, which can be damaging to community morale, because it contributes further to division within neighborhoods (Ravitch, 2013). Indeed, according to the NAACP, "charter schools have contributed to the increased segregation, rather than diverse integration of our public school system" (Strauss, 2016). Moreover, many charter schools typically do not include students with disabilities, English language learners, or racially and ethnically diverse student populations because they are not mandated to provide special services (Ravitch, 2013; Anderson & Cohen, 2015). Despite the "democratic" choice rhetoric surrounding their investment, charter schools have potential to be enclaves of privilege and exclusion. In this way, the detrimental effects of neoliberal policies often are overlooked by the general public because they are masked by a message that these policies are operating with the public good in mind (Anderson & Cohen, 2015). However, in many cases, these are not inclusive policies. Privately managed charter schools may call themselves public, but they often exclude the public in poor communities when it comes to having a say in school governance (Strauss, 2016).

In his 1979 work *Ideology and Curriculum*, Michael Apple was one of the first researchers in the US to attempt to make meaning of the creation and dispensation of power within a capitalist society, focusing on the relationship between cultural, political, and economic forces and their effects on education. Apple challenged the oppressive relationships between the private sector and public schooling (1979). His work has given rise to further study under a shifting series of governmental influences. Literature in new professional identities, resulting from the influence of neoliberal policies, has built from this work (McCarthy, 1990; Weis, 2000; Anyon, 2005).

The work of Cameron McCarthy (1990), Lois Weis (2000), and Jean Anyon (2005) focuses on race, class and gender in American schools. Their work provides theoretical constructs in an attempt to capture the processes and the mechanisms that contribute to an individual's participation in these social processes and shows how neoliberalist policy falls differentially on populations - that youth of color and-, low income are hit the hardest. These ideas are echoed by Lipman (2011) whose work reveals how piloting neoliberal policies in Chicago has been extremely detrimental to the teachers and students of specific communities. Lipman (2017) argues in her most recent work that the struggle over education in Chicago is about more than schools. She argues that it is about race and capital, state violence, claims to urban space, and political power. Indeed, critical commentators like Giroux (2002), writing almost two decades ago, go so far as to argue that neoliberalism is the most dangerous ideology of our time. He suggests that not only democracy, but also the goal of education is at risk of being destroyed by the aforementioned principles and practices. The impact of neoliberalism has already impacted community access to free public education, school closings and mayoral control, as well as creativity and collaboration within classrooms.

New Public Management has also contributed to the changes to the role of public education. New Public Management (NPM) refers to the transfer of managerial market principles to the public sector (Anderson & Cohen 2018). It is one of the mechanisms through which neoliberals have tried to reconfigure the political economy as well as public institutions. It was developed in the 1950s and 1960s in the UK (Evetts, 2009). Initially, NPM grew from public choice theory's emphasis on bringing ideas from economic theory to the study of political action (Ward, 2011). The goal was to make public institutions less rule governed, so that these institutions could be entrepreneurial and consumer oriented, implementing the superficial

neoliberal slogan "less state and more market" (de Boer, Enders & Schimank, 2007). This

paradigm for public management spread to North America and Australia in the 1980s and 1990s

when neoliberal politicians were drawn to calls to control government spending (Evetts, 2009).

NPM maintained that the work of public organizations should be streamlined to lower the impact

on the market. This idea was built on the assumption that public organizations were using

inordinate amounts of public monies with little to show for it. General skepticism begged the

question- are we getting enough bang for our buck? This led to the belief that the private

competitive sector could do things better and more efficiently for less monetary outlay (Ward,

2011). This assumption was bought into by a number of governments in the 1980s and 1990s,

who handed over many public sector tasks to the private sector, including education, healthcare

and public security.

NPM utilizes a "market-style" incentive system. It thrives when the public is mostly

unaware of its larger forces (Anderson & Cohen 2018). This system manifests in various ways

in schools, but principally operates by creating competition. In this way, productivity, output, or

"displays of quality," are used to represent worth or value (Evetts, 2009, 2011). NPM works to

increase management power and reduce professional autonomy in a way that ultimately controls

professionals (Thomas & Davies, 2005). It prefers a depoliticized professional who can be

counted on to unproblematically accept these new policies and dispositions (Anderson & Cohen

2018). Methods of controlling professionals through normative techniques include performance

reviews and benchmarking to measure of the quality of an organization's policies, products,

programs, and strategies. In schools this creates the "Stepford Teacher" effect (Arthurs, 2013).

This term encompasses any attempt to standardize education and eradicate any independence of

thought or action from the teaching profession. It manifests as a push towards standardization.

Teachers are encouraged to pace their lessons to match their grade level colleagues and to use common vocabulary when teaching specific skills. Teachers are no longer rewarded for bringing their unique talents to the classroom. In short, NPM has created a context devoid of independent teacher thinking (Thomas & Davies, 2005). This current context is undermining teacher professionalism, and privileges more controlled models of teaching. Despite the rather covert attempts of standardization, teachers are beginning to recognize and resist these methods of control, and have forced educators to make careful decisions as they navigate the new challenges that they face daily in their schools and their classrooms.

Additionally, continuous quality improvement such as target setting by external parties is mandated as part of government funding mechanisms (Ball, 2003). In schools, this manifests as micromanaging of data, with assessment now construed as endpoint "data," rather than as information to inform teaching and student learning, and the implementation of commercially-produced and highly profitable scripted curricula. Teachers have become individually responsible for increasing student performance regardless of the mix of students in their classrooms and with performance measured by standardized testing (Ball, 2015). Thus, teachers are individually held accountable for student performance, but are allowed very little individuality in how they approach this task. It is very common for consultants, who work outside of education, to be hired by school districts to set targets for student achievements. This ideology also impacts the ways that teachers are to "see" students, which deliberately requires them to overlook the sociocultural and political dimensions of the lives that shape student identities. Additionally, school funding is inappropriately, yet directly linked to student performance on standardized testing. In sum, the public system of education has undergone a shift over the past 30 years that has inappropriately aligned public sector organizations with the

methods, culture and ethical systems of the private business sector. In most cases, this is in direct opposition to the reasons why teachers have entered their profession, and has resulted in actions, both public and quiet, that challenge these changes.

Consequently, New Public Management is socializing a new generation of teachers. It has affected the ways in which teachers view themselves and has altered the professional vocabulary surrounding education (Hall, Gunter & Bragg, 2012). For example, a teacher's classroom observations and relationships with students are rarely considered to inform curricular or school change. In this way, decisions are being made about the futures of teachers and schools with little local involvement. Thus teachers are becoming less likely to offer their own ideas and experience to the process of school change (Old, 2013). The result of New Public Management is a new type of professionalism. This type of new professional is changing what it means to be an educator, and in some cases, has alienated student needs (Thomas & Davies, 2005). It has also given rise to teacher activism and resistance.

New Professionalism

This major restructuring of the public sector has created a new professionalism since the 2000s, which is categorized by the devaluing of collaboration and creativity and the increase in levels of managerialism, bureaucracy, standardization and assessment and performance review (Anderson & Cohen, 2015).   As Evetts (2011) explains, there has been a shift from "occupational" professionalism that encompasses professional judgement, expertise and discretion, to "organizational" professionalism in which professionalism is organized from the top down. This shift has created a culture of performativity in which new professionalism is recreating teaching (Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Anderson & Herr, 2015). The concept of performativity is explored by Jean Francois Lyotard in his highly influential work *The*

Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge initially published in French in 1979. Lyotard

suggests that technology has the ability to initially aid science, but only initially. He cautions

that ultimately technology will dominate empirical inquiry. In this way, science becomes

controlled by maximizing outputs. Consequently, it is then possible to purchase proof in much

the same way as a piece of equipment. Neoliberalism has encompassed these ideas and as a

result, performativity has greatly affected all aspects of education policy and practice, including

its management and organization, its curricula, and its professional body of teachers (Clarke,

2013). The definition of the role of teachers, their set of responsibilities, and their evaluation

methods are now increasingly different than they have ever been before. Current reforms have

not just changed what educators do, they have changed who educators are (Ball, 2003).

Additionally, new professionalism is a result of federal and state policies emphasizing high

stakes accountability (Anderson & Cohen, 2015), new educator evaluation models (Wilkins,

2011), market-based solutions to boost student achievement (Hall & McGinty, 2015), and the

increase of alternative certification programs (Mungal, 2015). The culture of regulation, created

by these reforms, has created a culture of performativity that includes accountability measures

that encourage teachers to stop teaching as they once did. Now, teachers are under incredible

pressure to perform in the new ways expected of them.   Furthermore, Ingersoll, Merrill, and

May (2016) found strong evidence that accountability measures make teacher retention more

difficult in low-performing schools. Likewise, schools whose students scored low on high-stakes

assessments had higher teacher turnover than those that scored higher. They found that schools

that received sanctions because of their low performance had even higher turnover. This directly

correlates with conditions for teaching, including low resourced schools, large populations of

students of color, and poverty (Blackman, 2018). This culture of regulation and performativity

employs judgements, comparisons, and displays as means of incentive, control, and change (Ball

2003, 2015). Teachers are being forced to navigate this new system and find ways that they can

reclaim their craft, while still "performing" at a "level" that is acceptable to the new systems of

measurement and teacher evaluation.

Currently, teachers in the United States are experiencing high levels of anxiety and stress

(Ball, 2015; Anderson & Cohen, 2015). Stern and Brown (2016) expose stories of teachers

experiencing exhaustion, demoralization, and depression. They suggest that there is a positive

correlation between the implementation of corporate reforms that have infiltrated classrooms and

the public articulations of depression experienced by teacher. They argue that the pressures that

teachers are currently facing are something other than the general pressures of professional

educational life. "These pressures are contingent on and created with a specific political

moment" (Stern & Brown, 2016, p. 342). They argue that currently, teachers are being faced

with an epidemic of "political depression," which manifests as feeling unsupported by the

community, and a fear of not performing up to standards. As mentioned above, the stakes are so

high in schools that it creates an enormous sense of fear and pressure. Over the past fifteen years,

educators have been framed in the U.S, as a problematic group. They have been berated in the

media for failing society scholastically, thus causing the US to fall behind other industrialized

countries (Goldstein 2015; Anderson & Herr 2015). Teachers often are afraid to try new and

creative approaches in their classrooms, because they know that they will be judged harshly on

the results if they are unsuccessful (Ball 2003; Ball & Olmedo 2013). With such a large focus on

data and performativity, teachers are afraid to take risks due to fear of failure. In a discourse of

competition, failure is amplified, because the stakes are higher (Evetts, 2009). For teachers,

failure could ultimately result in financial hardship or even grounds for removal from

employment. Stories continue to emerge about educators who are experiencing exhaustion, demoralization and burnout (Bloom 2013; Old 2013; Stern & Brown 2016). For some teachers these experiences cannot be endured. They decide to leave the profession or are fired when they do not meet the ever changing and demanding requests of new education policy.

Other teachers decide to stay. Nieto (2005) suggests that when the politics surrounding public education fail to support teachers, they find productivity and satisfaction in their profession by acting with "fidelity to social justice, democracy and their students" (p. 204). However, those who do stay are faced with the task of continuously managing emotional and professional pressures. According to Ball (2013), the results of the new culture of performativity include reduced fun and enjoyment in teaching and learning, increased stress and tensions in the teacher's personal life, and a growing dislike for a profession that teachers once loved. Under such conditions teachers also struggle to manage policy directives that contradict student needs and the balance of caring for themselves versus their duty to others. Cohen (2014) studied the role of school leaders in this situation. He cites a tension between requirements of performativity and personal judgement. His research shows that school principals have become vendors and managers of school branding and competitive positioning. Gone are the days of the principal as master teacher. Public relations with the community has taken over as the key responsibility for school leaders. Cohen's work also highlights that school leaders are becoming increasingly immersed in the competitive ethos of the school ranking system, because they too are at risk of losing their jobs (Cohen, 2014). Ultimately, more time is now spent on documenting performativity than any other professional task within schools (Ball, 2015).

These experiences are theoretically based in Lyotard's (1984) notion of "the terrors of performativity." Essentially, many teachers have become so anxiety ridden at the prospect of

being measured according to new standards, that they become filled with feelings of self-doubt, guilt and vulnerability (Clarke, 2013). Lyotard suggests that these "terrors" have the potential to halt the production of new ideas. Demko (2011) equates teachers who are frozen with fear in this way to zombies. In this way, even though they have decided to stay in the profession, some teachers are unable to be successful at their jobs because they are stifled by fear. Lyotard asserts that the understanding of society in terms of "progress" has been made obsolete by the scientific, technological, political and cultural changes of the late twentieth century. Meng (2009) adds, "The terrors of performativity irrationally restrict 'designerly cognition,' which is the deliberative logic that guides any activity aiming to transform a situation" (p. 160). When the pressure of performance stunts the creative or "designerly" process, the result is counterproductive to the goal of learning and extremely detrimental to future society (Lyotard, 1984; Meng, 2007). Zeichner (2009) situates Lyotard's theory in the context of education. He suggested that teacher education may prepare teachers to assume limited roles as education "clerks," who are taught that they should not exercise their professional judgement. The terrors of performativity privileges measurable outcome goals that favor the economy (Meng, 2009), and undermine creative and collaborative professionals (Zeichner, 2009). In this way, new professionalism has the ability to completely overhaul education, stripping power and voice from teachers and school leaders and essentially creating a new and marketized education factory. Unfortunately, this has resulted in some veteran teachers leaving the field of public education (Stern & Brown 2016), but other teachers are looking to appropriate any space they can, through means of resistance (Clarke 2013), to continue to be actively engaged professionals.

That being said, in some situations, teachers are unable to look critically at the monolithic presentation of what it means to be a public school teacher according to the messages they are

receiving about their profession as a result of new professionalism (Ball 2015). The media has

continued the momentum of a new professionalism in education by highlighting failing schools,

inappropriate teacher behavior, and the inadequacies of local control (Goldstein 2014). For some

teachers, this means accepting new professionalism and its restrictions and directives without

questioning why they are being put into place, and how they may be affecting teaching and

learning. Without the awareness or ability to view these messages created by a culture of new

professionalism critically, some teachers are unfortunately accepting new professionalism as

their professional identity (Anderson 2008). New teachers have not known their profession to be

otherwise, and some veterans fear standing up to their school leaders (Ball 2015). Also,

neoliberal practices and New Public Management strategies have been presented by the private

sector as logical and integral to the accountability and monitoring of the processes of teaching

and learning (Anderson & Herr 2015). Without a critical review of these practices, some

educators are at risk of blindly accepting new rhetoric surrounding public education and adopting

it as their own beliefs.

This problem is amplified by private teacher certification programs offered outside of the

university. Darling-Hammond (2000) argues that university based teacher education programs

are more effective because they create more tightly integrated programs that combine extended

clinical experiences with coursework on learning and teaching. She argues that graduates of

university based teacher education programs are more likely to enter and stay in the profession,

as well as view teaching from a perspective that learners bring diverse experiences to the

classroom. Many programs outside of the university offer pre-packaged, "one size fits all"

teacher training that prepares teachers to fit the mold of the new professional. This approach

includes the implementation of scripted curriculum, in which the scripts (sometimes written by

non-educators) determine the classroom instruction, not the classroom teachers. In this way, teachers and academics are not being valued as experts in their own fields (Torres & Weiner 2018), thus weakening the profession from both the inside (new teacher identities) and from the outside (new policy directives driven by the private sector.) Fortunately, these views are not being adopted by all teachers. Many teachers have reached a point in public education in which they feel the need to resist new professionalism in an attempt to reclaim their professional identities (Herr, 2015). These teachers recognize that the shifts in their profession come from neoliberal policy, as well as by the new professionals that these policies are sometimes successful at creating.

Veteran Teachers

Corrie Stone-Johnson (2014) argues that not only have views of professionalism changed over time, but that different teachers or different groups of teachers, experience and understand professionalism differently. The population of teachers most greatly affected by new forms of professionalism is veteran public school teachers. Research on the population of educators deemed "veteran teachers" is nothing new to the field of education. However, what it means to be a veteran teacher has changed over time. Huberman (1988) defined a veteran teacher as a professional educator with over six years of teaching experience. Almost twenty years later, Hargreaves (2005) defined a veteran teacher as an educator with over twenty years of experiences, who is at least fifty years of age. As times change, what it means to be a veteran teacher changes as well. Likewise, in current times, experienced teachers are facing a new and different challenges than ever before (Snyder 2017).

Hargreaves (2005) offers four types of veteran teachers, and differentiates how each reacts to change. The first are the veteran teachers who are able to find challenges within and

beyond the classroom. These teachers stay motivated by these challenges and have a positive

outlook on their careers. Second are the positive focusers. These teachers may become

frustrated or bewildered by the state of public education at large, but choose to focus positive

energy at the local level, specifically in their classrooms, and through the positive relationships

they form with their students. Third are the negative focusers. These teachers focus more on

their own self-interests, than the needs of their students. Lastly are the disenchanted. The

disenchanted mostly likely committed to previous reform changes, only to discard them when the

reforms failed. The experience of investing in a failed reform has left these teachers with a loss

of ideals and motivation. As indicated by Hargreaves' categories, many veteran teachers are

stressed, experiencing burnout, negative job satisfaction (Veldman, et al. 2016), and even

professional depression (Stern & Brown 2016). The work of investigative journalist Amanda

Ripley (2014) illustrates that this devaluing of teachers is not the norm in all countries. She

highlights the lucrative salaries of Korean teachers, and the respect that the profession commands

in both Finland and Poland. Most American teachers are not met with the same support and

respect. Additionally, many veteran teachers in US public schools have maxed out their district's

salary guide. There is no room for professional growth, and no opportunity to take advantage of

all they have learned as professionals. To augment their salaries, many veteran teachers are

forced to rely on higher academic credentials, extra duties within the school, or a part time job

outside of school (McFarlane, 2001; Scott, 2019). This is not the case in other nations (Ripley,

2014).

Startz (2018) reports that 19% of secondary level teachers are working second jobs. This

is 7 percent more than primary level teachers, and 8 percent more than full time professionals in

other fields. Startz also reveals that gender is a significant factor in working a second job. While

female teachers are slightly more likely than female non-teachers to have a second job, male teachers are much more likely to have a second job than are their non-teaching counterparts. In fact, nearly one male teacher in five reports working a second job (2018). Surprisingly, teachers are not just working second jobs in the summer months. The majority of teachers in Startz's data set report working a second job year round. This is a significant increase from 2002 (Simic & Sethi, 2002). Rosales (2018) argues that educators are not pursuing a passion when working second jobs as waiters, bartenders, hotel clerks, and cashiers. Likewise, they are not trying out new careers as sales representatives at clothing, electronic, and auto stores. They are not attempting to enhance their resumes, they are simply trying to keep their finances out of the red. Startz (2018) suggests that increased work outside of the classroom has the potential to cause stress and fatigue increase, which may negatively impact one's teaching experience.

According to Winkler (2002), standardized testing also has had more of a negative impact on veteran teachers than novice teachers. In her study, experienced teachers viewed their experiences surrounding standardized testing negatively. They reported a loss a professionalism and power as a result of policy relating to standardized testing. Winkler also found that this was not the case for new teachers. New teachers typically welcomed the structure that test preparation curriculum offered. This distinct shift in perspective created a divide amongst teachers and a negative view of veteran teachers as "complainers" by building administrators. Unfortunately, many veteran teachers get a bad reputation for being inflexible, unmotivated and difficult to work with (Snyder 2017).

Bohn (2014) takes up a negative view towards veteran teachers. Like Hargraves, she identifies four categories of her own that she believes veteran teachers fall into. However, unlike Hargreaves, Bohn seems to frame her perspective of veteran teachers through the lens of an

administrator. Her first category groups teachers who believe that administration will not help or understand them. While public school administrators are required to have a teaching certification, most states only require one to five years of classroom experience before becoming eligible for administrative certification ("How to Become a School Administrator," 2018). As a result, many teachers possess more classroom experience than their school leaders. A study by Armstrong (2015) revealed that in spite of these new administrators' intention to create better schools for all students, they encountered multiple factors that hindered their ability to achieve their leadership goals. If Bohn's first category is viable, perhaps there is some legitimate rationale for teachers lack of confidence in their administrator's ability to help and/or understand them.

Secondly, Bohn describes a group of veteran teachers who do not have confidence in their teaching and do not know how to improve. If this group does indeed exist, it is most likely a direct result of an attempt to fill vacancies created by teacher shortages. A 2017 report by Carver-Thomas and Darling-Hammond found that 90% of open teaching positions are created by teachers who leave the profession. Some are retiring, but about 2/3 of teachers leave for other reasons, most due to dissatisfactions with teaching. With such a large population of dissatisfied teachers leaving each year, it seems doubtful that large numbers of unskilled veteran teachers exist in the field of education. If this significant population does exist as Bohn suggests, perhaps it is a direct result of hiring under qualified candidates to fill these teaching vacancies.

Bohn also identifies a population of veteran teachers who prefer traditional teaching methods and believe change would require too much work. It seems that for many veteran teachers, they have come to resist change, because they have seen "new" initiatives come full circle. A frustrated veteran teacher shared, "You make us pilot all of these new programs year

after year that have been tried already, just under another name, not worked-and tried again. We keep reinventing the wheel" (Strauss, 2013, para. 7). While Bohn suggests that veteran teachers are lazy, it seems that they have decided to stick with what they believe works. This is a personal choice that has helped them to navigate new professionalism, and to remain satisfied in their careers.

Last there are those who lack the desire or motivation to improve. Maslach and Leiter (1997) offer numerous factors that may influence job complacency. They include insufficient rewards, such as salary, advancement, and job security. Additionally, they site a breakdown of community, trust, openness and respect in the work environment. All of these factors are direct results on new professionalism in public education, and clearly illustrate why veteran teachers may lack desire or motivation in the current climate of their profession. Bohn views all four types as static in the face of change. Like many administrators, she believes veteran teacher views change as a process that happens to them, rather than with them. This is an unfortunately negative view of veteran teachers. It may be from negative spaces such as these that teacher resistance has continued to gain momentum.

Stone-Johnson (2014) suggests that professionalism cannot be viewed as a singular phenomenon that all teachers experience in the same way. She urges that it is increasingly important to view professionalism as a complex phenomenon that can be experienced in unique ways at the same time by essentially different groups of teachers. A driving force in this changing professionalism is standardization. Stone-Johnson argues that effects of standardization are experienced differently by a teacher's level of experience and by subject area taught. Schools spend less time on the monitoring and the standardization of subjects that are not tested or that are tested but without high-stakes such as history and science (Griffin & Scharmann,

2008). This puts increased pressure on Language Arts and Mathematics teachers. Likewise,

teachers in underperforming schools are under increased pressure to demonstrate measurable

means by which to prove they are reaching achievement targets. This makes it more and more

difficult for this population of teachers to implore more original and creative forms of assessment

such as portfolios, instead of showing gains on standardized, high-stakes tests (Darling-

Hammond 2006). The different ways that teachers interpret and react to new forms of

professionalism is both a function of their professional identity and their understanding of

professionalism (Sachs, 2001; Wilkins, 2011). These identities and understandings are formed by

the unique professional experiences of individual teachers. In this way, individual teachers will

navigate new forms of professionalism in unique and personal ways.

     A population of school administrators has criticized a population of resistant veteran

teachers for their lack of compliance with tenets of new professionalism. Instead, they have

championed some novice teachers for their willingness to follow through aspects of a neoliberal

agenda. Most notable is the way that many novice teachers have embraced standardization

(Hargreaves & Goodson 2006). For many new teachers, standardization has helped them to find

their footing in a new career. In reality, research shows that some novice teachers have the

potential to create negative consequences within school communities as well. According to Ladd

(2013), only 17 percent of teachers had five years or less experience in the late 1980's. As cash

strapped schools tried to keep budgets in check, more and more novice teachers were hired

(Alvy, 2005). While more cost effective, and sometimes more energetic, these recent college

graduates typically provided two to five year stints in the profession through programs like

Teach For America, before moving on to pursue other endeavors (Ladd, 2013). These vacancies

have the potential to create teacher shortages, increase class size, and disrupt continuity in the

classroom (Ravitch 2013). These challenges continue to put pressure on the teachers who decide to stay. It becomes their responsibility to cover for missing teachers, restructure their own teaching to accommodate much larger class sizes, and attend to increasing administrative duties. As frustrations mount, and the money get tighter, the question remains, why do veteran teachers stay in their profession?

Nieto (2005) suggests that it is in this space of stress, alienation and dissatisfaction with education policy, that veteran teachers create successful careers by focusing on social justice and their commitment to their students. Hargreaves (2000) suggests that veteran secondary teachers experience positive emotions from respect, acknowledgement, appreciation and gratitude displayed by their students. Veldman, et al. (2016) have also identified positive student relationships as an indicator of the choice to stay in one's role as a teacher. Their study showed that when veteran teachers reported having good relationships with their students, they were also more likely to report an increase in career longevity and job satisfaction. Blackman (2018) supports these claims. She reports that likewise, veteran teachers stay in low performing school when they have positive relationships with stakeholders, including administrators, colleagues, students, and parents. Of these stakeholders, she reports that student relationships are the most important.

While student relationships are important to veteran teachers, Ladd (2013) argues that veteran teachers are also highly important for students as well, especially in terms of achievement. Ladd suggests that teacher experience matters, and that veteran teachers are better equipped to effectively raise student achievement, then novice teachers. Experienced teachers also strengthen education in other ways such as reducing student absences, and encouraging students to read for recreational purposes outside of the classroom. He also suggests that more

experienced teachers often mentor young teachers and help to create and maintain a strong

school community. Alvy (2005) also advocates for respecting and retaining veteran teachers. He

calls for a celebration of the wisdom that comes with experience. He also cites the presence of

healthy skepticism based on experience. Veteran teachers have seen various reforms fail and are

not quick to make the same mistakes.

Unfortunately for veteran teachers, what it means to be a public school teacher is

becoming more synonymous with the role of a charter school teacher. Charter school teachers

have very little voice or power (Torres & Weiner, 2018). They lack tenure, unions and the

opportunities for collective bargaining. They have little to no job security and have very little

say in the curriculum that they implement (Ravitch, 2013). However, Torres and Weiner (2018)

report that despite the elements of new professionalism that guide their professional experiences,

most charter school teachers reflect positively on their circumstances. Charter school teachers,

as a whole, have less teaching experience (Ravitch, 2013). These teachers have only known a

time when their expertise was defined by the organization, competition was paramount, and high

levels of inspection were the norm. For this reason, we are seeing very little push back from

charter school teachers. The work of teacher resistance falls most heavily on veteran public

school teachers.

Teacher Resistance

Historically, resistance has been framed through anthropological and historical accounts

of organized action (Anderson, 2008). Examples of such include revolts, strikes, rebellions, and

public demonstrations. However, Thomas and Davies (2005) and Scott (1990), highlight the

contributions of individual acts of resistance. Individual acts of resistance have not been

recognized or studied as much as public group actions. This lack of scholarship is important

because Thomas and Davies (2005) believe that effective contributions of resistance can be

informal, routine, less visual and unplanned oppositional practices in everyday circumstances of

an organization. They go so far as to argue that subtle action associated with everyday forms of

resistance is more widespread, and often proves more effective than direct confrontational

modes. This type of resistance is rooted in a struggle over ideologies or values. As a result, it has

the potential to surface and affect the day to day workings of an organization (Anderson, 2008).

Thomas and Davies (2005) urge that there is a need to "understand individuals as active

participants in the restructuring process and to analyze the ways that individuals challenge, shape

or resist the changes that are affecting them" (p. 376). Educators who choose to resist new

policy directives that are the result of neoliberalism, new public management and new

professionalism are taking risks to stand up to power structures in place in their school buildings,

and in public education at large. These individuals no longer have the support of strong unions,

due to the deep cuts that have weakened them (Lipman, 2011). The public reputation of both

teachers and their union have been undermined by government policy and media perspectives.

Historically, teacher unions have played a vital role in strengthening democratic culture.

However, President Trump's assault on unions, including the nomination of Supreme Court

Justice Neil Gorsuch, who has a track record of siding with corporations over workers, has had

adverse effects on all labor unions (Kahlenburg, 2017). Most recently, in the case of Janus v.

AFSCME, the Supreme Court ruled that requiring public employees to pay agency fees is

unconstitutional under the First Amendment. Under this ruling, people don't have to join unions

or pay union fees to get the unions' benefits, so the unions lose members and political influence

(Goldstein & Green, 2018). The United States is currently witnessing somewhat of a revival of

teacher activism (Anderson & Cohen, 2018). While it is difficult to document how widespread

this revival is, many teachers are now finding themselves treading new terrain as individual

resistors and activists.

The task of resisting new professionalism is a difficult one. The work of Endacott, et al.

(2016), describes the factors that negatively influence teacher perceptions of their professional

agency. They present three main themes that impact teacher agency: organizational

marginalization, lack of agency to meet student needs, and risk-reward imbalance. In their study,

teacher participants reported that most school leadership is "top down," "closed minded," and

"not open to communication." Teachers expressed that when they did try to speak up, it was

obvious that their school leaders had already made up their minds. Teachers also reported

confusion surrounding the quantity and quality of professional information made available to

them by their superiors. Teachers complained that they were either provided very little

information about a given situation, or inundated by new information, but were not offered

support to process or implement it. Furthermore, administrators have increased control of the

daily practices of teachers, drastically restricting their professional autonomy, and prompting

teachers to "feel like robots." Teachers in these situations struggle with their professional agency

due to administrative attempts to script curriculum and teaching, and mistaking common

standards for common teaching (Goering 2012). Teachers reported seeing more risks to their

status as competent professionals, than potential rewards when asserting agency (Endacott et al.

2016). This idea of speaking truth in the face of potential danger is consistent with Foucault's

conceptualization of parrhēsia. Foucault (2001) stated that parrhēsia can be loosely translated as

"free speech," but also encompasses the idea of choosing one's words carefully and only says

what one knows to be true. Journell (2016) highlights how a parrhēsia framework may be helpful

to teachers when trying to weigh the risks and benefits of disclosing political stances. As Journell

cites, numerous teachers have experienced disciplinary action or dismissal as a result of publicly speaking their own truth. Therefore, the process of weighing such risks can be frightening and isolating.

Ball and Olmedo (2012) address the importance of the "particular plight of the teacher who stands alone in their classroom, and sees something 'cracked,' something that to their colleagues is no more than the steady drone of the mundane and the normal, and finds it intolerable" (p. 85). Ball and Olmedo also identify subjectivity as a site of struggle and resistance. New professionalism is changing the internal reality of individual teachers. It is essentially reworking how teachers think of themselves and undermines them as professionals. They believe it is when an individual teacher can take an active role in her own self-definition as a "teaching subject," and think in terms of what she does or does not want to be, that the individual will be able to "care for themselves" (p. 86). When teachers move toward a more activist role or resist new professionalism, it is a way to reclaim their profession and their sense of self. This form of care is where active modes of resistance are born. Looking at what individual teachers do as resistance and how they do it might provide insights for researchers into how to revitalize teachers as having a voice, agency and a stake in education policy, while at the same time, taking "care" of themselves as professionals. In this way, teachers can make informed decisions that put their wellbeing and job satisfaction forefront.

The work of Gina Anderson (2008) has attempted to offer a framework for studying academic responses to new professionalism. She defines resistance as "the reflective awareness and rejection of hegemonic ideology" (p. 255). In her 2008 study, she identified four types of resistance enacted by university employees. These actions include: going public with opinions and reactions to new job roles and descriptions, refusal of practices that do not match up with

academic values, avoidance of such rhetoric and action, and qualified compliance. Qualified

compliance was used when avoidance was not possible. In this way, participants of Anderson's

study complied with demands of new professionalism, "but in a minimal, pragmatic or strategic

way" (Anderson, 2008, p.264). This last form of resistance was a last resort for study

participants. These examples illustrate that new professionalism has not been met with silence

and acceptance. It also shows that there is a systematic way that education professionals make

decisions about negotiating their personal needs with the demands of new professionalism.

The literature shows that educator resistance is a topic of growing interest (Anderson &

Cohen, 2015; Herr, 2015; Ball, 2015; Nunez, Michie & Konkol, 2015). Neoliberalism is both

out there -- in policy-- as well as in here -- in the identity and values of teachers. Although new

professionalism has come from above, it has started to permeate the culture from within as well

by affecting teacher subjectivities (Anderson & Cohen, 2015). For this reason, it has become

obvious that resisting the tendencies of new professionalism by defending the old

professionalism is not an effective strategy.

Ball and Olmedo (2013) argue that teachers need to engage in critical thinking about the

self and how the self is part of neoliberal market contexts. Likewise, Herr (2015) suggests that a

close study of work environments can support the process of recognition of power through the

analysis of everyday events. As literature continues to support teachers in this type of critical

analysis, educators may begin to realize that they have the choice to refuse or recreate principles

of NPM, instead of accepting new professionalism as the new normal.

Anderson and Cohen (2015) have shown the importance of educator resistance of new

professionalism. They call for the need to re-theorize resistance with the aim of being clear

about what and whom is being resisted and toward what end. They explore ways educators might

address such challenges by categorizing possibilities for individual and collective action that

have appeared in literature on resistance. They identify the following categories, which they

believe rarely, if ever, exist in isolation. They are: critical vigilance, counter-discourses, and

counter-conduct and reappropriation. Neoliberalism treats economic truths as depoliticized or

closed to debate. The act of carefully thinking about the competing interests of neoliberal policy

(critical vigilance) and the everyday effects these policies have on actual people is essential to

challenging this notion. Likewise, language has the power to reinforce or deconstruct perceived

norms. Creating counter-discourses that challenge the culture of new professionalism has the

potential to dismantle newly created and inappropriate ideas about teaching learning. This may

set the stage for counter conduct, or the space for action to take place. It is through these small

acts of reappropriation that teachers can resist new professionalism and begin to reclaim their

profession. However, while each of these categories offer contributions to the vision of

resistance, Anderson and Cohen identify a lack of strategy. They recognize a need within

current resistance studies to "build new alliances of educators, students, parents, and

communities" (p. 8). It is their belief that these alliances could serve as powerful vehicles for

addressing diverse concerns such as high stakes testing, school closings, mayoral control, and the

privatization of public schools and services. Anderson and Cohen make a notable contribution to

the current vision of resistance, but do so in a broad and theoretical way.

　　　Cochran-Smith (2006) and Hill (2012) have called for teachers to take a more public role

as intellectuals and as role models for society. Most recently the political climate of the United

States has served as a motivating force for public educators to take action. Deborah Jewell-

Sherman, an educator for over three decades, writes, "For me, it is time to mobilize in significant

ways at all levels – local, state, and federal, forming new alliances" (2017). Jewell-Sherman

voices her fears that in an era of Trump, hard-won gains, particularly equitable access to quality education for all students, have the possibility of being wiped out for generations. She calls for grassroots actions and new strategies. She stresses the importance of action at the local level: school boards, teacher leadership, and mentoring preservice teachers. Kahlenberg (2017) argues for teacher unions to move beyond collective bargaining for self-interests such as better wages and benefits, and move towards a "social justice unionism," which champions democratic values across the globe. Picower (2012, 2013) adds that it is no longer considered radical to say that political forces are transforming public education. She asserts that it is time for all public educators to push back as teacher activists. Likewise, Crawford-Garrett, et al. (2015) have argued that activism in and of itself is good teaching. Catone (2017) highlights the lives and teaching practices of four New York City educators who identify as activists and teachers for social justice. Catone admits that the work of a teacher activist will never truly be complete, and that the journey of a teacher activist is often difficult. Gibbs (2018) reports that many teacher activists are being worn down. His study shows that the current climate of our country has left teacher activists feeling "tired, depressed, and part of the problem." Not being able to engage in all forms of resistance and interruption often weighs heavily on teacher activists. Collectively, educators and researchers alike, support the idea of teachers taking action, either big or small, public or private, in a way that makes sense for the individual. As the role of teacher activist continues to evolve, resistance research has arrived at a place that begs to ask the question, "what does this look like on the ground?"

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

What it means to be a public educator has dramatically changed over the past fifteen years. Now, public educators must navigate a system that seems to no longer value them. On a daily basis, teachers are faced with new directives, increased focus on high stakes testing, larger class sizes, and an increase in observations and evaluations. The current realities of public education have created a resurgence of teacher activism. Today's current political climate has cast loud and proud activism in a negative, even anti-social light. Unfortunately, as a result, some teachers are being forced to navigate new professionalism in independent and personal ways. Teachers no longer have the support of strong unions, due to another unfortunate reality of new professionalism- the deep cuts that have weakened unions (Lipman, 2011). While some public school teachers view these changes as mundane and normal, there is a distinct population that sees something wrong, and work in ways to resist (Ball and Olmedo, 2012). By everyday resistance, I mean the ways in which teachers reclaim their profession and their internal reality, which has been altered by the culture of new professionalism. This qualitative study examines this population of brave teachers. The research question that drives my study is: How are veteran, public school teachers resisting the effects of new professionalism in their daily practice as educators?

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) having an interest in one's practice and improving practice in general, leads to research questions that are best approached through a qualitative research design. They state that "research focused on discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied offers the greatest promise of making a difference in people's lives" (p.1). As a researcher, I am interested in how teachers interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their

experiences. As a writer, I also am interested in artistic narrative. As an educator, I have tried to expose my students to the beauty of language and the importance of stories. Given these perspectives, I have selected a qualitative research approach that allows me to blend these multiple roles as researcher, writer and educator.

Portraiture

My study was largely influenced by the method of social science portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). Portraiture is a creative, qualitative approach to studying the actions of individuals and groups and, thus, to communicate the stories of their lives (English, 2000). Lawrence-Lightfoot describes this method as "research that blurs the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism in an effort to capture the complexity, dynamics and subtlety of human experience and organizational life" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. xv). Through portraiture, researchers can demonstrate a commitment to the research participants by studying them in different contexts. Portraiture is best described as a blending of qualitative methodologies: life history, naturalistic inquiry, and most prominently, that of ethnographic methods (Dixson, Chapman & Hill, 2005). It is a way of meaning making that allows researchers to understand their subjects as multidimensional personalities. Portraitists, in this sense, examine the ways in which participants meet, negotiate, and overcome challenges, as well as celebrate successes. This methodology serves as "a counterpoint to the dominant chorus of social scientists whose focus has largely centered on the identification and documentation of social problems" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. xvi). Likewise, portraiture also serves as a counterpoint to the dominant rhetoric of new professionalism. Portraiture seeks to celebrate all that new professionalism seeks to destroy, making it a highly appropriate choice for this study. Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot is a pioneer of this methodology, and was praised for her book *The Good*

High School, which was recognized at the American Education Research Association conference in 1983. Most recently, Keith Catone received an Outstanding Dissertation Award of 2015 for his work with portraiture. I, too, have endeavored to use portraiture to offer a holistic account of the various layers of my subjects. In this way, the portraits that I have crafted include various aspects of the subject's life: both personal and professional.

As with other qualitative methods, the researcher herself, in portraiture, is the primary research instrument. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) describe the voice of the researcher as follows:

> In portraiture, the voice of the researcher is everywhere: in the assumptions, preoccupations, and the framework she brings to the inquiry; in the questions she asks; in the data she gathers; in the choice of stories she tells; in the language, cadence, and rhythm of her narrative. Voice is the research instrument, echoing the self…of the portraitist—-her eyes, her ears, her insights, her style, her aesthetic...[But]…the portraitist's work is deeply empirical, grounded in systematically collected data, skeptical questioning (of self and actors), and rigorous examination of biases—always open to disconfirming evidence…working against the grain of formerly held presuppositions, always alert and responsive to surprise (p. 85).

As the researcher herself is the most important research tool, it was important to be aware of how the self can influence the research. I was especially aware of my role as a researcher, because I, too, am a veteran teacher who is currently navigating new professionalism. English (2000) has criticized portraiture for giving too much power to the researcher, arguing that there is "no external independent referent for ascertaining the truth-telling capacity of the portraitist" (p.21). Throughout my research, I have attempted to remain mindful of how my own

experiences may have the potential to influence the stories shared with me by the research

participants. I have also supplemented Lawrence-Lightfoot's methods by adapting the work of

David Tripp to ensure that my subjects had the opportunity to represent their own perspectives

and voices in their own way.

Critical Incidents

As mentioned above in the Literature Review, Ball and Olmedo (2013) and Anderson and

Cohen (2015) stress the importance of "critical vigilance" as integral to the resistance of new

professionalism. Tripp (2012) argues that the real art of teaching lies in the teachers' professional

judgement. He uses the term "critical incident" to highlight the importance of the significant

daily events that occur and have very import consequences. He believes that it is important for

these incidents to be included for professional reflection. Tripp defines critical incidents as

"straightforward accounts of very commonplace events that occur in routine professional

practice which are critical in the rather different sense that they are indicative of underlying

trends, motives and structures" (p. 24-25). He indicates that these incidents may initially appear

to be 'typical' rather than 'critical," but are rendered critical through analysis. Tripp also

emphasizes how these critical incidents tip the balance between learning and not-learning, and

that they are identified out of observations (Tripp, 2012).

I did not follow Tripp's specified method, rather I adapted it to allow my participants to

add their own voice. I created a "Critical Incident Prompt" as a means to collect data from each

participant about a time that she had made the decision to actively resist a tenet of new

professionalism (see Appendix A). That is, critical incidents were used to generate data that was

then looked at holistically, rather than focusing on comparing and contrasting participant's

critical incidents or even showcasing these critical incidents as particular moments in time. In

this way, I was able to step aside as the researcher, and hand over power to my participants to add their own "truth" to their portraits. When asking participants to respond to this prompt, I made sure to communicate that resistance comes in many forms. In this way, my hope was that participants would not feel pressure to write about a glorious act, but rather something self-identified that made sense at the time in each participant's specific context.

Research Design

Thus, as a key part of my methods, I have created portraits of teachers focusing largely on interview and observation data that captures the richness, complexity and dimensionality of their experiences within the context of new professionalism. By shaping these portraits, I have worked to arrive at a better understanding of the perspectives of the educators who are negotiating the daily realities created by a culture of new professionalism, and convey them in a way that is both accessible and relatable to the reader, and adds to the body of literature surrounding teacher resistance. I believe this methodology is particularly appropriate and timely. We need richly detailed and contextualized accounts of resistance that are set in the everyday experiences of professional lives. It is my hope that the portraits I composed can offer an inside view of the nature of this work in the context of today's educational climate. In these portraits, I have attempted to highlight the tensions of schools and classrooms, the ways in which students and teachers are treated, and the expectations set forth by the administration, as narrated by teachers. Likewise, I have attempted to capture the inconsistencies, the vulnerabilities and ways in which educators negotiate these terrains, and how their life histories have influenced the strategies they implore.

Study Context

This study focuses on the professional and personal lives of three teachers in the greater New York City area. I decided to study teachers from this area of the country, because it is the area that I know best. As in other states, New York and New Jersey have seen a decrease in teacher autonomy, an increase in accountability in the form of paperwork and paper trails, and an outsourcing of professional responsibilities that once belonged to teachers. My academic interests stem from my own experiences as a product of the New Jersey public school system, a graduate student, and a public school teacher. I am a veteran public school teacher with extensive experience teaching at the secondary education level in both urban and suburban schools. Throughout my career I have witnessed the change in professional climate amongst educators. As a result, this study focused on teachers who had at least ten years of public school classroom teaching experience at the secondary level (grades 6-12). In this way, all participants have had experiences in the classroom before the implementation of directives immediately related to new professionalism, as well as experiences navigating new professionalism. Furthermore, my study focuses on participants who have known teaching through different trends in education. Specifically, these teacher participants have known teaching before and after new accountability systems whereby teachers experience different pressures that are the direct result of new professionalism.

I initially sought participants through my professional networks and on social media. I circulated a flyer asking any secondary teacher with at least ten years of experience teaching in a public school, who was interested in participating, to contact me via email (see Appendix B). I received sixteen responses. Of the sixteen volunteers, three were immediately excluded because they were teachers in the district that currently employs me. I did not want to include my own district in the study, so that my role as teacher and researcher could be kept somewhat separate.

Three additional volunteers were eliminated because they did not meet the criteria set for the study.

I wanted participants who were generally knowledgeable of education policy or other political factors affecting public education. I judged this knowledge by means of pre-interview conversations, which took place via email or phone (see Appendix C). As a result, I was immediately able to eliminate another two volunteers who did not seem overly concerned by the effects of new professional or the current state of public education. It was obvious in conversation with these two individuals that they were more interested in talking about their own, to me, fixed views, rather than looking critically at the systemic issues facing the profession at large.

Next, I communicated with references, such as colleagues, who were able to offer further insight into the level of professional knowledge possessed by the remaining eight potential participants. This helped me to eliminate two more volunteers. I was left with six potential participants who seemed to fit the teacher profile I was seeking. I decided that the next factor I would look at in my decision making process would be the school context that each teacher volunteer worked in. I thought it would be interesting to see how teacher resistance played out in three distinctly different public school contexts. By seeking teacher participants who worked in various contexts, my hope was to highlight that while public schools may function differently, teachers are all faced with similar pressures stemming from new professionalism.

Next, I researched the schools that each of the remaining volunteers worked in. For purposes of collecting data in a timely and efficient manner, I decided to select teachers who all taught in the vicinity of the same major city in the north east. I ultimately I selected three participants using the following additional criteria. I sought out participants who are active

members of their school communities, as well as professional organizations outside of their

schools and contracted teaching responsibilities. I made this decision, because it is my opinion

that participation in these professional communities helps to strengthen professional knowledge.

Last, I required that participants identify as teacher activists in some way. I have ensured that

each participant met these criteria by means of a screening process that has included a survey, a

pre-interview, and a recommendation by a colleague or a member of a professional network. The

three teacher participants that I ultimately selected for this study, were chosen because of their

reputation and because of the type of school that they worked in. I sought to select teacher

participants who represented three diverse school communities.

Participants

Participant names have been changed to provide anonymity. All names used throughout

the study are pseudonyms.

Jean was highly recommended for my study by one of her colleagues, who is also a

member of my doctoral cohort. Jean was initially introduced to me as someone who truly cares

about her students and her profession. She was described as a teacher who is well versed in the

politics currently surrounding public education, with a commitment to teaching for social justice.

I had never met Jean before this study. She responded quickly to my call for participants and

made herself readily available to all the requirements of the study. I first knew that Jean was the

type of teacher I was looking for when she told me in one of our initial email conversations that

meeting me to talk about teaching and new professionalism sounded "fun." This type of work is

not fun to all teachers. I was looking for the kind of teacher who actively and willingly engages

in looking critically at aspects of their profession. As I got to know Jean, I was impressed by her

energetic commitment to my study and the sense of responsibility that she held toward her

profession. Jean has been teaching in a public high school for twelve years. She currently teaches 10th grade US History in a suburb of New York City. Here she has also served as a cooperating teacher alongside numerous student teachers enrolled in teacher education programs at the local university. Jean's commitment to teaching and learning, years of experience, and commitment to her profession, all made her a great choice for this study.

I first met Casey in 2012 at The New York City Writing Project Summer Institute. I was a first year teaching fellow, and Casey was a second year fellow serving as a mentor to a small group of first year fellows. Casey did not serve as my mentor, so she was merely an acquaintance. We ate lunch together a few times during that summer at the Writing Project and I came to know her as a reflective thinker, dedicated teacher, and lover of language. When Casey responded to my call for teacher participants, I immediately knew that she would have a lot to offer my study. I didn't know Casey very well when she volunteered. We hadn't spoken in a few years, but she was immediately enthusiastic about the study and the ideas I wished to discuss with my participants. Casey has experience in teaching in both suburban and urban school districts. In her 14 years as a public school teacher, Casey has taught grades 6-12. She currently teaches at an all-girls public school in New York City. Here, Casey is a classroom teacher of English and a curriculum coach. Casey also teaches as an online instructor at Drexel University in the teacher education program. Her experiences working with students and teachers in diverse contexts made her a great choice for my study.

I also met Joan through my work with The New York City Writing Project. Joan was a summer institute leader. Joan's passion for education is infectious. Year of after year, as a summer institute leader, Joan inspires teachers to ask tough questions, engage in critical reading and writing, and then return to their classrooms in the fall to incorporate their newfound

understandings. During the summer of 2012, Joan guided me to think critically about my own

teaching practices. It was obvious to me that Joan was an outstanding teacher, but I did not have

the opportunity to truly know her as a classroom teacher in her own context. I was delighted

when Joan responded to my request for study participants via social media. She has a reputation

for being a teacher with a lot of knowledge and experience. Joan was directly involved in the

implementation of the Common Core Curriculum Standards by way of her involvement on the

Board of Directors of the National Council of Teachers of English. She has published various

books and articles about education and has been involved in the political discourse surrounding

public education. Joan has extensive knowledge of teaching and learning. She has been a public

school teacher for 26 years. She also is an instructor at Lehman College, where she teaches

education courses in the teacher education program. Joan's extensive resume made her an

outstanding addition to this study.

Data Collection

I conducted three in-depth, semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with each

participant. Each interview lasted ninety minutes. I recorded and transcribed each interview. I

began the interview process during the summer of 2017 with an interview with each participant

that focused on personal life histories. I met with each participant at a coffee shop in the vicinity

of their home. The goal of the first interview was to put the participants' experiences in context

by collecting as much data as possible in regards to their own teacher resistance up to the present

time. In this interview, I asked participants to tell me about their lives up until the present, using

as much detail as is possible in ninety minutes. Each participant was asked to reconstruct an

early experience where she saw herself as "standing up for something that she did not believe

was right," whether in their families, in their school, with friends, in their neighborhood, or at

work (see Appendix D). I asked each participant to describe how she came to be a secondary public school teacher. By doing so, I attempted to have participants narrate a range of prompted for, important events in their pasts that placed their participation in the resistance of new professionalism in the context of their lives.

At the conclusion of the first interview, I asked each participant to write a response to a "Critical Incident Prompt" (see Appendix A). To prepare for the second interview, I asked participants to carefully reflect on what Tripp (2012) calls a critical incident(s) from their experiences as teachers. I used the responses to the Critical Incident Prompt to generate more specific interview questions for each participant for the second interview. The Critical Incident Prompt also was a way to invite each participant to voice a moment of her own truth without an immediate, face to face interaction with me, the researcher. In this way, participants were able to more carefully reflect on their teaching experiences, and exercise more freedom in the topic they reflected on. The second interview focused on the concrete details of the participants' present lived experience in the topic area of the study in order to situation each woman in her own personal context as a resistor of new professionalism. Participants were asked about their relationships with their students, other faculty, administrators, parents and the wider community, as well as details from the Critical Incident Prompt.

As already mentioned, I interviewed each participant a total of three times. These interviews were structured in order to ask questions based on my ongoing analysis, information gathered in previous interviews, and data collected from the critical incident responses. The purpose of the third interview was to make intellectual and emotional connections between the participants' work and life. I asked questions about the choices each participant made in her time outside of school that she felt helped her to sustain the energy necessary for navigating new

professionalism. In this way, participants were able to identify how factors in their lives have contributed to their current professional experiences. This combination of exploring the past to clarify the events that led participants to where they are now, and describing the concrete details of their present experience, established conditions for them to reflect upon what they are now doing in their lives.

 I also visited each participant's school at least once to better understand the specific contexts each participant worked in. I spent time observing students in and on school grounds, teachers teaching, conversations between colleagues, and general rituals and routines of each building. I also met with each participant outside of their school in various coffee shops throughout the greater NYC area. In this way, I was somewhat able, given my timeline, to see my participants as both insiders and outsiders of their school communities.

Inevitably, there was some blending of data gathered across each interview session. The questions for the second and third interview sessions were based on data that had been previously collected, creating an obvious overlap. For example, many of my questions built responses from previous interviews. Also, once the school year started, the teacher participants did not always have the time to solely devote their thinking to the specific focus of each interview session. This was most apparent when I interviewed participants at their schools. There were frequent interruptions from students and colleagues. There were more fixed time constraints due to the school bell schedules, and professional responsibilities. Overall, in the course of the three interviews, all areas of focus were covered.

Data Analysis

Portraiture is an emergent methodology. It is an iterative and generative process (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997). It requires a system of data organization and synthesis that is

flexible enough to allow the researcher to shift gears and change direction as she moves from

fieldwork to analysis and back to data collection (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). I approached my

data analysis with principles of grounded theory, as it is predicated on an emergent logic, and

allows for explicitness and flexibility (Charmaz, 2008), while fully aware I was not conducting a

grounded theory study. I started with a systematic, inductive approach to collecting and

analyzing data to develop patterns within my data. Throughout my study, my data collection and

data analysis were simultaneous processes. I kept a research journal in which I regularly

recorded ideas, questions and insights. Significant strands of thought and action began to emerge

in the interview transcripts. As I transcribed each interview, I used memo writing (Saldaña,

2016) to help make meaning of my data as conceptual themes began to emerge. According to

Saldaña (2016), writing is analysis, and analytic memos expand on the inferential meanings of

codes and themes as a transition into a more coherent narrative. Memo writing helped me to

continue to make connections between my data, as well as expand on these connections. For

example, I began to notice moments in my data when participants would answer differently. I

noticed that sometimes participants focused on sounding professional, trying to satisfy me with

the "correct" response, while other times they seemed to answer in a less guarded way. In these

less guarded moments, participants seemed to veer off course from my questions. I found this

flexibility in the data to be most powerful. I was able to identify these moments in the data by

verbal cues, such as, "I know this wasn't exactly what you were asking, but…" or "I just have to

get something off my chest." Other times these moments were less obvious. I identified them

by changes in speech, such as volume, tone and enunciation. These observations were carefully

recorded in my researcher's notebook and ultimately became distinct moments within each

portrait.

Each interview transcript, set of field notes from school visits, and critical incident responses authored by each participant, were coded. I began with open coding. According to Saldaña (2016) "a code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 3). I identified segments of data that may be relevant. Next, I began to construct conceptual themes in my data by a second round of axial coding, as I interpreted and reflected on my data. Axial coding is the process of identifying conceptual themes during qualitative data analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Once conceptual themes were clear, I used this work to help me render narratives in the form of teacher portraits. The themes that I identified in my data became the central dimensions of the portraits. These themes included: knowing yourself, knowing the job, and knowing the world. These themes were not represented in a straightforward way, but rather through a blend of science and art that attempted to represent my participants as multidimensional beings.

After each interview session and school visit, I wrote at length in my research journal. I recorded observations that would not be captured in the audio recordings. I made note of what was going on in the background: how the students reacted to each teacher, interactions between colleagues, and details of the classroom, particularly the personal space of each woman. While interviewing in coffee shops and restaurants, I made note of how each woman presented herself outside of school, including hairstyle, dress and social interaction with servers and neighboring patrons. I attempted to pay special attention to these various details inside and outside of the classroom in an attempt to better know my participants. These journal entries, combined with analytic memos, became the early drafts of my portraits. Ultimately, I decided to add myself as a

narrator, in some sections of the portraits, to make my role as researcher more clear and to attempt to reveal my own thinking more transparently.

Researcher Positionality

As a researcher, it is important for me to be clear about my positionality. As a veteran educator who has experienced the negative impact of new professionalism in my own way, I am bringing some form of my own bias to this work. I have an increased level of stress and have been undermined as a professional, but still I have remained a teacher. As an insider, I am able to see the task that lays ahead for teachers, and how difficult it may be. I, myself, am very much in this struggle. I see myself as one of these teachers. I am also figuring my way through the process of resisting new professionalism.

I am also aware of myself in my role as a researcher. It is my responsibility to question and interrogate any ways that my own subjectivity and experiences may color my interpretation of the data. In doing so, I have put in place safeguards that have been outlined below. My positionality as a researcher who is also a teacher in the field during this professional context, gives me the unique ability to access the real world of teachers as an insider. From this study, I have learned how to enhance my own professional experiences, as well as make a contribution to academia that offers a real life account of what is happening in the field.

Trustworthiness

"All researchers-- whether working with in the quantitative or qualitative methodological paradigm-- are selective in defining and shaping the data they collect and the interpretations that flow from their findings" (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2005, p. 11). Throughout my research, I have tried to strike a balance between personal predisposition and rigorous skepticism. I utilized several strategies to ensure the validity of this study.

The first strategy was a "member check" (Maxwell, 2005). I solicited feedback on my emerging findings from my study participants to make sure that my interpretation of their experiences was accurate. As a result, participants had the opportunity to offer clarification or suggestions for fine tuning to better capture their experiences. This was achieved by starting off interview sessions two and three by offering my participants a recap of our last session and a verbal summary of my findings, as narrated from my researcher's notebook. Additionally, the research journal was an integral tool for reflection, highlighting that there is not a single truth or meaning that can be derived from my data. Rather, the research journal helped to make my thinking more transparent. All three participants offered very minor corrections, such as, "actually it did not happen in that order," or "she was my middle school teacher, not my elementary school teacher." While these corrections were important, they did not necessitate a major revision with the drafts of each portrait. I also shared drafts of their portraits along the way via email. Joan and Jean did not respond to my drafts. Casey responded very positively, stating, "Wow, what a gift! It is so fascinating to read myself in this way." None of the participants offered suggestions for revision of the drafts. It is possible that they did not feel revisions were necessary, or perhaps they were too busy with their own school work and professional responsibilities to offer substantial criticism.

Limitations and Significance of the Study

Any methodology, whether qualitative or quantitative, has limitations. In every study, there are things that data cannot do. The qualitative data collected in this study is not generalizable. A small, select sample of teachers is represented in this study, thus it does not promise a breadth of experiences. The data collected in this study is not broad, but deep. The complexity of the data has much to offer. It reveals the multiple layers of each participant's

experience, including; struggles, fright, success, joy and disappointment. The integrity of this data offers a unique view into the lived experiences of classroom teachers. The findings from this study may contribute to the knowledge base on teacher education that focuses on issues of teacher retention and teacher activism. The study may also serve as a data source for other researchers interested in how teachers can continue to engage in productive and meaningful work, both personally and professionally, despite policy directives aimed at dismantling public education.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

My purpose in this chapter is to show how three different teachers have approached the task of resisting new professionalism. Significant and abrupt changes to public education have drastically changed the way these veteran teachers approach their profession. The task of resisting new professionalism in not an easy one. All three of these teachers engage in a struggle that is sometimes messy. They are forced to make choices that sometimes place them outside of their comfort zone. Still, they quietly, yet boldly navigate new professionalism in a way that allows them to be successful in the workplace, all the while carving out space to focus on authentic teaching and learning. Each teacher has endeavored to create a balance that keeps them employed, personally satisfied and professionally productive. Their experiences and efforts demonstrate the risks necessary to persevere during trying times. In this chapter, I present three teacher portraits: Joan, Casey and Jean. Each portrait attempts to bring to life the teacher as a professional and a human being. It is my hope that each portrait shows each woman in the context of her own individual struggle to resist new professionalism.

Joan: Reclaiming Her Profession

"I'm starving!" announces Joan as she makes her way into the bookstore cafe. "The first thing I need is to get some lunch. We can talk while we eat, but I can't sit outside. It's too hot." Joan shifts her large frame around a bistro table, makes herself comfortable, and immediately orders a grain bowl and a diet coke. It is then that she greets me. We indulge in a few short pleasantries, and then she begins to tell me all about herself. I hardly have to ask questions. It's almost like she has prepared her story ahead of time, or has told it many times before. Nevertheless, it's a tale she loves to tell. She is a dramatic story teller: pausing for emphasis,

inserting careful sarcasm, and laughing at her own jokes. I'm captivated by her confidence. She sees herself as an amazing teacher, and wants to make sure that I see it too.

"The funny thing is, I didn't even want to be a teacher!" Joan laughs as she tells me this, and the entire table shakes. "My mom was a teacher and I did not want to be like her! So, I was just an English major. Well, at first I was a communications major, which seemed to be like a thing in the 90s, but I didn't really know what that meant. So my mom said to me, can you at least get your teaching certification? So you can at least sub? Like as a backup plan?" Joan describes her teenage self as nonchalant and somewhat rebellious. "I had just done a huge lie to my parents. I failed math and I didn't tell them. I hid the report card and told them that the check to Michigan State had bounced and that is why I had no grade." In what she claims was an attempt to make things right with her parents, teenage Joan promised that she would comply with her mother's request to apply to the teacher education program at Michigan State University. "It was very difficult to get into the Teacher Ed program at Michigan State. People were trying like three and four times to get in, so I was like, cool, I will just try. If I tried and I didn't get in, my mom would leave me alone. I was sure that I wouldn't get in. I had average grades, but because I am Mexican American, and that was the height of affirmative action, I got in! I didn't feel like I could lie to my parents again, so I did it."

Joan is completely nonchalant about excelling at Michigan State University. She tells me about her time there with almost an air of arrogance, like she didn't even have to try, but accomplished big things there nonetheless. Joan tells the story of her journey to become a teacher as if things just fell into her lap. She portrays herself as someone who has found her true calling. She believes teaching was her destiny. She admits that initially she didn't have to try too hard, because her Mexican American heritage opened a lot of doors for her. Growing up in a suburb

that was home to mostly white families, Joan had never before thought of herself as a person of color. "My dad is Mexican-American and my grandparents are from Mexico, but because of how I present, I didn't ever think about the fact that I was a person of color. For many years I didn't even talk that much about the fact that I was Mexican-American. It wasn't part of my identity that I was very loud about, mostly because, I wasn't very conscious of it." However, The Coalition of Hispanic Students for Progressive Action identified Joan as Hispanic based on her last name. As Joan tells it, they sought her out and "practically begged" her to become involved. "They came to my dorm room and asked me to come to have this special dinner." She reluctantly agreed to attend because "whatever they were serving in the cafeteria that night looked gross."

Joan conveys a sense of happenstance rather than agency. A decision that Joan claims was based on food, further propelled her down a successful path at Michigan State. She unexpectedly sat next to the Provost that night. "We happened to have this great conversation. The Provost introduced me to this other woman and she also liked me, and she asked me to come meet with her. I did. She said she was starting a tutoring program for Latino students. She asked me to be a tutor and I was like, yeah, because I needed money."

Joan narrates that at nineteen years old, her actions were motivated in restoring the trust of her parents, food, and money. The decisions she made were not carefully planned, however they always seemed to work out for her. A simple decision to seek out a better dinner one night led her to a better understanding of how she self-identified and started her career long commitment to urban youth. "I tutored for her and that led to this giant summer job that brought kids to campus from Detroit and Pontiac and Flint. It was called the King Chavez Park Organization. I was teaching high school kids who were coming to campus, and from that moment I kind of knew- oh these are my people and I didn't even know it. I like this. I like these

conversations. Living in a suburb, I didn't really fit. I didn't realize this until I was in contact with people who had grown up in circumstances that matched mine. I didn't fit where I grew up. So from that, I always lived where I taught. I made that a decision for myself. All of the parts of me are about being in this type of community, working with kids and teachers, and being super authentic."

In college, Joan grew into her own life. The confluence of experiences as a young adult, a Latina, and a budding professional, helped her to know herself on a deeper level. This new level of self-knowledge felt good to Joan. It created a new sense of confidence that allowed her to take risks and be open to possibility. This sense of openness made her profession feel effortless. She trusted her professional voice, and as a result, others seemed drawn to her. She seemed to continuously find herself in the right place at the right time. "Big names in the ELA world" took an interest in her and mentored her as a young professional. One mentor in particular seemed to have a clear vision of the type of career Joan would have. "She said to me, you are going places. They had clearly already had a conversation and they had this idea that there was something about me that was propelling me into this bigger world. So in some ways it was luck. I'm not sure what it was about me that made them think this. I don't go after stuff very often. It is just presented to me and I'm like alright. And then I do well in that thing. And then something else is presented to me kind of like, I'm always there. People ask me a question and I'm like, well, this is what I think! It turns out to be a thing that people use, so maybe it is luck."

There is more to Joan than her good luck. As a young professional, she possessed an openness to new situations. Throughout the majority of her career, she has not been afraid to see where a new opportunity may take her. This approach has worked out well for her. She is not shy as she rattles off all of the professional organizations that she is a part of, or that she was

elected to the board of the National Council of Teachers of English, or that she was one of the few classroom teachers that were asked for input by David Coleman as he designed the Common Core Curriculum Standards. Her open professional attitude helped her build the resume of an expert teacher and garner the reputation of a knowledgeable teacher leader.

Joan's resume and reputation have ultimately landed her in a public middle school in a diverse neighborhood in Manhattan. The school was founded by the current principal. Joan has always gotten along with this principal. In fact, she believes that her principal hand-picked her for the job. "She very much hires people on gut. If she knows somebody who knows somebody, she will hire you. She'll take other people's word." Joan's friend was the literacy coach, and arranged for Joan to visit the school to make a presentation for the literacy teachers on NCTE's National Day of Writing. At the time, Joan had no interest in teaching at this school. "I always said I would never be a middle school teacher. I liked high school and thought middle school teachers were crazy people." Once again, Joan's openness to new situations advanced her career. "My friend kept trying to get me to go to her school, so I went." Not realizing that there was a job on the line, Joan was her authentic self. She even criticized the languages arts curriculum that the school was using. "I went to do this presentation, but it was really like an interview with the principals. At that point I didn't know it, and I even said things like, I would never teach at a school where they label a kid with a letter. What is that? I would never do this. And the principal kept saying, well what would you do? And I just talked about really authentic choice in reading and in writing. And finally she said, if I said you could do anything that you want and you could teach like that, would you come teach here? And I was like as long as you don't make me do letters. A kid is not a letter. So she just hired me. And I was like alright I need another job and this seems like one. And I really didn't have to do anything to get it."

Once Joan recognized who she was as a professional, she saw no need to compromise herself. She did not market herself. Simply by showing up as her authentic self, she once again, landed herself in another good situation. Joan's current school has been an A school for eight years. It is the highest performing school in the district. There are extracurricular activities such as a guitar club and a chess club. There is a full children's aid society with a health clinic. Joan believes that the staff is outstanding. "All the teachers are very passionate about serving kids. The principal has really been an in the streets bleeding activist for her whole life, about a lot of different things. So she protects our schools in a lot of ways. She does a lot of things under the table that are for the benefit of kids and teachers." Whether through luck, or being open to possibility, Joan had secured a position in a school she loves, where she can teach however she wants.

As she continued to work alongside big names in education, Joan began to accumulate a lot of "insider knowledge." In many cases, this meant that Joan knew more about education directives than her superiors. "The principal came to me and asked, do you know anything about this common core stuff? And I was like yeah, I do. And I remember she and the assistant principal and the literacy coach and the math coach came and sat with me one day in my classroom after school. They said what is it? I just went through everything that I had information about." This insider knowledge elevated Joan's status to somewhat of a celebrity within her building. "My principal knew about Common Core before most other principals. It was kind of cool in that way. That is probably why she lets me do whatever I want."

Joan's principal has always valued her professional knowledge. As she gained a reputation for being an expert teacher, she was called upon to be an informal leader within the building. She has initiated a lot of positive change, including restructuring the language arts

curriculum. When the principal felt that the curriculum was no longer serving the school, it was

Joan who she went to for advice. She liked what Joan had to say and let her lead the change "in

house." "She let the literacy department be in study groups that she paid us for, and let us do that

work. Some of us were in reading and some of us were in writing. We looked at what we were

doing and what we wanted to learn about more. We did a lot of professional reading. At the end

of the school year she had us present what we thought. She fired the consultant, and we do our

own stuff now. It's amazing."

Other benefits that Joan has enjoyed as a result of her relationship with her principal,

include teaching in the largest classroom in the building, the freedom to incorporate new ideas

into her teaching, and leeway when asking for time outside of the classroom. She feels that she is

afforded these privileges, because she works hard outside of the building to provide for her

school community. "I have this other professional piece to stand on, and it's not little. It's big. I

just had a book dedicated to me. I have big status other places outside of my school and I do big

stuff with it. My principal knows that I bring cool stuff to my school, to teachers and to my

students, because of my outside professional life." Over the years Joan has brought funding,

publishing opportunities, reading initiatives, and public relations opportunities to her school.

Most recently Joan has incorporated the "Picture Book a Day Initiative" into her classroom.

While these picture books are not an official component of the district curriculum, Joan has

research based evidence that what she is doing is benefitting her students. "It's not random; it's

very planned. I'm a picture book expert. So if someone comes in and asks, why are you reading

picture books with 8th graders, they can watch what I am doing. They can see that I make it very

academic. I am part of a movement of teachers who are doing this work." Joan sees herself as a

part of a larger community that energizes her and helps her grow professionally. When things are

onerous there are other spaces that nurture and help her to remember who she wants to be professionally. Joan admits that her principal has never questioned her additions to the curriculum. Joan's insider knowledge is respected by her superiors. She is frequently rewarded for her expertise with benefits including the largest classroom in the school, the freedom to include or delete aspects of the curriculum and other freedoms such as being able to take off time for out of district professional development.

Undoubtedly, Joan has witnessed some changes over the course of her twenty-six-year career. Recently, policy directives, a culture of competition, and a move toward standardization has created some uncomfortable moments for Joan. While she still maintains that working with middle school kids every day is "so much fun," recently, new professionalism has changed her job and her school in many ways. These changes have forced Joan to shift from her attitude of openness, to adopt a stance that new situations need to be carefully analyzed and thoughtful strategies sometimes need to be employed.

The first big change that Joan reports experiencing is the effects of funding tied to test scores. "Test prep used to literally be where you were going and how the schedule was going to change that day," she says with a nostalgic laugh. "There was no test prep unit. At all. Ever. No one ever talked about how you were preparing for the test. There wasn't a conversation. No one cared because money wasn't tied to it. There were no federal regulations tied to it." Now Joan admits that she begrudgingly teaches a test prep unit. "I teach the kids a formula and it is simply a formula on how to take the test." However, she also admits that because the nature of the current tests, her efforts may be futile. "In the last four or five years with Common Core and Pearson together, the questions were so bizarre and the reading passages were so difficult that they weren't appropriate for 8th graders at all. Like even remotely. They were like college level

texts. I started thinking, there is actually no way that I could prepare my students for them, so I just stopped doing test prep."

Joan also points out that with test scores tied to school funding and teacher evaluations, many teachers have had to think more strategically about the population of students who they teach. "I don't think that it should be so vitally tied to funding, so that if you are a person who can't take a test well, you're just screwed and so is your school. I don't think it should be tied to teachers, so that no one wants to teach you if you are a kid who doesn't do well on a test. You should get to have the best teachers, not the worst." The large majority of Joan's educational career has involved teaching the lowest tracked group of students. From her early days tutoring students from the inner cities of Michigan, to her current role as a middle school teacher, Joan has always taught "the kids who have failed at everything else." Joan admits, "Traditionally these are the classes that no one else wants to teach." Initially, teaching students who were typically overlooked offered Joan a sense of freedom in the classroom. "As a new teacher I realized that you could do anything with these kids, because no one cared. I could be creative, and academic, and do fun stuff." Currently, the culture of high stakes testing has made these students more visible. There is increased accountability and scrutiny of teachers of this population of students. Despite the high stakes, of which Joan is very aware, she has not shied away from her commitment to these students. However, her motivation has shifted. She continues to teach these students, because she realizes that most teachers have abandoned them, making the choice to teach upper level classes if they can. This dynamic leaves struggling students with new, inexperienced teachers. "These kids need the best teachers. They need me." Joan's perspective has shifted from a feeling of freedom to teach lower tracks of students, to a sense of responsibility to teach these kids.

As Joan highlights, high stakes testing has created undesirable teaching positions. This change in dynamic created a new problem in Joan's building. "We are starting to have a lot of turnover. The principal hired a bunch of TFA teachers. Last year we had seven teachers leave." Again, this change brought about a sense of responsibility for Joan. While she has the experience and credentials to take on a formal leadership position in education, she has made the deliberate choice to stay in the classroom. As a veteran teacher, she feels that she can directly influence new and inexperienced teachers, and help them to become more effective. "I think that part of the reason that I stay in the classroom with kids is that I can do a lot of like low key activist work with other teachers, because I am just like them. I don't get paid more. I don't even have my freakin' 30 credits. I probably get paid less! I'm not their coach, I'm not coming in, I'm just in my room, doing my own thing and people wander in and chat with me. And those chats turn into action in their own classroom."

Joan's recent shift in responsibility toward her profession has led to work with the population of new teachers who she finds most troubling, NYC Teaching Fellows. Teaching fellows are college graduates who are placed in the city's highest-need neighborhoods as full time teachers. While they have graduated college, they have very little teacher training. Most have only completed a pre-service training program. To achieve certification, teaching fellows must complete a master's degree at a local university while teaching full time. Joan's complaint is that these teachers enter the classroom with very little training or commitment to the profession. She finds it unfair that the kids who need the best teachers are the ones being placed in classrooms with untrained teachers. "I teach first year teaching fellows and second year teaching fellows. Hot mess. They don't do the reading. They don't do their work. Many have 2, 3, 4 absences. They wanted class cancelled on Halloween. What are they talking about?! These

are going to be our new teachers!" Joan is acutely aware that these college students will one day be her colleagues. "They will be in the classrooms of kids who need good teachers the most, so I have to do something to make sure these teaching fellows get it. At least a little!" Joan admits that serving as an adjunct at the local city university is not her favorite thing to do. I can tell by the way her voice deepens and how she shifts her weight in her chair as she describes these students, that they wear at her patience. Joan's choice to teach in this capacity is a deliberate strategy that she employs as the result of her sense of responsibility toward her profession and urban youth. It is one of the ways that she feels she can take action toward the changing culture of her school and public education in general.

For our third interview, I visit Joan in her classroom. It is a happy place: bright and colorful. The walls are plastered with student work, motivational messages, and a quirky collection of bumper stickers. A family photo consisting of Joan, her partner, and their rescue dog, rests on a small desk next to a reusable water bottle. The room is filled with books. There are picture books prominently displayed in the front of the room on the ledge of the chalkboard, and various bins and boxes filled to capacity with young adult texts. It is a Friday afternoon. Colleagues and kids alike stop by to wish Joan a good weekend. Joan looks exhausted. She makes jokes with her students and small talk with her colleagues, but I can tell that something is wrong. Her brow is furrowed and her eyes look tired. She hardly picks up her feet as she shuffles over to join me at a cluster of student desks. For a large woman, she appears surprisingly small. Her shoulders are slumped, and her movements are slow. I feel self-conscious. Has she had enough of my questions? Is it too much to ask of a hardworking professional to stay for an extra hour on a Friday afternoon to speak with a doctoral student? I

start by expressing my gratitude for her time, and acknowledge that Friday afternoon is rough.

She doesn't seem to hear me or if she does, she doesn't seem to care.

"Miss Rella is retiring," she blurts abruptly. I'm caught off guard by her comment. It

takes me a moment to scan my mental rolodex.

"Your principal?" I ask, finally placing the name.

"Yeah, I knew that she would be retiring soon. She has kind of been mentoring the two

vice principals, so one of them could become the new principal. But that is not what is

happening, and our entire school is in crisis about it." Joan continues to speak in a solemn tone.

She explains to me that the superintendent is a "conceited bulldog of a man, who knows very

little about teaching, and is all about power." She details the contentious relationship between

him and Miss Rella. "He is mad her. Miss Rella is the only one who stands up to him. Everyone

else cowers to him." In an ultimate showdown with his longtime rival, the superintendent has

found a way to strip power from Miss Rella and the school community that she worked tirelessly

to create. He has decided to usurp her power and bring in his own candidate to be the new

principal of her school. The entire faculty is shocked by this decision. It seems inappropriate and

counterproductive to the entire school community. Joan can't seem to make sense of this

decision. "It is weird that they are disrupting the school year and bringing in an unknown person,

when there are two totally qualified women to run the school. They have been mentored and

have done a better job with programs in the school. It's bizarre." The community seems

unsettled by the choice as well. "It is very political to do this," explains Joan. "This is big. The

parents are involved, there are petitions, and the media is involved. It's big." Joan is distraught.

She continues to rant. "It's also a gender issue. You have two women, but you are bringing in a

man who is less qualified. It is kind of like Trump is happening at our school right now! The

only qualification we have heard from this guy is that he used to play basketball on the next block, because he grew up around here. That was it. We asked for other qualifications. He actually kept saying, you don't need to know that." While Joan has been open to new situations in the past, she sees this one as toxic. She is older now, has many years of experience under her belt, and is able to recognize that this is not a good situation. While she is still open to new situations when they seem growth enhancing, she sees this move as an attack on her beloved school. It is immediately clear to Joan that she needs to resist.

Joan made the careful decision to stand up to the superintendent. She knows that there are risks involved in doing so. Instead of her usual openness, she has carefully considered what may happen if she resists. "I know that I have to decide in that moment that I could be risking my comfortability. Which is the position that I am in this week." Joan recounts the tense meeting that took place earlier that week. The superintendent introduced his choice for the principalship, Mr. Lopez, to the faculty. In this introductory meeting, the superintendent did not allow Mr. Lopez to speak. Joan could no longer maintain her silence. She made the decision to confront her superintendent in front of the entire staff. "When I do things like that, it's not off the cuff, and it's not casual. It's generally planned. I understand exactly how to position my tone and my inflection in my words. I pick my words in a specific manner." This is a major shift in approach for Joan. Her light hearted and casual authenticity has been replaced by a careful and deliberate seriousness. "Nothing has happened to me yet, and nothing may ever happen to me, but I do know that on purpose I introduced myself with my name. I did it on purpose, in a certain tone, and everyone in our school has been talking about it all week. The way I did it unhinged the superintendent. I mean his face got red, he physically faced me."

Joan's eyes look wildly angry, but I can tell that she is also afraid. I have never seen her like this before. Her warm sarcasm and gentle boasts are no longer a part of our conversation. She is fixated on her interaction with the superintendent. It is as if she is replaying the exchange over and over in her mind, hoping for a different outcome. "I already know how this is going to play out. I know that I might have to find another place to teach and that is not a comfortable thing. I know that in the interim, they might take this big beautiful room away from me. They might harass me with lots of observations, bad ones. So, I like kind of know that. It is a risk that I was willing to take."

My next visit to Joan's classroom takes place during the school day. She is immediately apologetic about what I am about to see. "The superintendent is coming," she explains. I have to do these portfolios with the kids. It is a waste of time." Risk taking has changed for Joan. It has become high stakes. She is no longer in a position where her reputation and professional knowledge create a sense of safety and comfortability. Now, the choices that she makes are deliberate and calculated. She no longer feels that she "can do whatever she wants." She is much more strategic in her actions. "Now I do enough stuff that I am supposed to. I don't believe in this and it took an entire period for us to do it. The only reason that we are even asked to do it is because the superintendent is coming. So I do that part and I do that part well." Earlier in her career Joan would mostly likely have voiced her opinion and refused to do work that she did not believe in.   That strategy used to work for her. It got her a job she loves, and a leadership position in a national professional organization. In those times, she had layers of protection that she doesn't feel she has now. Joan knows that things are different now. The climate of public education has changed. Teacher expertise is not valued in the way it once was. Her voice and actions have bigger consequences now than they ever did before. "Just keep

stuffing those essays in the plastic sleeves," she coaxes her students sarcastically. "No one looks at these," she tells me loudly and within earshot of her students. She is giving them another piece in their education by modeling a critical read on the world. Joan refuses to fully comply with new directives. She plays the game. "I don't just play the game; I play the game well. I'm like a leader of the game." Joan goes out of her way to be a viable part of some new directives. "One of my colleagues has been out all week on PD. His portfolios need to get done, but he's not here. He already got in trouble last year for not doing his portfolios. I stepped up. I sent an email to voice my concern. I even offered to help his kids with their portfolios. So it was like here I am! I am visible and loud, and I am doing this thing that you want me to do. I am going above and beyond! I'm a team player!" Joan lets out a self-satisfied laugh. "I do this on purpose, because if someone comes in and sees something else, I can say- no I do what I'm supposed to do- look at this other thing I just did!"

As Joan pauses for a breath, I notice that the school building has gotten eerily quiet. It is not yet dusk, but the exterior lights have just clicked on outside, illuminating the city streets. I can see the glare of their light reflect off the windows of Joan's classroom. Joan takes off her reading glasses and rubs her eyes. The work week has come to an end. She is ready to head home. I pack up my things and shove them into my brown leather bag. Before I am even fully standing Joan has wrapped her arms around me in an enormous bear hug. "Good luck," we both say in unison. I turn into the quiet hallway, and head toward the school safety office. When I reach her desk, I sign out on the clipboard the officer passes underneath the tempered glass window that separates me from her. I turn and head out the main door. The crisp winter air stings my nostrils for a moment, but then the aroma of Dominican cuisine floods my senses. I

pause for a second to savor the Caribbean spices, then start my car and head toward the gleaming lights of the George Washington Bridge.

Summary

Resisting new professionalism has changed the way Joan views her own power. She has evolved from a young, confident and sometimes brash professional, to a teacher who very strategically resists new professionalism. As her profession has changed, Joan has made some adjustments. She has abandoned her sense of happenstance and adopted a sense of agency. Her experiences have taught her that being open to new situations only makes sense when it involves growth enhancing change. Joan chooses her battles. She makes sure she follows the rules just enough to fly under the radar. She realizes that her reputation will not protect her the way it once did. It has become abundantly clear to Joan that the insider knowledge she possesses is no longer respected by her superiors. She has come to realize that standing up for what she believes in may not always result in rewards such as large classrooms and teaching freedom. In fact, she has learned that speaking her mind may result in punitive measures. As a result, Joan has shifted her focus of activism to her own classroom teaching, in both middle school and college, and her participation in professional organizations. She sees herself as a part of a larger professional community that energizes her, and helps her grow professionally. When things are onerous, there are other spaces that nurture, and help her remember who she is, and the educator she wants to continue to grow into. While Joan may not love all the aspects of being a public school teacher the way she once did, she has found a way to make it work for her. It is very clear to her how things are different. She is disappointed, but not defeated. Joan recognizes that she will have to spend a lot more time outside of her comfort zone. She is a lot more vulnerable now than she

ever has been. Fortunately, Joan is a fighter. The love of her profession completely outweighs

any fear or frustration. Joan is prepared to fight.

Jean: Concentrating on Care of Self

I arrive at the trendy coffee shop Jean has recommended a little later than I had planned.

Could Jean already be here? "Note to self," I thought. "Keep a stash of quarters in the console for

emergency parking situations like today's." I head right to a corner table, hoping it will be quiet

enough to allow for audio recording. A Bob Marley song blasts throughout the coffee shop.

Local college students are dispersed throughout the small cafe. They stare into their laptops, as

music pulses through their earbuds. Next to me, a couple in their early forties tries to enjoy their

lattes, while simultaneously trying to wrangle their two small children who hop from the leather

backed booth, to the floor between gulps of organic hot chocolate. I scan the remaining tables for

someone who may be Jean. I have little to go by. I have never met Jean, have no idea what she

looks like, or even her approximate age. There is only one prospect: a slender, redheaded

woman in the center of the coffee shop. She sits alone with her chin in her hands as she reads a

newspaper. I give it a stab. "Hi! Are you by any chance Jean?" She flashes me a huge smile,

but shakes her head no. I apologize and head back to my seat feeling slightly embarrassed. I

busy myself setting up my recording device, and pull my notebook and pencil case from my bag.

Still no Jean, so I start to write. I record the details of the room in my notebook. I include the

observation that the coffee shop's air conditioner doesn't seem to be a match for the July heat. I

study the eclectic style of the college age baristas, wondering why Kool-Aid red hair is so

appealing to girls ages 17 to 20? I look up every time I hear the door swing open, but still no

Jean. I think about texting her, but she is only five minutes late. I will give her a fifteen-minute

grace period, then I will reach out to her. I turn my attention back to my notebook, but I've run out of things to write. I start to doodle instead.

When Jean finally arrives, she is ten minutes late. She walks right over to my table and plops herself down like she has known me forever. "Hi Susan!" she says. "I'm sorry that I am little late. It is really not like me to not be punctual. I'm on summer time. My partner and I just got back from vacation last night. It was a cruise, but not really a cruise, because the boat broke down before we even boarded. We didn't move. Basically we stayed in a floating hotel."

Jean appears to be in her early fifties. She has thick, straight, gray hair with a shock of bangs that she continuously brushes out of her face. The pinkish glow of her skin hints that she has indeed just returned from vacation. She is dressed casually in a t-shirt, denim shorts that are cuffed just above her knees, and a pair of flip flops. She wears no makeup and no jewelry except for a silver ring on her left hand. She is easy to talk to. She smiles a lot and pauses to think before she speaks, almost as if she is trying to make sure she says the right thing. She ends her sentences with "you know?" and "right?" I find myself shaking my head in agreement each time. She orders a large iced coffee, which she drinks out of a reusable straw cup she has brought along with her from home. In between sips, she tells me about herself.

"I was literally like this could be the way! This is how much of an idealist I am! This might be the way to change the world! So at thirty years old, I went back to school to get my teaching certification." Like many twenty somethings, Jean floundered a bit as she attempted to establish her career. To her credit, Jean had the self-awareness to recognize situations that did not serve her, and the confidence to make changes that more closely aligned her professional and personal lives. Her journey started at a small liberal arts college in upstate New York. She tells me this part of the story quickly. "You probably never even heard of the school, and I was there

very briefly." After two years, she knew that this was not her ideal learning environment. She cites the cold weather, small size, and lack of diversity for reasons why it wasn't a good match. So she initiated a dramatic change; Jean transferred to a large state university in the south. It seemed to suit her better and she graduated with a degree in geography and music. When I press her for more details about her university experience, she does not deliver. She seems to think that this part of her life is unimportant to the teacher she is today. I sense differently. In righting her path, she was finding her way into a fulfilling and meaningful career.

Post-graduation, Jean knew that she wanted to embark on a career that would "make a difference." She worked in the zoning and planning department of a small town government for about a year. "I really, really hated it. I like really hated it!" she says with emphasis. Even as a young professional, she knew that she could not be happy in a job that required her to sit at a desk and field phone calls, most of which were complaints, on a daily basis. The negativity was getting to her. So once again, Jean knew that she had to initiate a change that would better suit her. She proceeded to work various jobs over the next few years, ranging from communications, to wedding planning. A part time job at a preschool was her first taste of teaching. She thought it was "fun," so she took another job working with GED students. Jean enjoyed working with students. She knew that she wanted to make a difference, and teaching seemed to be a way to accomplish this goal, as well as align with her professional ideals. Teaching made her happy. It was a job she was excited to show up for each day. While her path to teaching was not direct, the process helped her to understand who she was as a professional. Working various jobs before coming to teaching helped Jean to establish the confidence to know that she could support herself. It created the sense that she was capable. "I literally did like every job!" she exclaims. The breadth of Jean's work experiences helped her to feel competent as a worker and a

professional. She admitted, "I'm not afraid to get fired. If it's not teaching, I can support myself some other way. I know I can, because I have already done it." The various jobs Jean held also taught her "how to be a good employee." As she puts it, "I know how to put my head down and grind. I know how to get a job done." When I ask her to tell me more she explains, "I know how to ignore the BS and just do my job." Jean's work ethic was not solely a byproduct of her various job titles. It was instilled in her as a child. Jean was raised in a suburb of New York City. She attended public school, was a regular church goer, and had various extracurricular interests, such as music. From an early age, she was taught that it is important to work hard, follow rules, and be a good person. These principles have continuously guided her throughout her career.

While she has confidence in her ability to create change in her professional life, she also realizes that there comes a time when a professional has to "stop jumping around and commit to a career." Teaching seemed like just the career to commit to. Jean enrolled in a post baccalaureate teacher education program at a small, local college, and convinced herself that she would stay the course. "I was like, I can't change now. I was literally too old to make change in my career again. But I was also nervous. I had this new idea, but what if it was the titanic? Luckily it was not. It taught me to stick things out and make the best of things. My version of the best of things at least." Staying committed and making the best of things in her career would prove to continue to be valuable for Jean as her profession began to change.

Jean has only taught in one school. She started teaching in her thirties, and she has been committed to teaching high school history in this school for thirteen years. It is a large public high school located in a unique suburb. The town is home to a diverse community, a state university, and an enclave of artists, all of which contributes to the town's colorful character. There is a very strong liberal slant in the community that Jean aligns with, although she does

admit that the wealthy population tends to be a little more conservative. Jean is active in the

community many ways. She takes advantage of the numerous restaurants and cultural events.

She even lived in town for a few years before divorcing her husband and moving to a more

affordable neighborhood with her new partner. Jean loves the community, and both she and her

partner, who is also a teacher at her school, enjoy being a part of it. "It is a good place to be. We

like it here." she says with a smile.

Not surprisingly Jean has seen a lot of changes over the past thirteen years in her

building. There is a nostalgic glimmer in her eyes as she recalls the early days of her career. "It

was just more fun. We all ate lunch together. The teachers were really social. There wasn't so

much pressure." It was during these early years that Jean met her partner Erin. Erin, a science

teacher, shared a common lunch and prep period with Jean. They spoke about teaching, and

other interests they shared, such as cooking and traveling. The foundation of their relationship

was laid during the early years of Jean's teaching career. Erin was a veteran teacher, and served

as a mentor, a confidant, and eventually a lover. Jean and Erin had a wide circle of friends

amongst their colleagues then. "Work was fun. I loved teaching and I loved the people who I

worked with," she reminisces. The nostalgia doesn't last long. Her faces changes as she tells me,

"Now everything is so different."

Everything about Jean seems tense as she delves into the present realities of her school.

"First all, we've had like five superintendents in like five years. As for administration, nobody

stays. Maybe because there are challenges, maybe because they don't care. I don't know. They

are jerks. The teachers don't have relationships with them. They just tell us what they are

changing and what we have to do differently. It creates a toxic atmosphere." Jean's voice

hardens as she continues to describe teacher morale. "In my building, there is fear and paranoia,

especially when something new comes out. I can't even go to the teacher lounge anymore. Everyone is so negative. I just eat my lunch alone in my classroom."

"What about Erin?" I ask, somewhat caught off guard by the sudden change in Jean's demeanor. She reports that she hardly sees her at work. Their schedules have changed, and their classrooms are located at opposite ends of the large building. The commute to and from school is their only shared time. I continue to prod. "Why this change? Why is everyone freaking out in the teacher lounge?" Jean cites testing, mandatory technology implementation, new teacher evaluations, and other directives aimed to manage paperwork and issues of compliance as factors compounding teacher job satisfaction within her building.

"Everyone is afraid to lose their job. There is little collaboration. Everyone just wants to take care of themselves and do their own job. No one has time to really help other people out." With a new administrator almost every year, teachers have no idea what to expect when they are evaluated, Jean explains. "We don't know what to expect, because there are no clear expectations, and no shared vision." Jean explains that administrators will conduct ten "pop ins" a year. "They will arrive unannounced and observe the class for ten minutes. Then they leave and write up a report about your teaching. How can anyone be evaluated in ten minutes?" Jean continues to detail what she believes to be the "absurd new technology directive." Teachers are required to sign out the laptop or iPad cart for a specific amount of time each marking period. "It is ridiculous!" she bellows. "No even knows what teachers are doing with the technology. It could be just sitting there for all the administrators know, but they make sure that everyone signs up for it. It is tech for tech sake and this will not make us better or smarter." Jean suggests that the monitoring of the amount of time technology is physically in the classroom, opposed to how it is incorporated into teaching and learning, stems from changes in state standardized testing.

"All the kids have to take the tests on the computer now, they think having the computers in the classroom more is like test prep or something, but it's not!"

While Jean is dissatisfied with her school's leadership, she does momentarily show some sympathy. "It's a huge mess, but really, it is too much work for them to do, that is why they can't do it well." Her voice softens a bit as she explains how the school used to have department supervisors who conducted many observations and gave detailed feedback and support to teachers within their department. "This was a huge change. One of our principals thought that cutting department supervisors was a great way to save money. He demoted some supervisors back to classroom teachers, and fired others. He added their workload to the existing workload of the assistant principals." Jean sighs as she further explains how the assistant principals are now drowning in work and the teachers are scared because they have seen colleagues be demoted or fired. "It's toxic," she reiterates. "Teachers are super paranoid."

 "She's right," I think as I review my notes from our time spent together. "Everything seems to have changed, even Jean." Growing up, Jean claims she "always followed the rules." She obeyed her superiors, and quietly grinded out her job to complete what was expected of her. For Jean this meant frequently putting herself second. When she was younger, she worked hard to be a good daughter to her parents, even if they frustrated her greatly. She attended church regularly, even though she didn't totally connect with the religious practices. She did what was expected of her in her various roles at work, because she believed it was her responsibility to follow her boss's instructions. However, in our later interviews, I see a shift in Jean.

"I tried not to be defeated by all this," Jean says with a sigh. "I volunteered for committees. I was active in the union, but for what? I would put in my time and my effort and nothing would happen, so I just don't anymore. It doesn't serve me." Jean explains how she

tried to work with various administrators by volunteering her time and perspective on numerous

committees. Frequently, she was the only teacher, and the only woman to participate. "I

participated because I was drawn to. I spent a lot of time processing ideas about how to make the

school better. I wanted a place at the table. It was like, if only they could hear a few of the things

I had to say, maybe this place could improve. I felt I had a responsibility to make things better."

What Jean found, was that her voice was often heard, but nothing ever came of it. Upon

realizing that her participation may not have the impact she had intended, Jean decided to change

her approach. She continued to participate in voluntary work with her superiors, but now for

different reasons. Jean utilized what she calls an "I scratch your back; you scratch mine" strategy

to working with her administrators. "It was like, if I do this committee thing for my

administrators, then they will like, kind of owe me one. I used that to my advantage to get other

things that I wanted. Maybe that was even peace and quiet! Like flying under the radar. It's

definitely a strategy that I used. I did things that my administrators wanted in order to create

space for me to do things that I wanted." While Jean admits that this strategy sometimes did

work for her, the energy that she had to expend was tough to maintain. "I just came to realize

that I couldn't always be that person. My job was already too demanding." Now Jean is more

careful about volunteering her point of view and expertise. She still speaks her mind, but makes

more careful choices. She chooses her battles. When she thinks positive change will occur, she

will speak up. Otherwise, she keeps quiet and focuses on her own classroom teaching. She no

longer over extends herself, hoping that it will come back to serve her. She has found out the

hard way, that most times the tradeoff is not worth it.

      Her district's teacher union proved to have a similar effect. She was active in the union

for eight years, but ultimately stepped down from a leadership position. While she is still a

"dues paying member," she feels that the union is not always effective. "It's just not the avenue to change I need it to be." Jean takes another sip of her iced coffee and looks past me for a moment. "I guess that's another example of my sense of responsibility to get involved somewhere," she reflects. "But I'm pretty quick to shake the dust off my feet if I see that I'm not going to see progress in that venue. I don't like to spend a lot of time beating my head against a brick wall." She sighs, takes another sip and continues. "I would put so much of myself out there for nothing," she explains. "So now I'm really mindful of my time and energy."

One of the ways that Jean is mindful of her time and energy is by disengaging from the negative social climate of the staff. "Like I said, I no longer eat lunch in the staff room. I use my lunch time now as a time for quiet and reflection. I have learned that it doesn't serve me to hear everyone's complaining or their life drama. I don't expend energy on things that don't matter to me. I don't care about social relationships with my colleagues as much. I have a few, but building relationships with colleagues is not my priority." Jean admits that she is being a bit tongue in cheek. She admits that she is well liked by her colleagues and certainly does care about them. She clarifies that she chooses to focus on the positive parts of her profession. "I focus on my classroom and my teaching, because that is what matters most to me. That is why I became a teacher. With all this craziness going on, I have just come back to my teaching." Jean's eyes brighten as she tells me how much she loves teaching history. "I love the content, and I love sharing it with the kids."

While she admits that she does isolate herself from her colleagues somewhat these days, she also admits that she has Erin to help her to make meaning of the daily challenges of her job. "We process stuff together- all the time. We commute to school together. On the way home every day, we debrief. We take our car ride to talk, complain, plan, whatever. It helps to let go

of the day." Once the two women pull into their driveway, the work day is done. "I don't bring

work home any more. I make it my thing to leave work at work. I didn't used to be able to do

that. I know now as a veteran teacher that I have to do this for my sanity. I need my Sunday

night. I need to have me time for me. For my sanity!" At this point in her career, Jean makes the

very deliberate choice to keep some of her time sacred. "I work hard at work and then I make

sure to have me time that doesn't involve work. It is easier to brush off a bad day if I know that I

have a good weekend ahead of me." A good weekend for Jean involves time with Erin's

grandchildren, cooking, binge watching a British sitcom, or traveling. These experiences

recharge Jean and help her to feel able to give her best to her students.

     A couple months pass before I see Jean again. She and Erin have taken a trip to Europe.

They spent time exploring new cities, trying new cuisine and indulging in strong bodied

cabernets while watching the sun dip into the ocean. Jean was very excited for the trip. She had

been diligently planning the adventure for the past six months. Upon her return, I am expecting

to hear all about her travels. However, I am wrong. Before I can even ask her about the trip, she

launches into a story that I can tell she has been eager to share with me. School has recently

started up again. The September air is still heavy and warm, but the town has fallen into a steady

rhythm. The coffee shop where Jean and I routinely meet is filled mostly with college students.

Daylight is starting to disappear earlier each day. A few small businesses have even adorned

their entry ways with pumpkins and gourds.

     "New professionalism is really on overdrive at my school this fall," Jean announces,

seemingly pleased with herself as she blends the academic term into her vocabulary. "We have

our third superintendent in four years, but she is an interim. I think even as an interim she is

trying to put her mark on this place. So the cycle repeats itself: with new administration comes

new directives. It doesn't seem to matter that we just had new ones last year with the new

administration, and new ones with the previous one before that. It's just ridiculous. Next year

I'm sure there will be new ones again!" Jean is flustered. I can tell that she feels overwhelmed.

"How are you handling it?" I ask.

She takes a deep breath and then replies, "Well there comes a point with this stuff that

you just have to ask yourself, what parts can I just be Zen about, and deal with and not care. Is

this going to matter in a year?" With so much change occurring each year, it has become difficult

for teachers to buy in to new ideas. Jean has learned to choose her battles. Sometimes she

chooses to quietly comply. As she mentioned, it is not worth her energy. In this particular

situation, she chose to wage war. "One of the things that they announced is that we are going to

be submitting lesson plans online in this new, fancy way. I don't see myself doing extra work

for the sake of submitting them in a new way. It's all about format and not about quality. That is

frustrating." So much of what Jean and her colleagues have been asked to do over the past few

years has seemed to be a waste of their time. At the September faculty meeting, Jean had had

enough. She needed to say something. It was impossible for her to continue to quietly comply.

"We had PD about lesson plans. It was basically a how to. Our department chair was literally

showing us how to fill in boxes. I'm like, I'm not stupid. I understand what forms are. This is

PD? He even admitted that he wasn't going to give us feedback on these plans in this new

format. They just had to be there. He admitted that he has no time to give us all feedback." Jean

felt the need to push back for herself and her colleagues. "I don't usually don't talk during

faculty meetings. It is not worth anyone's time. But I finally said, wait this is not about making

me a better teacher? It's not about student achievement? It's literally about filling in boxes?"

Silence hung heavy in the room for almost a full minute before the administrator responded. "He

was kind of startled, but also like YES! I told him, I can't do this. I am already working at max capacity. I give everything to this job. I can't do more work that has no purpose that nobody is going to look at. You just want it done. It is not meaningful and you have admitted that. The district has paid for the program and that is why we have to use it." Jean recalls the flush that flooded her face and the immediate mix of fear and pride that overwhelmed her. The usually quiet and compliant Jean had spoken from the heart, expressing her frustration confidently and without shame. The room exploded in applause.

At the conclusion of our last session, Jean appears sentimental. "I'm sad this is over," she admits as we walk to the parking lot together. "This has been nice." she continues. It has been helpful. I have been carrying around a lot of anger about my job lately. This helped me process a lot of it. Thank you." I'm momentarily stunned. Jean has been giving up her weekends and summer days to answer my questions, but she is the one thanking me. I think about this on my drive home. Of course teachers are suffering in the current climate of education, but I had not realized to what extent. While helpful, mindfulness, meditation, and down time are not enough. There is still so much work to be done.

Summary

A major strategy that Jean has used to navigate new professionalism is focusing on her own self-care. Like many new teachers Jean threw herself into her profession wholeheartedly, thus neglecting her health, social relationships and household responsibilities. At first there were tradeoffs for spending countless hours at school, using weekends and vacations for planning, and carrying around a mental workload at all times. Jean was proud to be a teacher and felt respected by parents, administrators, and policy makers. As policy directives and new public management began to change what her day to day experiences looked like, she became more strategic.

Instead of throwing herself in wholeheartedly, she chose to use her time and energy as a way of gaining social capital. She would participate in extra work beyond her contracted job description in order to win the favor of her superiors. When this practice was no longer effective, she began to focus her energy and attention on taking care of herself. Now, more comfortable in her own life, Jean has the clarity to recognize situations that do not serve her and the ability to disrupt negative patterns of her own thoughts and action. Focusing more on her own self-care has also helped Jean to gain the self-confidence to stand up for why she thinks is right, and push back when confronted with unpalatable tenets of new professionalism.

Casey: Still Becoming

Casey and I have crossed paths over the past fifteen years. We both completed our Master's Degrees at the same university, and are affiliated with shared professional organizations. As two runners, we have pounded the same pavement throughout the five boroughs. While I did not know her very well before this study, Casey is someone who I have always admired. I viewed her as the kind of person who makes hard work look easy. Our limited interactions left me with the impression that she was smart, well read, and unafraid to commit herself to big challenges.

We arrange to meet at a bookstore near Port Authority. It is late summer. The city air hangs heavy, and rain is eminent, but not unwelcomed by the parched city. While the bookstore doesn't look like much from the street, its interior is pristine. The floors are marble, and not a book is out of place on any of the shelves. The decor possesses an Asian flair. There are jade and white porcelain figurines adorning the periphery of the workspace. A small cafe offers an assortment of teas and Asian pastries. Casey sits at a small table facing the door. I spot her bright blonde hair immediately. She stands to greet me with a hug and whispers that she "didn't

realize this place was so fancy." She is dressed casually in a t-shirt and jeans. Her blonde locks are loosely pulled back in a clip, revealing small diamond stud earrings in each lobe. We chat briefly, then I offer to buy Casey a cup of tea. She refuses, shooting me a stern look that lets me know she means it. "Student loans and teacher salary!" she offers as her explanation. "Not necessary!" She rises from her chair and treats herself to some chamomile. When she returns, we settle easily into a conversation.

For as long as she can remember, Casey claims she has felt "different" from her peers. She grew up in an affluent suburb of New York City, and has been sensitive to injustice from a young age. It is obvious to me that she has spent some time examining her own privilege and is comfortable speaking about it. She explains that she attended a regional public school, and admitted that many of her peers adopted very closed minded perspectives from their parents. "I didn't understand why they were not kinder people- like about anything. Not necessarily about race, about religion, any comment that they made- I was like what is wrong with you?" Casey credits her open minded perspective to her mother. "My mom is a very open person. She always taught me to be respectful to people. It doesn't matter who they are or where they come from." Casey says she gained confidence from her mother's examples. She reports that she was the kid who would immediately speak up when she felt something was not right. She remembers a specific incident in 5th grade when a friend made a racist comment. "I don't really even remember what she said, but I remember like this burning feeling inside and saying something. This isn't right, this isn't right!" Casey's face distorts as she recalls the incident. She reveals that this burning feeling continued to resurface throughout her childhood and even manifests in her adult life. "I have become better acquainted with the burning feeling. I know what it is now, and what to do with it. It took me a while as a kid to make meaning of these feelings."

One of the ways that Casey began to make meaning of the burning feeling is by reading

everything she could about characters who were marginalized in some way. She recalls feeling

deeply connected to a 5th grade Civil Rights unit and appreciated that her teacher exposed her to

the documentary, *Eyes on the Prize,* which detailed the murder of Emmett Till, to the march on

Selma. Casey had already been thinking and reading about some of these issues, but having a

teacher guide her through meaning making, fueled her commitment to social justice. "Seeing that

in the context of my learning- your position and how you get into your position in life based on

your skin color, your financial situation, where you were born, whatever- all those factors! That

just like blew my mind as a kid...in a really good way."

Despite "feeling different" in the affluent, mostly white suburb where she was raised,

Casey found herself in a similar context in college. I am surprised by her college choice as she

tells me that she attended a private Catholic university in a wealthy neighborhood of Washington

DC. She admits that her college friends felt similar to her hometown friends and again she felt

different. Based on what she has told me, I expected Casey to seek out a broader worldview and

more diverse perspectives from the social relationships she formed in college. Casey sighs and

shifts her weight in her chair. The coffee shop is so quiet that it feels more like a library. "You

know how kids talk shit about other kids?" she almost whispers. "And if you speak up, they give

you shit for speaking up? Well that was me on the regular." Casey admits that she earned the

nickname "PC Casey" in her friend group. She tells me she was the only one who would speak

up to issues of social justice. When she would call out friends for making inappropriate

comments, she was met with statements like, "You're so sensitive!" or "I'm just kidding!"

Casey never pushed back further, but now admits that her social circle included some "nasty and

judgmental people" who would frequently make racist or homophobic jokes, or make a

judgmental comment about a peer based on appearance or a very limited interaction. She recalls how the burning feeling surfaced frequently in those days. I begin to wonder why someone as confident and smart as Casey would socially position herself in this way again. "I guess it felt familiar. It was a role I was used to playing. I convinced myself it wasn't that serious. I was just partying and having fun with these people." Casey seems almost embarrassed as she narrates her college social scene. I gather that she wishes that she could go back in time and take advantage of different aspects of college life in the DC area. I wonder to myself if perhaps, at the time, Casey was not ready to distance herself from a context that felt familiar. Maybe she was comfortable playing the role of PC Casey? She reveals that she was not yet ready to make the familiar strange. It took Casey a few more years to detach from the upper class, mostly white social circles that she was used to being a part of- even though she admits that she didn't feel like she fit in for many years. I begin to realize that while Casey is able to identify injustice and tense situations that make her uncomfortable, she is still trying to figure out how to take substantial action.

After graduation, Casey pursued a job in the film industry. She worked in film for two years until something magical happened- she found a letter that she had written as a child that was addressed to her adult self. "It reminded me that I always knew that I wanted to be a teacher. I always loved working with people and kids. So it said kids know more than you think they do. You have to always give them credit and respect them. You need to honor their brains. Reading the letter gave me chills. I knew what I had to do." Casey took this note to herself to be a sign that teaching was her true calling. She quit her job and enrolled in a Master's program in English Education at Teachers College. Here, she connected with a mentor who would have a profound effect on her professional choices. This shift is the first hint of Casey stepping outside

of her comfort zone and attempting to create change in her life. While it was a viable first step, she remained in a similar social context yet again.

Casey began her career teaching in a wealthy suburban middle school not unlike the one she grew up in. Once again Casey made the conscious choice to re-enter the type of community that she claimed was not the right fit for her. For a few years, Casey admits that she was happy here. She acknowledges that the majority of her students were very privileged, but she recognized their needs. "I believe all kids deserve good teachers and I know that kids are kids. There are problems in every neighborhood. They are just different problems." Casey found meaningful work in her position in the suburbs. She felt that she was able to bring about positive change, namely incorporating more diverse texts into the language arts curriculum. In sum, she continued to play the role of PC Casey. She voiced her concerns about social justice, but when it came down to pushing back against real issues, Casey still seemed to be uncertain on how to take action.

Casey found that creating change and pushing a social justice agenda was not always easy in the suburbs. Her face wrinkles a little, and her voice takes on the same dull tone it did when she recalled her childhood neighborhood and college friends as she explains. Casey made a choice to include a novel with a gay character in her middle school language arts class. She was somewhat surprised when she met some push back from a colleague, who was a veteran teacher. "She stood up in a department meeting and said to everyone, I wouldn't want my child to read this book!" Casey wasn't sure how to react. While she was comfortable playing the role of PC Casey in the past, she never had to exert herself in a professional setting such as this. She admits that she was nervous to stand up to her colleague, but she knew that she had to. "This was a personal bias, it had nothing to do with the safety of kids. Right away I felt that burning feeling. I

did not feel right about censoring a book because there is a gay character, so I stood up to her."

Casey laughs a little as she recalls how her voice shook and her legs turned to jelly as she stood

up to her colleague. Ultimately, Casey won the support of her department and she read the book

with her students. "It was a really good lesson that taught me as a beginner teacher that I could

take a stance and do what I thought was right." The book motivated Casey's students to start

social justice initiatives of their own that carried on for years at the school. "It turned into a big,

amazing thing. It confirmed for me that I knew what to do." This experience taught Casey to

continue to listen to the burning feeling she experienced, and helped her to gain the confidence to

take action to combat the injustices she witnessed.

As Casey gained confidence as a professional, her comfort zone began to shift. "I have

changed my mind about staying in a community of people due to the current state of public

education and the overall temperature of our country. Now I get super triggered when I hear that

shit from super conservative people." As the discourse surrounding education and issues of

equity became more public as a result of political campaigns, Casey felt more self-conscious as

someone who merely talked the talk. With more confidence and experience, Casey realized that

she indeed could disconnect from a community that she had always been expected to be a part of.

This created a major shift in her personal life and her career. As a result, her personal life and

her career became more intertwined. Her career choices became more aligned with her personal

choices, creating a greater sense of balance for Casey. "I was living in Westchester at the time,

and I was thinking I shouldn't be here. I should be in a city school." Casey resigned from her

position in the suburban middle school and moved into an apartment in Manhattan. She began to

job hunt, very deliberately looking for a community that she wanted to be a part of. "I didn't

want to go to any school. I wanted to go to a school that had a great principal, potential for

growth, and I wanted to have a better work life balance."

With the help of her graduate school mentor, Casey found what she was looking for in an

all-girls school serving grades 6-12, located in Queens. The school is a result of the Bloomberg

era small school initiative. It is part of a network of young women's leadership schools spanning

across the five boroughs. A school is set to open in Staten Island in the very near future. Casey

even hints that she is being groomed to open the new school. "They were like did you ever want

to become a principal? I actually think Staten Island is beautiful, but it's so far, I don't know…"

She smirks and quickly changes the subject. I don't press her for details, but wonder who she

really is in the struggle- teacher or aspiring administrator?

"Yeah, anyway," she continues. "Since we are part of this network, all the girls wear the

same uniforms. It's a small school. There are about 36 or 37 teachers on staff. I started out

teaching middle school, but now I'm teaching AP and Language and Composition. I really like

high school. Over the years I have taught the history of hip hop, and this great contemporary

fiction class." Casey's eyes brighten, she sits up taller in her chair, and she speaks with more

confidence as she explains "all the cool stuff" she gets to do in her current school.

Casey's school is a mastery grading school. In a mastery-based learning environment,

students' progress by demonstrating independent mastery of learning goals, or outcomes. These

goals are transparent from the start, and feedback focuses on crucial next steps to achieve and

deepen mastery of skills and content over time (masterycollaborative.org). "We have to grade

based on skills, 21st century skills, so there is a lot of flexibility with the content." Casey

doesn't limit her students to the classroom. They can frequently be found out in the community,

traveling to nearby farms and environmental centers, or visiting local businesses. Casey also

designs and teaches two week intensive courses that students are able to sign up for. The

intensives are led by a collaboration between teachers and experts in the field of study. "One

year we were studying sustainable farming practices. We visited an organic farm. I brought in a

chef from a farm to table restaurant. It gives the students an opportunity to really immerse

themselves in areas of interest."   These intensives offer students the opportunity to self-select

topics for learning. Casey feels that "when students are more invested in their own learning,

student achievement is enhanced."

For Casey, professional development opportunities offered through the NYC Mastery

Collaborative have offered her a space to holistically view educational issues. Her work with the

Mastery Collaborative has influenced her thinking around culturally responsive teaching and

mastery based learning. "This work has recently become big for me. I now think about

assessment as equity. How can I avoid failure experiences for my students? Many of my students

have jobs after school, or take care of their families, or have a hard time after school. I now view

it as my responsibility as a teacher to have my students master skills in the time that they are

with me."

Casey also mentors a small group of students throughout their years at the school. She

supports these students with their college application process, serves as a liaison between the

students and their other teachers, and reaches out to parents and guardians to keep them up to

date on their student's progress. In this way, Casey says she tries to foster self-advocacy, model

good decision making, and serve as a trustworthy adult in the life of a student. By bridging gaps

between home life and relationships with other teachers, Casey is able to help her students be

successful in a multitude of ways. "I very much believe in Carol Dweck's Growth Mindset. Her

book has really inspired my teaching."

For our next meeting, Casey invites me to her school. The plan is to observe her sophomore English class and then talk in her private office. I am surprised when I arrive at her school. It is an unseasonably warm fall day, but this particular section of Queens seems breezy and calm. I find a parking spot with ease and marvel at how clean the sidewalks and storefronts appear. Casey had made it sound as though she was deep in the trenches of urban public schooling, but the neighborhood feels more like a busy downtown than a sprawling metropolis.

I do a double take when I reach the school. It is obvious by its appearance that the building used to be a church. It has a tall spire and a few small stained glass windows on the first floor. I enter the building and am greeted by the presence of a New York City Public Schools safety guard. She sits at a desk, shielded by tempered glass, and files her long colorful nails. By now, I know the drill. I slide my driver's license through the small opening and sign my name, the date, and the time I am entering the building. She doesn't speak as she hands me a visitor sticker and promptly returns to her nails. I mention that I am here to see Casey, but she doesn't react.

Casey meets me in the stairwell. She is wearing a long summer maxi dress and her hair is pulled back in a messy knot at the back of her head. She looks slightly frazzled, but welcomes me and leads me to her classroom. She hands me the class materials and starts telling me about her lesson. I can tell she is slightly nervous that I am here, even though she invited me, and insisted that "people visit my classroom all the time!"

Students file in. There are 14 girls with varying shades of brown skin, all dressed in uniform. Casey greets them. Some smile, some look disinterested. The lesson begins. Casey mostly reviews sections of the text, clarifies directions, and leaves the majority of class time for the girls to work together in small groups. Some groups appear quiet and on task. Others seem

less interested and expend more energy on gossip. Casey circulates, giving prompts to the gossip

girls, and commends the hard workers. As the class period nears the end, Casey tells the class

that she will not be in class tomorrow because she has a leadership meeting. She instructs the

students to continue their work with the substitute. They all nod, making me think this is not the

first time Casey has been pulled away from her teaching duties, leaving her students in the care

of a substitute.

Casey leads me down the hall to her office which is a small room in the back of a very

quiet and surprisingly vacant library. A small air conditioner hums in the window. There is a

small desk, which lacks the clutter of daily use and two large wing back chairs. "This is just kind

of a space I use as my office." Casey explains. "Technically anyone can use it, but I'm the only

one who really does." We sit in the wing back chairs and she tells me more about her teaching.

She admits that while she connects with, and relates to her students in a lot of ways, she also

recognizes her own positionality. "Frequently, I am the only white woman in the classroom," she

says with some satisfaction. "And ya know, as a teacher, you sometimes romanticize stuff, but

I'm not in their shoes. I'm a white, blonde teacher. I don't want to place what I think on my

students' experiences." Her positionality comes up in her teaching sometimes as well. She cites

the example of reading *The Bluest Eye* with her class. "I try to provide space for conversations.

I talk about it right up front. I just say it. I'm the only one with blue eyes in this room. We talk

about it a little bit. I bring it up, but we don't dwell on it. I just like acknowledge it." Casey has

finally been able to break away from the familiar, upper class, white contexts that she was

frequently a part of. It is as if she is in the process of discovering who this new Casey is and

how she will navigate her new context.

Casey details more of her day to day responsibilities. She teaches three sections of high school English, and spends the remainder of her day serving as a "Peer Collaborative Teacher." I can tell by the tone of her voice as she explains her daily job responsibilities that she is proud of this position, and she enjoys her work. According to the NYCDOE, a Peer Collaborative Teacher is a highly skilled teacher selected to innovate and hone their practice through continuous learning and frequent professional learning opportunities. A Peer Collaborative Teacher is expected to expand their reach beyond the classroom by sharing their expertise with colleagues and developing a strong school culture through peer support, collaboration, and trust. Likewise, Peer Collaborative Teachers work with school leadership to improve curriculum, and maximize use of the Danielson Framework for Teaching and Common Core Learning Standards. To be eligible to apply for this position, one must be a current, tenured, full-time NYCDOE educator who has received an advanced overall rating of "Highly Effective," "Effective," or "Satisfactory," if applicable for the most preceding school year (United Federation of Teachers). Casey applied for this position and after passing the original screening by the NYCDOE, was ultimately selected by her building principal. In this role, Casey facilitates professional development, makes presentations to the faculty and larger school community, coaches teachers and acts as a liaison between the staff. She also runs the hiring committee, which engages applicants in a rigorous application process. Casey's roles as both teacher and teacher leader uniquely position her in the context of her school. She is somewhere in between classroom teacher and administrator. It is an interesting position. At first it sounds like an opportunity to support teachers in their struggle to navigate new policy directives. After investigating the position a bit more on the NYCDOE website, I wonder if the role helps to deliver and enforce new directives? I think about how the role removes her from her classroom and her students. I

also consider that Casey has hinted that she is being groomed to open a new school in Staten

Island. I begin to wonder if her own upward mobility may be the larger priority at this point in

her career.

Our final meeting takes place at a trendy coffee shop in Washington Heights. While I am

only somewhat familiar with the neighborhood, I can tell that this is the section experiencing

strong, recent gentrification. Very few signs are in Spanish, which is uncharacteristic of a

neighborhood known for being predominantly Dominican. I am able to find a parking spot

quickly, which is unheard of in most parts of The Heights. Upon entering, I notice that most

coffee shop patrons are well dressed college students. I could very easily be on the Lower East

Side. I order myself a mocha and find a table upstairs where my recording device may be most

successful. I text Casey to let her know where to find me. She appears a few minutes later with

a coffee and a large chocolate chip cookie. "I'm on this new diet," she explains. "Well it's, not

really a diet. It's called mindful eating. I listen to my body and I eat what I want." Casey looks

tired, like an interview session is the last thing she needed today, but smiles nonetheless. She

details her day, mostly citing all of the obligations she still has before she makes it home to her

apartment this evening. "I have soccer practice tonight and I promised my friend I would stop by

for her son's birthday." It is the first November evening since the clocks have been set back. At

a quarter past five, the sun has already set. The city buzzes as it tries to adjust to a new routine.

Although she still has a long night ahead of her, I can tell by her determination that she will

accomplish all that she has committed to this evening.

On this particular meeting I feel like I see a different side of Casey. She seems more

vulnerable. She talks about herself in a different way. Tonight she seems more focused on her

own insecurities and perceived shortcomings. "I'm thirty-nine. I am trying to get re-acquainted

with this body. That's why I joined this soccer league. I also want to meet new people...make

new friends." It hits me that Casey is still very much a work in progress. She is still trying to

recreate herself and distance herself from PC Casey.

I ask her again about growth mindset. "You have talked about taking a growth mindset

approach to your teaching, but how does growth mindset play out in your own life?"

"Good question Susan!" Casey responds with enthusiasm. She seems totally awake now.

"Well for starters, I have been in therapy for fifteen years! Haha! Talk about growth mindset! I

am always trying to better myself." She pauses for a second to collect her thoughts. "I am

working on knowing that it is ok to shift gears, or to stop something. To realize that this isn't

working for me, so I am going to slow down and take stock and start up again."

"That can be hard to do." I add sympathetically.

"It is really hard. It takes a lot of thinking and reflecting, and being open to failure or

changing." She pauses again, then continues to speak. "I think I'm getting better at being open

to failure and risk in that way. When I was younger, in my career, or even in my life, I really

wanted to go on this one path and was nervous about the trajectory. Then I realized that a lot of

it is really bullshit! I'm the one making myself be on this path, and I'm the one holding myself

to this strict standard. For what?"

I empathize with Casey. I, too, know how it feels to be one's harshest critic. I also

recognize how difficult it can be to go against the grain of a dominant culture, especially when

for so many years it was the culture you were born into. Casey's struggle reminds me that

resisting new professionalism is not an easy task. As educators and as individuals, we are all

faced with numerous variables that affect our self-esteem, ability to persevere, and realities that

we can both love and disagree with people.

Casey apologizes for having to end the session abruptly, but she is headed to soccer practice. I stand to give her a hug. I give her an extra squeeze. While she may not be as loud or as confident as other teachers navigating new professionalism, she has a good heart and is committed to the fight. I am excited to see who she will continue to become.

Summary

Casey is still very much a work in progress. She views herself as being part of the struggle, but has not made any significant contributions, other than having a seat at the table. She views herself as very liberal and a teacher activist. While she is proud of her professional identity, she is unable to communicate how she personally resists new professionalism. In many ways Casey has navigated new professionalism by working harder, but not smarter. Casey has aligned and involved herself in various professional organizations, is present at national conferences, and teachers at the college level. She is in all the right places, but I am not convinced that her presence is truly bucking the system.

Casey is still becoming. She draws confidence and purpose from her professional roles, but is it enough? Joan and Jean are both at least ten years older than Casey. Their experiences have helped them to decipher what is truly meaningful in their lives. By making meaning of these experiences, they have been able make deliberate choices about their professional and personal needs. As a result, their contributions have been more concrete and have had more impact. I trust that Casey will arrive someplace deeper in the struggle eventually. As she continues to navigate her sense of self, both personally and professionally, she continues to shape her future contribution to the resistance.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study grew out of my professional experiences as a veteran teacher. As I began to notice the culture of my profession change over time, I began to wonder how these changes were affecting other public educators, and what steps they were taking to reclaim their profession. The purpose of this study was to examine how in an age of "new professionalism" (Evetts, 2011; Anderson & Cohen, 2015) that teachers enact "everyday resistance" in their practices. By new professionalism I refer to a new type of professional culture that has altered the daily work situations of public educators. I utilized the method of social science portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983) to engage in my research. In this way, I examined the ways in which participants meet, negotiate, and overcome challenges associated with new professionalism. Through my research, I have created portraits of teachers that capture the richness, complexity and dimensionality of their experiences in the context of new professionalism. By shaping these portraits, I have worked to convey the perspectives of the educators who are negotiating the daily realities created by a culture of new professionalism in a way that is both accessible and relatable, as well as artistic and engaging to the reader. In this chapter, I will discuss my own findings in relation to relevant literature, and present implications for the findings that emerged from the participants' portraits. Finally, I review the limitations and significance of this research.

Discussion: Summary of Findings

In the portraits presented in Chapter Four, I uncovered various strategies that the teacher participants utilized to help themselves navigate new professionalism. The portraits situate each teacher in her own unique context. Location, student population, administration, and personal experiences all contribute to the diverse choices that each woman makes as she navigates new

professionalism. While resistance has historically been framed through anthropological and

historical accounts of organized action (Anderson, 2008), my findings are consistent with

Thomas and Davies' (2005) belief that effective contributions of resistance can be informal,

routine, less visual and unplanned oppositional practices in everyday circumstances of an

organization. In analyzing my findings, I have also come to a broader definition of resistance.

This definition includes the decisions teachers make about taking professional action, the

proactive ways they live their lives, and the lack of action they take as well.

Joan

In writing Joan's portrait, I learned that status and experience does not hold the weight it

once did. In the past, a teacher with strong professional ties, years of experience, and a public

platform to voice her opinions was typically regarded as a resource within a school

building. Schools looked to these teachers as leaders, mentors, and agents of change. In the

current context, teachers like Joan are experiencing less success in influencing school decisions.

Joan's portrait shows that in an era of new professionalism, everyone is vulnerable in some way.

As the old ways of doing things become less successful, teachers are forced to find new

outlets and venues to create change. Joan's portrait reveals the importance of professional

organizations. Professional organizations offer teachers a space to connect with other

professionals outside of their school buildings. This helps to broaden a teacher's view of

education, and foster new contexts for problem solving and resistance. In the context of

professional organizations, teachers are able to critically question issues of teaching and learning

and power structures within the system. They are also spaces where teachers can connect with

mentors and professionals who have the potential to introduce them to new ideas and practices.

Joan has also demonstrated the ability to find the spaces where she can be influential. Joan's deep commitment to her classroom was very obvious to me throughout my research. Joan communicated to me that by completely disregarding directives related to issues of new professionalism that she may suffer some punitive consequences. Joan uses a twofold strategy to approach the restrictive culture of new professionalism. First, she is sure to comply with enough mandated curriculum to fly under the radar. Then, she slips in her own curricular choices. Still, she takes her strategy one step further. Even though she feels that she has carved out space in her classroom teaching to make these additions, she also makes sure that she keeps applicable research on hand to defend her choices in the event that she is questioned. In this era of new professionalism, Joan makes sure to make wise choices to protect herself and her job.

Joan has also found a space to be influential at the local university. She has strategically inserted herself into a community of teachers whom she finds the most troubling. By teaching students who are NYC Teaching Fellows, Joan has found a way to work her own agenda into the Teaching Fellows program. She prepares her college students for what she believes are the important aspects of being a public school teacher. Frequently, what she teaches at the university is in direct opposition to tenets of new professionalism, but does not come with the same risks as her position as a public school teacher.

Additionally, Joan has carefully crafted a backup plan. If new professionalism ultimately pushes her out of a job she loves, she has made sure that she is positioned well to find new employment. Joan has strategically continued to add to her resume by publishing books, staying active in professional organizations, and making meaningful connections with other educators. While networking is not uncommon to public school teachers, it seems to me that

Joan has done so with a strategic eye to the future. In the event that Joan needs to find herself a new job, she has already laid the groundwork for her search.

Jean

The research and writing process of Jean's portrait revealed to me that self-care is critical to the longevity and happiness of a teacher's career. This idea is consistent with Ball and Olmedo's (2012) belief that when an individual teacher can take an active role in her own self-definition as a "teaching subject," and think in terms of what she does or does not want to be, that the individual will be able to "care for themselves" (p. 86). Furthermore, Ball and Olmedo believe that this form of care is where active modes of resistance are born. Jean's portrait is consistent with this view. Throughout her portrait, Jean reveals how she has shifted her focus from taking on more responsibility at work, to working to carve out space to cultivate a sense of fulfillment in her personal life. In some ways, Jean has withdrawn her labor. She is not investing as much time outside of her classroom as she once was. Instead, she is placing her investment elsewhere. As new professionalism continues to change Jean's daily work experiences, she has strategically sought out new ways to find balance outside of her school building. If professional culture continues to shift, Jean may continue to make adjustments that best serve her.

While Jean has made the decision to devote less of her personal time to her school, this decision has not taken away from her commitment to her students. Within her contracted professional hours, Jean works extremely hard to provide excellent instruction, diverse assessments, and mindful feedback to her students. In this way, she is still very much an integral component of the teaching and learning taking place within her school, but without the self-deprecating exhaustion that once affected her. Jean has reflected on the imbalances of her daily

routine, created largely by new professionalism, and has carefully calculated a plan to restore

vitality and enthusiasm for her career. Jean knows that she does not want to leave her job, and

has strategically planned for her career longevity.

Casey

Casey's portrait shows that resistance can not only take different forms, but can be

represented in both large and small ways. The risks that Casey takes, and the choices that she

makes, offer a view of how difficult the process of resistance can be for an individual. Despite

feeling "different" from the community she grew up in, and communicating that she felt out of

place, she still made the choice to position herself in a similar community in college, and in her

first few years of her career. By deciding to move to an urban neighborhood, and take a new job

in a very diverse community, Casey took steps to resist new professionalism in her own way.

Casey's portrait also reveals Ball and Olmedo's concept of care of self, but in a much

different way than Jean's portrait. Relocating her home and her job was one way of taking care

of herself. She also seeks to engage in fulfilling activities outside of her job. While Jean sought

spaces to slow down and recharge, Casey's portrait demonstrates a teacher who has internalized

the pressures of new professionalism and has decided to work harder to try to combat them. It

seems to me that Casey makes the daily decision to work on herself. As her portrait reveals, this

work manifests as professional responsibilities outside of the classroom, improving her diet and

physical fitness, and nurturing what she views to be positive friendships. While these activities

are not negative, I noticed that they, too, leave Casey exhausted and in a constant state of feeling

overworked.

As fear and pessimism have crept into the daily lives of public school teachers, Casey has

made strategic choices to continuously improve herself as an educator and an individual. Like

Joan, Casey has sought out various professional spaces outside of her classroom, but it seems to me her motivation is not the same. Joan frequently participates in professional organizations and teaches at the college level to have her voice heard, and her political agenda supported. Casey, on the other hand, participates in many of the same activities, but her goal seems to be building her own resume. Likewise, Casey has returned to graduate school to obtain her principal certification. As new professionalism continues to change what it means to be a public educator, Casey seems to react by making choices to insulate herself by strengthening her professional network and her resume. I am not convinced that Casey is planning to stay in her role as a high school teacher for the duration of her career. She seems to strategically focus on her own career trajectory more so than the daily interactions of teaching and learning happening within her own classroom.

Casey is still becoming. I view her as a work in progress. Joan and Jean are both at least ten years older than Casey. Their experiences have helped them to decipher what is truly meaningful in their lives. By making meaning of these experiences, they have been able make deliberate choices about their professional and personal needs. I believe Casey will reach a similar point in her ability to decipher what is truly meaningful in her life and her career. When she does so, I believe her new focused approach to her career and her life will help her to be extremely successful in resisting new professionalism, supporting public education, and cultivating happiness. Each individual navigates this work in her own way, and in her own time.

Everyday Resistance to New Professionalism

The portraits of these three women reveal the nuanced ways in which teachers approach decisions about navigating new professionalism. They give us insight into how new professionalism has changed teaching, as well as the needs of teachers. Ball (2003) suggests

current reforms have not just changed what educators do, they have changed who educators are. Unfortunately, educators have internalized many tenets of new professionalism, and as a result have come to see some of these values as their own. While scholars have typically agreed with Ball's view, we have not had a window into what that can actually mean. The three portraits rendered throughout this study have offered a window into the first hand experiences teachers have navigated as their roles have changed.

Evetts (2011) explains, there has been a shift from "occupational" professionalism that encompasses professional judgement, expertise and discretion, to "organizational" professionalism in which professionalism is organized from the top down. The portraits of all three women offer a glimpse of the lived realities of this shift. Joan, Jean, Casey each reveal how their voices are not heard or valued in the way they once were in the professional setting of their schools, especially when it comes to dealing with supervisors and administrators. I was surprised to learn that all three women reacted to this shift in very different ways. Joan reacted by finding new spaces for her voice to be heard, such as her role as a teacher educator and her work within professional organizations. Jean withheld her professional judgement and expertise, because she felt she was not being compensated for her time or input. Casey attempted to position herself within an environment that best served her after administrative turnover in her school. Casey may be taking a different strategic action, because she is the youngest of the three women, and potentially has a longer duration of her career ahead of her. Additionally, both Joan and Jean have experienced large changes in their personal lives, such as marriage, divorce, relocating to a new part of the country, and other life altering events. Navigating these life events has given these older women a sense of confidence to stand on as they navigate new professionalism. Although each situation was unique, each woman's reaction to new professionalism aligned with

Anderson's (2008) framework for studying academic responses to new professionalism. In her study, Anderson identified four types of resistance enacted by educators. These actions include: going public with opinions and reactions to new job roles and descriptions, refusal of practices that do not match up with academic values, avoidance of such rhetoric and action, and qualified compliance. Joan's profile exemplifies public actions and expressing opinions to aspects of her profession that she did not agree with. Jean refuses practices that do not match up with her academic values, such as new methods for lesson planning and assessment. Casey, in some ways, has reacted with qualified compliance. In many ways it seems that she has internalized tenets of new professionalism in the way Ball (2003) suggests. These examples affirmed to me, as a researcher, that even though individual teachers may react or resist in different ways, there is indeed a systematic way that education professionals make decisions about negotiating their personal needs with the demands of new professionalism. Additionally, it also shows the value of studies that investigate everyday examples of teacher resistance to new professionalism.

Stern & Brown (2016) introduce the term "political depression," which manifests as feeling unsupported by the community, and a fear of not performing up to standards. Joan, Jean and Casey all provide evidence of feeling unsupported by their community, whether it was the culture of the town, their district administrators, or even their community of fellow educators. Surprisingly however, none of the teachers in this study suggested that they were fearful of not being able to perform up to standards. Rather, they voiced concern that they simply did not have enough time to complete the quantity of tasks that were being asked of them. They all voiced a strong confidence in their teaching, and did not view the learning outcomes of their students as problematic or threatening to their jobs. All three participants acknowledged that this was a reality for some teachers. Joan, Jean and Casey are all dissatisfied by the tenets of new

professionalism that have become obsessed with maximizing outputs. In this way, all three

women have supported Lyotard's concept of performativity. Lyotard's concept suggests that

technology has the capacity to initially aid science. In this way, data outputs may initially be

helpful and appear to enhance practice. However, he cautions that ultimately technology will

dominate empirical inquiry. In this way, science becomes controlled by maximizing outputs, and

thus the process is deemed unimportant. In public schools, there seems to be a growing obsession

on quantifiable products that can be displayed, shared, or profited from. Lyotard suggests that

performativity has the potential to halt the production of new ideas. In public education, this idea

manifests when more energy is focused on sharing a final product, then the actual authenticity of

the learning process. For example, schools tout the various technologies purchased to enhance

learning, but in some situations, actual learning experiences may not be enhanced by these

purchases, because teachers have not received proper training on how to use it. Students have

access to such technology, but what role is it truly playing in the collaborative process of

learning? In a system dominated by performativity, authentic classroom experiences are only

deemed worthy when a tangible product is the outcome. Consequently, it is then possible to

purchase proof in much the same way as a piece of equipment. Neoliberalism has encompassed

these ideas, and as a result, performativity has greatly affected all aspects of education policy and

practice, including its management and organization, its curricula, and its professional body of

teachers (Clarke, 2013). In this way, school districts continue to purchase various technologies to

collect and analyze student and teacher data. These technologies are frequently used to show the

outcomes of teaching and learning, but are not always necessary or accurate. Furthermore, as

Ball (2003) suggests, despite the large quantity of data that is being collected, there is still no real

evidence that these technologies are advancing teaching and learning.

I suggest that performativity is broader than this. Performativity has seeped into every aspect of public schooling. Everyone is being evaluated and graded: students, teachers, and administrators. When these outcomes are the major focus of a school experience, they become the values of the school. As these messages are repeated over and over, one begins to feel a sense of guilt if she is not keeping up with expectations of the job. Furthermore, the teacher portraits reveal that the teachers don't care how they demonstrate their outputs of productivity (i.e. portfolios, lesson plans, student growth outcomes), as long as they perform well enough to satisfy directives from above. When this goal is achieved, in some cases these same teachers are imposing their own personal pressures of performativity on themselves by working harder in other aspects of their lives. Performativity is not just limited to a professional's job, but her entire organization of herself.

Jean's portrait, especially, points to the possibility of purchasing proof in much the same way as a piece of equipment. She details how her district has continued to purchase lesson planning and data management programs. She explains that these purchases do not lead to higher levels of teaching and learning, rather they create more tedious and time consuming tasks for educators, that yield insignificant results. Jean reacts to these situations strategically. In some cases, when the request does not pose a large inconvenience, she complies. However, when the request is too stressful, and more than she can handle, she stands up for herself and her fellow teachers. Joan demonstrated the same strategy in her portrait. In some cases the teachers found it worthwhile to comply with directives resulting from new professionalism, because it simply was not worth the added stress and aggravation of fighting a simple task. Other times, the teachers felt that they had no choice. When they were faced with tenets of new professionalism that were too stressful, time consuming, or in direct opposition to their values, the teachers found that it

was worth it to resist and challenge. Their choices were very deliberate and were made on a daily basis. Each teacher understands that she cannot challenge every tenet of new professionalism, so she weighs her time and professionalism, then makes her choice to comply or take action. The results of such actions were varied. Sometimes, pushing back against a directive yielded results and solved the problem within the context of the teacher's unique experience. Other times, the teachers asserted themselves, but no real change occurred. Even though there was no obvious solution, the teachers still felt satisfied by their decisions to voice their position. Since each teacher was careful not to earn the reputation of a "trouble maker," they were not faced with punitive measures of punishment as a result of their actions. They each carefully considered their professional capital before taking action, and as a result, their positive reputations served them well.

Surprisingly, all three women presented an air of confidence in their own work that hinted that they believe they are above the fear of performativity. They did not doubt their ability to organize themselves as a response to targets, indicators and evaluations, even though they found it to be unnecessary. I found this to be surprising, because the majority of literature on new professionalism cites the fear of performativity as a major struggle for public school teachers (Clarke, 2013; Ingersoll, Merrill & May, 2016; Ball 2003,2015; Evetts, 2009). Thus, I expected my participants to communicate fear and stress related to not being able to perform up to an expected standard. Instead, the message that I received from each of my participants was that they knew they could perform at any level expected of them, but they did not always agree with what they were being asked to do. However, the teacher participants embodied performativity in different way. They performed an identity that is not authentic, but rather pleasing. In this way, they complied in the face of expectations they were not invested in. This

became a site of resistance for each woman. As a result, they each had to find a way to continue

to include creative and collaborative teaching methods, despite the directives that favored

individual targets and standardization. Each teacher portrait shows a teacher who is highly

capable. These teachers prove that they do not need scripted curriculum, or excessive evaluation

methods. Their level of expertise, commitment to their profession, and positive relationships

with their students, show that many of the mechanisms of standardization, linked to new

professionalism, are not necessary for skilled teachers. These mechanisms seek to push out

skilled teachers to make way for a new type of professional (Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Herr,

2015). They are part of the movement to deskill teachers, thus making a market for these

products. Again, this leads to skilled teachers like Joan, Jean, and Casey, being faced with a

choice: find a way to make it work for them, or leave the profession. The teachers in this study

have made the choice to stay, but there is a tension that each must carefully weigh. In many

situations, this tension leads to the strategy of doing just enough to fly under the radar in terms of

complying in certain areas of their job. They do just enough in certain areas as to "perform" in a

way that is expected of them, under these tensions. As mentioned above, the teachers realize that

they cannot fight every battle. They must make deliberate and strategic choices. The teachers in

each portrait have no problem meeting expectations. In each portrait, they used their ability to

satisfy administrators' demands as an opportunity to create new space to do less scrutinized work

with their students. As mentioned above, by being strategic, and not challenging every tenet of

new professionalism, the teachers avoided being labeled as rebels or trouble makers by

administrators. All three teachers have invested a lot into their profession. Their professional

credentials show that they are highly capable. They are not looking to leave the profession, so

they are careful to be strategic. By doing so, each teacher upheld a positive reputation by making

choices that kept her out of the public eye, at the cost of sometimes compromising her own professional values. Once out of the public eye, the teachers were less scrutinized, which allowed them to quietly resist new professionalism by using the privacy they had created to implement teaching and learning that aligned with their own sense of professionalism.

I also found that Ball and Olmedo's (2013) concept of "care of self" was a major component of each teacher's perspective. Ball and Olmedo believe it is when an individual teacher can take an active role in her own self-definition as a "teaching subject," and think in terms of what she does or does not want to be, that the individual will be able to "care for themselves" (p. 86). The teachers in this study make these types of decisions in the context of their classrooms and schools, but also continue to make the same types of decisions beyond the walls of the school. The choices that teachers are making outside of their classrooms seems to be an important factor in the longevity of their careers. While Joan, Jean and Casey, were not always happy in the professional situations they found themselves in, they were able to find other ways to proactively sustain their careers. All three of my participants voiced the importance of the choices that they are making both inside and outside of their classrooms to create a sense of happiness and balance in both their careers and their personal lives. These choices looked different for each woman. In some instances, this meant doing more for themselves, but in other instances it meant withholding their expertise in an attempt to use their time for activities that they deemed to be more meaningful. What struck me most, was that each teacher participant voiced a distinct need to "take care of herself," in order to have the energy to resist new professionalism and to continue their work in their profession.

Additionally, the portraits highlighted the importance of public school teachers' participation in educational organizations. Each woman revealed the importance of participating

in educational organizations including: university based teacher education programs, professional organizations, and out of district professional development. As a culture of new professionalism has systematically been put in place in public education, it has also sought to take away power from teachers. Each portrait indicates that teachers feel the need to seek out spaces where they can take creative risks. As public school budgets become tighter, and opportunities for out of district professional development dwindle, more opportunities that cultivate creativity are necessary for teachers.

Implications for Teacher Education and Teacher Development

As detailed in Chapter Two, current literature shows that educator resistance is a topic of growing interest (Anderson & Cohen, 2015; Herr, 2015; Ball, 2015; Nunez, Michie & Konkol, 2015). Ball (2015) suggests that new professionalism is both "out there" in policy, as well as "in here," in the identity and values of teachers. Although new professionalism has come from above, it has started to permeate the culture from within as well, by affecting teacher subjectivities (Anderson & Cohen, 2015). While many teachers are aware of the ways that new professionalism has changed their jobs, most are not aware of how new professionalism has changed their views about themselves and their responsibilities to their profession. Since new professionalism presents itself in such nuanced ways, many times teachers do not realize that the decisions they are making may be a contributing to a culture they claim to oppose. They have internalized the repeated messages that they have received, and now apply the pressures associated with new professionalism on themselves. This results in taking on more and more work without compensation, trying to do it all, focusing more on outputs than actually learning, and deriving self-worth from any typee of performance review. To control this cycle, educators need to recognize how new professionalism influences their own daily practices. Since many

districts have outsourced in-district professional development to consultants and other outsiders, in-service teachers may need to find creative ways to create collaborative spaces to do this work. Such spaces might include professional learning communities, or special interest study groups. As Ball (2003) points out, a culture of performativity requires individual educators to set aside personal beliefs to focus on calculated outcomes. In this way, new professionalism is asking teachers to put themselves aside and approach their profession like machines. When performance equals a teacher's worth, how can one be satisfied in her career?

As Anderson (2008) shows, new professionalism has also affected higher education. Teacher educators are being forced to navigate new professionalism in similar ways. By being transparent about these struggles, teacher educators can help teachers to recognize these challenges, and can help them to construct balance by focusing on creativity, professional integrity, and incorporating fun in teaching and learning. Teacher educators need to be aware of how new professionalism is changing their own teaching responsibilities, so that they are not reproducing tenets of new professionalism when setting expectations for themselves and their own students. However, teacher educators are still faced with the task of shaping teachers who will be successful in this new culture of education. As a result, teacher educators need to teach their students how to navigate new professionalism, so that they can perform up to certain standards, while still maintaining aspects of the profession that align with their own values.

Additionally, Ball (2003) stresses the importance of not treating students clinically, as if they are reduced to numeric data, even though politicians are promoting this style of teaching. Teacher educators can help their students to learn to become teachers in the current context of new professionalism by treating them as whole people. Teacher education needs to focus on the social identities of teachers to combat the complexities that new professionalism is seeking to

simplify. New professionalism seeks to reform relationships between teachers and students.

Teacher education must focus on seeing students as whole people who possess varied and unique

strengths and perspectives.

As Evetts (2011) explains, there has been a shift from "occupational" professionalism

that encompasses professional judgement, expertise and discretion, to "organizational"

professionalism in which professionalism is organized from the top down. Moving forward, the

task for teacher education is to help educators return to occupational professionalism. Part of this

work encompasses making decisions about how to push back again organizational

professionalism. The need for this shift is evidenced by the way that my study's participants

sought out professional organizations as a space of renewal and networking with likeminded

professionals. In this way, this collaborative group of professionals has helped each other to

remember who they are.

Additionally, teacher education must be critical of the new framing and vocabulary that

new professionalism has created. This includes teaching scripts, packaged curriculum, and the

culture of performativity and evaluation. Teacher educators must stress the importance of

teaching from a place of authenticity, so that new teachers do not become ventriloquists,

mindlessly spouting the vocabulary of new professionalism. This can be done by fostering

creativity, collaboration, and confidence in new teachers. Additionally, it is accomplished when

teacher educators are able to recognize the competing forces that influence how teaching is

framed, and how educators are crafted. New professionalism focuses on the idea that educators

constantly are in need of improvement. Teacher education needs to show teachers how to

manage the new and multiple forms of judgement central to new professionalism, and stress to

teachers the necessity of doing work one believes in, and cultivating a sense of self-worth,

despite these various performance indicators. By fostering creativity, collaboration and

confidence, teachers may come to realize that they are enough, even if new professionalism is

telling them otherwise.   Furthermore, the work of teacher education now also includes helping

to cultivate and support resistance to new professionalism. This suggests that theorizing and

researching teacher resistance during an era of new professionalism is critical. This notion will

be discussed in further detail in the next section.

Implications for Future Research

The portraits of all three women reveal the complex ways that teachers approach

decisions surrounding resisting new professionalism. The findings of this study highlight

opportunities for future research. Specifically, this study offers opportunities for broadening the

concepts of resistance and self-care, as well as the methodology of portraiture.

As stated in Chapter Two, resistance is generally thought of as a collective exercise of

public political activity. Researchers such as Picower (2012, 2013), Crawford-Garrett, et al.

(2015), and Catone (2017), advocate that all teachers have a responsibility to be activists in a

public way. They have argued that activism, in and of itself, is good teaching. However, not all

teachers are comfortable taking a public role. They may fear punitive consequences that may

affect their income or job security. They simply may not have the time to devote to this type of

public discourse. Additionally, the current contentious climate of the US has left public activism

in a place to potentially fall on deaf ears. An increase of loud, public action stemming from a

variety of perspectives has left one to wonder what results are truly being achieved. Has the

major outcome of public activism served only to rally one's base?

The majority of public educators are not taking to the streets as public activists. Instead,

they are making decisions on a daily basis how to navigate new professionalism. Most teachers

are not even aware that the multiple choices they make each day are considered resistance. Joan, Jean and Casey all demonstrate the various ways they enact resistance. Their portraits give concrete examples of the tasks they choose not to do at work, as well the actions the are compelled to take. While new professionalism suggests that these "irresponsible" choices will negatively impact the performances and evaluations of teachers, Joan, Jean and Casey show how their choices have empowered them to sustain a career that still has the potential to align with their goals. More literature focusing on smaller, quieter acts of resistance can help teachers to recognize the nuanced decisions that they make daily. This type of critical awareness can help teachers to realize the power and potential that these small actions possess.

Ball and Olmedo (2013) reframe resistance through Foucault's notion of "the care of self" (Foucault, 2001). Ball and Olmedo suggest that by acting irresponsibly, toward tenets of new professionalism that teachers are actually taking responsibility for the care of themselves. While Ball and Olmedo generally discuss teachers "taking care," literature has not yet offered a window into what that can actually mean. Joan, Jean and Casey provide concrete examples of how they endeavor to take care of themselves.

I suggest that "taking care" takes on a much broader framework as teachers continue to define and redefine themselves as "teaching subjects." The teacher portraits crafted from this study indicate that "taking care" does not refer solely to the ways that teachers are "irresponsibly" reacting to new professionalism. The portraits suggest that resistance to new professionalism also includes the proactive measures that teachers take when redefining themselves. While there has been some literature that examines the pedagogical and curricular choices that teachers make, the literature on the choices teachers make to sustain their careers outside of the classroom is nonexistent. While Joan, Jean and Casey have shared an insider view

of teacher resistance, more in depth studies that look at specific teachers and school districts are necessary to further this work. While this is a start, researchers need more concrete examples of what teachers are doing to learn from.

The data collected for this study shows that one does not have to choose between having a life, and teaching in an era of work intensification. However, it shows that one must be strategic about creating this balance. All three teacher portraits reveal the various ways that each woman has endeavored to put herself first in the context of new professionalism by "taking care" of herself. It is noteworthy that all three teacher participants in this study are women. As future research attempts to broaden the framework of care of self, I suggest that gender be a factor. It would be interesting to investigate if women and men internalize and react to the pressures of performativity differently.

I also suggest that a framework for care of self includes more diverse contexts. Joan, Jean and Casey's portraits highlight the ways that teachers create new spaces for validation outside of their classrooms and schools. One of the ways that the teacher participants created new spaces for validation and redefinition was by participating in educational organizations. Each woman revealed the importance of participating in educational organizations including: university based teacher education programs, professional organizations, and out of district professional development. As a culture of new professionalism has systematically been put in place in public education, it has also sought to take away power from teachers. Now, more than ever, it seems that teachers need to seek out safe spaces where they can take creative risks. These spaces provide opportunities for collaboration and validation. As public school budgets become tighter, and opportunities for out of district

professional development dwindle, participation in educational organizations have become increasingly critical for the care of self of teachers.

The teacher portraits also detail the new spaces for validation they have created in their personal lives. According to Ball (2003), "Performance has no room for caring" (p. 224). The culture of performativity, created largely by new professionalism, focuses primarily on performance outcomes. Joan, Jean, and Casey have demonstrated that they refuse to let performance outcomes dominate their lives. They each have made the distinct choice to resist new professionalism by creating time for themselves. They have done so by refusing to take school work home, setting aside time to exercise, enjoying a favorite TV series, cooking nourishing meals, and other various activities. By reclaiming time for themselves, the women have not only taken care of themselves, but have not let new professionalism define who they are. In this way, the strategies teachers employ in their personal lives, to take care, may be significant to everyday resistance. Continued research focusing on such spaces may help to broaden researchers' thinking on resistance.

This study may also offer researchers the opportunity to broaden portraiture as a research methodology. Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983, 2005), English (2000), and (Dixson, Chapman & Hill, 2005) have stressed the creative freedom and the ability to blur the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism that portraiture possesses. Future research has the opportunity to experiment with how such portraits are rendered. If portraiture seeks to offer a truly holistic view of a subject, then perhaps the methodology may benefit from blending even more diverse genres. Drawing in elements of visual art, musical sounds, and spoken word poetry may continue to offer the methodology of portraiture an opportunity to evolve and grow, as well as create more nuanced and multilayered research.

Limitations

As is the case in all research, qualitative research projects have some limitations. This study has some specific limitations. First, generalizability, or to what degree the findings of this study can be applied to the broader population (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Due to the small sample size of participants, the findings of this study may or may not be able to be directly applied to the broader population of public educators.

Secondly, one study cannot do it all. As stated above, while this study has offered a glimpse into the daily realities of three public school teachers, the diversity of the decisions each participant made shows the need for further research, which considers a larger sample of teachers.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of how, in an age of new professionalism, that teachers enact everyday resistance in their practices. This topic has been largely unaddressed in the literature. However, there are significant implications of this process on the lives of individual teachers and the profession as a whole. The portraits of Joan, Jean and Casey have offered us a glimpse into the lived realities of three veteran teachers, as they navigate new professionalism in their own ways. Three main points were gleaned from these portraits. First, it is important for educators to recognize and critically reflect on how new professionalism has been internalized in order to take action to resist. Second, the concepts of resistance and care of self should to be broadened to consider more diverse contexts. Additionally, the methodology of portraiture has the potential to deepen its commitment to creativity and genre blending. It is my hope that the portraits of these teachers capture the richness, complexity and dimensionality

of their experiences in the context of new professionalism, as well as inspire future research on

teacher resistance.

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APPENDIX A

Critical Incident Prompt

According to David Tripp, the real art of teaching lies in teachers' professional judgement. He uses the term "critical incident" to highlight the importance of the significant daily events that occur and have very important consequences. He argues that it is important for these incidents to be included for professional reflection.

Please provide a written description of a time that you made the decision to actively resist a tenet of new professionalism. Remember that resistance comes in many forms, large and small, loud and less so - don't feel pressure for it to be some glorious act, but rather something that made sense to you at the time and in your context.

Questions for our second interview will be crafted from this response. Please email me your writing by Sunday 7/23 at delias2@montclair.edu

Feel free to contact me with any questions.

Thank you!

Tripp, D. (2012). *Critical incidents in teaching: Developing professional judgement.* New York, NY: Routledge.

APPENDIX B

Call for Participants

I am a doctoral candidate in Montclair State University's Teacher Education and Teacher Development Program. I am seeking participants for my dissertation study exploring how veteran teachers approach their teaching during what have been called "trying times." A large number of teachers leave the profession every year, but some of us stay. I'm interested in interviewing teachers about the choices they make daily, to keep teaching vibrant - including those things they do to resist the current practices and policies that damage the professional integrity of public education.

I am seeking participants who:
- Have 10 or more years teaching experience in a public school
- Teach secondary education (grades 6-12)
- Have a heart for teaching and love the profession
- Strive to make the classroom a safe and creative place for learning
- Are willing to be interviewed about experiences as a teacher

If you meet these criteria, and are interesting in learning more about participating, please contact me at delias2@montclair.edu

Thanks,
Susan

APPENDIX C

Pre Interview Questionnaire

Name: _____

Phone number: _____
May I text you at this number? Yes/No

Email address: _____

Age: _____

Sex:
- Female
- Male
- Other
- Prefer not to say

Race/Ethnicity:
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White
- Other _____

Sexual Orientation:
- Lesbian/Gay
- Straight
- Bisexual
- Other _____
- Prefer not to say

Marital Status:
- single
- married
- other _____

Political Views:
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- Other _____
- Prefer not to say

Years of teaching experience: _____

Name and location of school where you currently teach:

_____

_____

Subjects/Grades you currently teach:

_____

Highest Level of Education:
B.A. _____ M.A. _____ M.A.+_____ Doctorate_____

Professional Affiliations/Organizations:

_____

_____

_____

_____

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