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CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCE OF VALUES?
A COMPARISON CASE STUDY OF TEACHER CREDENTIALING PROGRAMS

by

Rachel Homel Rice

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Educational commentators have long debated whether or not public school teaching is a profession. The definition of a profession is commonly anchored in Andrew Abbott's criteria, which include knowledge (specialized and academic), jurisdiction (diagnosis, treatment, professional inference), and control (ethics, professional organizations, licensure). Teachers in most states need to complete credentialing programs to be licensed.

The purpose of this study was to explore what teacher credentialing programs at three diverse universities are doing to build teaching as a profession. The guiding research questions were: (1) What is the relationship between teacher credentialing programs and the professionalization of teaching? (2) What types of knowledge, skills, and dispositions are teacher credentialing programs instructing candidate teachers and do they promote the professionalization of teaching? (3) What are the factors that support or challenge the professionalization of teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs? (4) In what ways are teacher credentialing programs convergent or divergent in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are perceived necessary for the preparation of teacher candidates? Methods used in this study included interviews with teacher credentialing program faculty members and a document analysis of university published materials.

The research findings show that the three universities converge in their values but diverge in the language they use to describe those values. Credentialing programs provide licenses and formal schooling but lack established cultural norms; this compromises teaching as a profession. Additionally, there is a divergence of values and knowledge

between the credentialing programs and school districts where teachers go to teach. Finally, at all three universities there is an absence of training teachers to conduct research to further the empirical knowledge of education as a profession.

Based on Abbott's criteria, the findings suggest teaching is a semi-profession in growth. If teaching is to become a recognized profession, credentialing programs will need to establish cultural norms. Teachers will need to conduct research that informs practice in the classroom and contribute to education's body of knowledge. Future research includes studying how effective traditional and non-traditional credentialing programs are in advancing teaching as a profession how they compare to each other.

DEDICATION

For all teachers in K-12 public schools.

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Chapter One

Introduction

For the better part of thirty years educational researchers have argued whether or not teaching should be professionalized or deregulated. According to Darling-Hammond (2010), professions, other than teaching, have achieved consensus about professional boundaries through strong mandatory accreditation and licensing processes. On the one hand those in favor of professionalizing K-12 education view the establishment of a strong professional identity as beneficial; on the other hand those in favor of deregulation believe in the dismantling of teacher education programs to “break up the monopoly of the profession” (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001, p. 3). Educational reform has impacted the jurisdiction and control that teachers have over their work and questions the consistency and training teachers receive (No Child Left Behind, 2001, Levine 2005). Moreover, educational reform continues to push toward the top of political agendas. States and districts are pressured to improve standards for student learning, and hold teachers responsible. Current reforms have focused on student performance and teacher pedagogy (A Nation at Risk, 1983; No Child Left Behind, 2001; Race to the Top, 2011). As the push for standardization encompasses the K-12 classroom, there is also an undertaking to deskill the teaching profession via standardizing curricula and methods that challenge instructional pedagogy taught in most traditional teacher preparation programs. The public perception of teachers has declined. According to The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986, p. 36), “In the intervening half century, arrangements for teacher education have changed little, but the general education level of the population as a whole has risen greatly, with the result that the respect teachers once

enjoyed has diminished considerably.” A question that emerges is how do teacher preparation programs promote the growth of teaching as a profession and address growing concerns about effectiveness?

Teaching is considered by some as a semi-profession because of its lack of professional jurisdiction and its inability to self-police (Abbott 1988; Lortie, 1969; Etzioni, 1969). Some researchers (Berry, 2005; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010) believe that improving teacher credentialing programs is essential for effective educational reform. Teacher credentialing programs are blamed for not adequately preparing educators for the reality of the classroom, and are therefore undermining the efforts to ensure the professionalization of teaching (Kumashiro, 2010; Levine, 2005). Those who advocate for the deregulation of teacher training tout education’s professional knowledge as general and suggest that it does not warrant academic training programs (Kumashiro, 2010). Following this perspective, these advocates would argue that teaching should not be considered a profession. If we assume for a moment that this position is warranted, we must ask why educators and teachers struggle to build teaching as a profession? Before examining the extent to which teaching can be considered a profession or semi-profession, and the role of teacher preparation programs in the professionalization of the process, it is necessary to understand what a profession is.

Background of Study

Although teaching possesses many of the characteristics of a profession (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986), it is in a constant ebb and flow of change to meet the cultural norms and expectations of the clients it serves. It is this constant shift

in internal structure and beliefs that has put education at the center of debate and controversy about whether or not it is a profession. It has been said that education is at the root of our nation's problems, not the solution (Hargreaves, 2003). According to Andrew Abbott (1988, p.13), this is because, "A profession is always vulnerable to changes in the objective character of its central tasks." Until recently, there has been no common set of standards for appropriate knowledge, skills, and dispositions that define the central objective of teaching. To combat this, teacher credentialing programs have initiated accreditation processes that established not only standards, but also examinations to test those standards. Licensure and examinations have become a critical component of teacher credentialing programs used to evaluate the knowledge and skill set of candidates, while attempting to elevate the lowly perception the public has of teachers. This perception stems from the belief teachers are not as committed to their students and their students' learning, as they should be. Some stakeholders also believe that teachers need to have a deep understanding of the subject matter that they are teaching and be reflective about their own practice (National Research Council, 2001). The extent to which teachers understand their subjects and engage in reflective practice is questioned.

Teacher credentialing programs and accrediting organizations endeavor to create standards to support this new definition of teacher competence. The National Research Council (2001) claims that the current definition of teacher competence includes teachers' acknowledgement of the diversity of student populations, having intellectual and rigorous instruction, and having standards based on knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Critics, such as Kumashiro (2010) and Levine (2005) point out that an institution does not need to be accredited in order to issue a license to a teacher candidate.

Even if they are accredited, the standards provided by accrediting organizations are vague and the cultural norms of education vary from institution to institution.

Problem Statement

This study is needed to explore whether teacher credentialing programs are promoting the professionalization of education and how they are addressing an apparent divergence of values. If education is to be identified as a profession, there is a need to find out what teacher credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession. The extant literature challenges the notion that teaching is a profession and indicates instead that teaching is a semi-profession whose status is constantly questioned. It is suggested that a profession has autonomy of knowledge that is used to diagnose, treat, and make professional inference (Abbott, 1980). This notion of autonomy is key in the debate over whether or not teaching is a true profession. Teaching is not perceived as autonomous because the knowledge needed is accessible to all (textbooks, Common Core Standards, state curriculum); it is neither sacred nor in high demand. In theory, teacher preparation programs aim to do more than teach content. They are intended to be the foundation of educational professionalism and the learning ground for sound pedagogy (diagnosis, treatment, and implications for future practice). But considerable debate remains about the rigor and consistency of teacher preparation programs. The prevailing criticism Levine (2005) has about credentialing programs is a lack of consistency and a divergence of beliefs about rigor and curriculum within university-based teacher education programs and in the education field in general. He views the lack of clarity around education's fundamental values as problematic.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore what teacher credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession. Through interviews with deans, department chairs, and classroom professors at three prominent, yet diverse, universities, I investigated how teacher preparation programs instruct student teachers in dispositions, knowledge and skills, as well as the policies and practices they engage in to professionalize teaching. I then compared these institutions' teacher credentialing programs, identifying patterns to understand how they are similar or different in their orientation or efforts and the ways in which those interviewed believed they influence the values and beliefs of teacher candidates. Additionally I identified how they account for the differences among programs and investigated the implications of these findings for the broader discussion of how institutions are addressing criticisms of their teacher credentialing programs. These data inform whether or not these qualities (knowledge, skills, and disposition) are universal across the teacher credentialing programs investigated, and whether or not the universities agreed about their implementation.

This qualitative approach treated each university program as a case study. I employed a constructivist approach to understand the values and beliefs of each case study. Because I explored a social concern about the teaching profession, I wanted to understand how the faculty of teacher preparation programs constructs their perceptions of truth, their beliefs, and their views of teaching as a profession. According to Patton (2002), qualitative research is particularly helpful in allowing the researchers to ask, "What are their reported perceptions, 'truths,' explanations, beliefs, and worldview? What are the consequences of their constructions for their behaviors and for those with

whom they interact?" (p. 132). To understand teacher credentialing programs' perceptions of how they are promoting the professionalization of education, the questions driving the research included:

- What is the relationship between teacher credentialing programs and the professionalization of teaching?
- What types of knowledge, skills, and dispositions are teacher credentialing programs instructing candidate teachers and do they promote the professionalization of teaching?
- What are the factors that support or challenge the professionalization of teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs?
- In what ways are teacher credentialing programs convergent or divergent in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are perceived necessary for the preparation of teacher candidates?

Significance of the Study

According to Abbott (1988), academic knowledge is the foundation of a profession and establishes the values and cultural norms for new entrants to the profession. Teachers should behave responsibly for their own learning, constantly pursuing new knowledge that puts their work in high demand. Teachers need to build networks for collaboration, adopt professional development plans, and consult each other so that their individual practice can not only further the professionalization of the teaching, but also improve their practice and effectiveness in the classroom (Hargreaves, 2003). Alas, this is not the case: Teacher preparation programs are at risk of being

eliminated because of inconsistencies in quality training and values (Levine, 2005).

Darling-Hammond (2010) confirmed this when she stated:

This problem [with teaching] is exacerbated by a lack of consensus in the profession about internal quality control. Unlike other professions, which manage reform through strong mandatory accreditation and licensing processes, professional accreditation of teacher education programs is not required. State approval processes are so weak that they almost never result in the closure of programs, no matter how poor, and they rarely drive improvement. (p. 38)

Education programs are viewed by deregulationists as haphazard and ineffective because their clinical training is carried out in conjunction with potentially ineffective practitioners. Even with professional standards such as the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP), it seems as though teacher credentialing programs prioritize skills, knowledge, and professional dispositions differently (Levine, 2005). As Darling-Hammond (2010) observed, professional accreditation is not a requirement for teacher programs. A paradox has been created where teachers want to be recognized as a full profession (Etzioni, 1969) but entrance into and the professional regulations of teaching is inconsistent and lax.

According to Abbott (1988), a divergence in values exposes professions (or occupations wanting to be a profession) to criticism and a reduction of status. Education is perceived to be in a period of flux and divergence of values (Levine, 2005; Tyack and Cuban, 1995). This study is significant because it illuminates what some schools are doing to uphold the standards of the accrediting bodies and take teaching from a state of flux to a state of consistency. Credentialing programs are the formal indoctrination into teaching and its purpose is to impart the academic knowledge and the values and beliefs of teaching. If legislation is holding educational institutions to higher standards and to greater accountability (No Child Left Behind, 2001), and teacher preparation programs

are viewed as being ineffective and inconsistent (Levine 2005), then teacher preparation programs are at risk of being eliminated. It begs the question, of whether credentialing programs share a common set of values and if there is a move towards or away from the professionalization of education?

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

The literature on professions and the professionalization of education suggests that teaching is a semi-profession. Although teaching is following the path of many already established and revered professions, it is under constant criticism. The criteria for an occupation to become a profession are unchanging and constant, but the criteria for identifying an effective teacher alter with the changes in our societal and cultural norms. The following review of literature examines how professions are defined and how that definition applies to teaching. This review also provides a brief historical perspective of teaching and its search for a definition of teacher quality. Included in this historical review are current beliefs about teacher effectiveness, credentialing programs, accrediting organizations, and the exams institutions administer to assess how teacher candidate meets the standards of teaching.

Profession Defined

The primary task of a profession is to provide a specific service that fills a need in the human condition. Professions have been defined as having autonomy of practice, a culture of its own, and professional academic knowledge (Freidson, 2001). The process of becoming a profession is described as “when any trade or occupation transforms itself through the development of formal qualification based upon education, apprenticeship, and examinations, the emergence of regulatory bodies with powers to admit and discipline members, and some degree of monopoly rights” (Bullock & Trombley, 1999). This process is observable in several professions (clergy, professoriates, and law), but the most notable example is the professionalization of physicians in the early nineteenth

century. Physicians set the standard for professionalization and it began when there was a growing concern over the number of unqualified practitioners in medicine. The medical profession, being concerned about the safety of patients, established training requirements. This led to the formation of British and American medical associations that included standards for education, codes of ethics, and commitment to the improvement of public health (Waddington, 1990). As with physicians, a profession is considered to have high status and public prestige (Abbott, 1988). In order to understand the professionalization of education, it is essential to examine more fully how a profession is defined.

Andrew Abbott: *The System of Professions*. There is more to a profession than the aforementioned characteristics of status or prestige. A contingent of researchers (MacDonald, 1995; Friedson, 2001) have attempted to define what a profession is through the context of defining their own profession, but much of the current research is built upon Abbott's *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (1988). First and foremost, Abbott (1984) defines a profession as "an exclusive occupational group marketing a specialized skill based in some way on esoteric knowledge" (p. 820). Abbott (1988) claims a profession is autonomous in nature where a person or a group of persons hold specialized knowledge needed by the client. He anchors his theory in five descriptors of what a profession should look like (p. 17):

- Professions adopt a single form structurally and culturally;
- Individual growth is not dependent on others;
- Professions have placed importance on their social structures and cultural claims;

- Professions are uniform and differences are agreed upon;
- The process of professionalization does not change over time.

Although many, including Abbott, have tried to solidify and define a profession, the reality is that examining an occupation through the lens of professionalization is subjective and individualized.

In addition to his descriptors, Abbott (1988) established concepts of professional culture. The concepts are: diagnosis, treatment, professional inference, academic and specialized knowledge, ethics, autonomy, licensure, and professional organizations (see Table 2.1). Harold Wilensky, one of Abbott's main influences, claimed, "Occupations which successfully identify themselves with the sacred [esoteric knowledge] may achieve as much of a mandate for monopoly as those who identify themselves with science" (1964, pp. 139-140). For example, the medical profession has particular medical techniques that only they can perform on a patient, or lawyers hold special knowledge about the law and are considered experts in arguing cases in a courtroom. This is confirmed by Burk who reiterates the importance of professional knowledge when he states, "This historical succession indicates that the prestige of professions does not depend only on the mastery of knowledge. Professional prestige also depends on the legitimacy society accords to the form that knowledge takes" (2002, p. 22). But it is not merely enough to claim academic knowledge; professions have specific types of knowledge used for specific tasks.

Table 2.1
Brief overview of essential components to a profession.

Social Constructs	Characteristics of Constructs	Definitions
Esoteric Knowledge	Autonomy	When the services and knowledge of a professional are sacred and clients demand that knowledge.
	Abstract Knowledge	Expert knowledge that is held by the profession.
	Academic Knowledge	Knowledge that clarifies the foundations of an occupation and traces those foundations to major cultural values.
	Specialized Knowledge	The ability to work with problems from which not only general knowledge has been ruled out, but issues within the profession have been ruled out too.
Jurisdiction	Diagnosis	Taking information into the professional knowledge system.
	Treatment	Developing a plan (or course of action) based on the abstract knowledge of the profession.
	Professional Inference	Making a connection between the diagnosis and treatment to contribute to the abstract and academic knowledge of the profession.
Professional Controls	Licensure and Certification	The training practitioners receive from an accredited university and the tests that identify them as part of the profession.
	Ethics	The codes that the professionals obey.
	Professional Organizations	The member organizations that govern the profession.

Note. Adapted from “*The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor.*” by A. Abbott, 1988. Copyright 1988 by The University of Chicago Press.

Esoteric Knowledge. Although there are several types of esoteric knowledge (academic, abstract, and specialized), it is academic knowledge that serves as a profession’s foundation and it establishes the profession’s cultural values (Abbott, 1988). Using its cultural values as a lens, a profession diagnoses, treats, and makes inferences

for future practice from the body of abstract knowledge. Abbott illustrates this via the example of musicians in Europe:

The musical profession of Europe, a well-organized and cosmopolitan group from at least the fourteenth century, acquired by the seventeenth a fairly strong body of academic work on the writing of counterpoint and harmony. Although often disregarded in practice, this theoretical work unified the professions musical ideals and tied them to values of harmony, rationality, and structure that dominated seventeenth century high culture...in fact the training system in turn rested on the crucial texts which in fact defined music quite explicitly in relation to central cultural values. (p. 54)

Academic knowledge is the mainstay of a profession's work and delineates it from another profession or occupation. Freedom to practice within professional boundaries is at the heart of a profession (Abbott, 2008). Similarly Watkins and Cohen (2002) state:

The details surrounding the application of a profession's abstract knowledge are as important as its content. Since professions differ from other occupational forms largely because they embed expertise in human beings rather than machines or organizational systems, ensuring that professionals are free to develop and then apply their professional expertise is essential for a profession's success. (p. 95)

Jurisdiction. Academic knowledge establishes professional boundaries, but the boundaries are also negotiated with society at large. A profession's permission to diagnose and treat can be narrowed or expanded. Jurisdiction, as defined by Abbott (1988), is a social structure (or a cognitive structure), which gives a profession exclusive right to its field. This may include: absolute monopoly of practice, payment, self-discipline, unconstrained employment, control of professional training, recruitment, and licensing. Abbott says, "Diagnosis, treatment, inference, and academic work provide the cultural machinery of jurisdiction" (p. 59). Diagnosis and treatment (see Table 2-1) can be general or specific, and Abbott (1988) reminds us that the more specific the treatment is, the more likely the profession will retain control of it. In fact, Abbott gives an example

of how architects use diagnosis and treatment, thus, demonstrating its use outside of the medical profession:

A client's demand is for a building for a certain purpose and perhaps with a 'designed' quality. Such categorization has little place in formal theories of architecture, where buildings are classified by aesthetic, by general social function...and by a number of other attributes. The treatment classification, by contrast, is often dictated by cost, site, local codes, and the trade-offs between them, particularly between various costs. The practicing architect juggles the various dimensions of architectural knowledge, the limiting structures of treatment, and often the character, as well as the demands of the client. (p. 43)

In this example, one of the ways that the architect uses his knowledge is through removing the extraneous qualities and by seeking the right categories to solve the problem. Likewise, Abbott (1988) says that diagnosis is an artificial structure, where "like" problems are clustered together. Professionals take this information back into the bank of professional knowledge and return with a treatment (or developing a plan, or course of action, based on the abstract knowledge of the profession). More important is how the diagnosis and treatment are used to direct future work and advance academic knowledge within the profession. Abbott calls this *professional inference* and claims, "The academic knowledge system also provides new treatments, diagnoses, and inferences for working professionals; if it fails in this function professional jurisdictions gradually weaken" (p. 57).

Professional controls. The more organized the profession is the more jurisdictional control it has over the profession (Abbott, 1988). Furthermore, the more organized a profession is internally, the more likely it will be able to recover from external attack. So how does a profession organize itself? Abbott states that there are four professional controls: institutions that train practitioners, examinations that test practitioners, licenses that identify practitioners, and the ethics codes that guide

practitioners (p. 80). Thinking of a profession on a timeline, first licensure is established. Licensure, at least in the United States, is determined by the state. It carries the, “preemptive rights over outsiders” (Abbott, 1988) meaning that only one license is good for one profession. We see this in the medical profession. Although many medical professions uphold the same ideals as doctors, chiropractors’ licenses differ from that of dentists, which differs from that of surgeons.

The next stage to develop in the life cycle of a profession is that of formal schooling. This is where academic, abstract, and specialized knowledge is pursued and professional examinations are conducted. With the exception of the American Bar Association, most of the professional knowledge gathered happens with these institutions of education and newfound knowledge is presented in research journals. Within the formal education, there are frequently specializations that create an internal hierarchy in a profession. Abbott emphasizes that there is a difference between a profession and specialization: A profession encompasses specializations. Lastly, a profession creates a code of ethics that all in the profession must abide by. This code extends to all specializations and even professions that are similar. Ultimately Abbott states, “The central organizing reality of professional life is control of tasks. The tasks themselves are defined in the professions cultural work” (1988, p.83). Because of this, it is important to remember that the social structures of a profession change based on the need of the client, and so might the professional controls.

Summary of a profession as defined by Abbott. As suggested by the literature, the task of a profession is to provide expert services to its clients. Professions are defined by objective and cultural norms that they establish (Abbott, 1988). There are three acts

that embody the social constructs of a profession: esoteric knowledge, jurisdiction, and professional controls. Abbott says that esoteric knowledge is sacred to the profession and is the foundation of the work that its members do. He also says that jurisdiction is based on the cultural norms of the profession. This includes diagnosis (information taken into the professional knowledge system), treatment (a solution that comes from the general knowledge), and inference (the relationship between diagnosis and treatment and the implication for further knowledge). Lastly, Abbott (1988) explains that professional controls include the schools that train practitioners, the examinations that test them, and the licenses that identify them. A profession that is highly organized in its internal structure is less likely to receive external attacks. This internal organization includes professional controls (license, examinations, formal schooling, and a code of ethics). Professions can have specializations that create an internal hierarchy. Abbott in the end reminds us that the social structure of a profession is neither fixed or uniformly beneficial; it must change based on the demands of clients.

Turning to our assessment of teaching as a profession, we might well ask whether this lack of regard for jurisdiction, inference, and structure has become the cause in the degradation of teaching. Teaching, and consequently teacher training, is considered by some to be nothing more than general knowledge (Kumashiro, 2010). However, the needs of the clients (the students) are rapidly changing and require more than just general content knowledge. Abbott's theory of a profession, knowledge, and jurisdiction are particularly salient as educators and researchers continue to debate the professional status of teaching.

Why is Teaching Often Considered a Semi-Profession

When teaching at the K-12 level has been evaluated against the standards of a profession, there is some assertion that teaching is a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969; Lortie, 1969). According to the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (2010), teaching possesses many of the essential characteristics of a profession, but the feminization (or the lowering of status because of female domination of the profession) and the deskilling (the standardization and reduction of the scope of knowledge) has compromised the integrity of education as a profession. Feminization and deskilling challenge the ideals of a profession because they take the jurisdiction and professional controls from the hands of educators and place them in the hands of the public.

Professional knowledge is considered neither sacred nor autonomous. The relegation of teaching to standardized, uniform curriculum in K-12 classes has limited what teachers are permitted to do, depriving them control over the body of abstract knowledge. And, over the course of our history the criteria for what makes a good teacher have varied, not just person to person, but from community to community, and generation to generation (National Research Council, 2001). A historical perspective on teaching as a cultural activity—a construction of American values and beliefs—helps to better explain the argument that teaching is most appropriately considered a semi-profession.

Feminization and deskilling. Teachers have always been considered public figures. Prior to the 1800s teachers were highly regarded and personified as virtuous (National Research Council, 2001). To a certain extent this sentiment remains, but the feminization of education had a formidable impact on perceptions of teachers and teaching that is ensconced in our societal and cultural norms. The drive for rigor and

standardization in the late 1800s left its mark on the American educational structure. In education's youth, men dominated the field, but women accepted less compensation for the same work. Our governmental structure places the decision-making and financial responsibility of education on the state and local communities; public schooling and teacher training were (and still are) funded through taxes. The communities that struggled to raise funds to pay for male schoolteachers were incentivized to hire women who were willing to accept less compensation (Lortie, 1969). Teaching became deskilled to accommodate the perception that women had simple minds (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

With the feminization of education, the expectation was that teaching was an extension of the domestic sphere (the responsibilities of what a mother teaches her children, e.g. sewing, manners, etcetera) and consequently teachers were expected to attend to social housekeeping with the students (Apple, 1985; Clifford, 1989). In addition K-12 teachers were some of the least academic-oriented members of the education community (Sedlak, 1989; Warren, 1985), thus prompting the loss of academic discretion, autonomy, and status. During World War II, education changed again. Like many of the industries in America during wartime, men left home to fight, leaving women to step into teaching roles alongside retired male educators. Tyack and Cuban (1995) explained, "The shortage of teachers during World War II undermined the policy of firing married women teachers, but the practice of hiring men for administrative jobs continued unabated in the postwar years" (p. 25). The standardization of curriculum created a semiskilled force of workers rather than an association of professionals (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986). Additionally, training was not available to teachers (at least, not until the 1950s with the push to create professional

teaching standards) (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2009). Education remained deskilled and feminized (Apple, 1985; Lortie, 1969; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Progressivism. During the 1920s, there was a shift in pedagogical philosophy. Taking cues from John Dewey, schools were viewed as places where social reform could happen. Teachers became facilitators of learning instead of implementers of standardized curriculum. It was John Dewey who first observed that high school needed to not only teach students the basics of reading and math, but also be an institution where deeper connections from primary grades to college and post-college life could be made (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). This was a time for innovation and creativity for educators. Teachers were to be facilitators of learning and helping students to find their full potential. Helen Parkhurt, a contemporary of Dewey, attempted to start a school where the curriculum was based on the needs of the child. Tyack and Cuban (1995) described it as follows:

Central to Parkhurt's reforms were monthly contracts that teachers negotiated with students. These laid out both the minimum tasks to students had to complete and additional choices if students wanted to go beyond the basic content and skills. All students had to study certain required subjects, but it was their responsibility to decide the pace of the work, to select other students to work with, and to elect whether to do supplementary study.... The plan encouraged students to work individually but also promoted group projects. No fifty-minute periods. No bells. No teachers lecturing or listening to students reciting lessons in large classes. (p. 95)

Many considered Parkhurt's school to be chaotic and disorganized, but others believed it was a nurturing and intimate environment where teachers were able to help the child develop and grow while learning about social and community responsibility. The progressives (or the collective name of educators with the same training, interests and values as Parkhurt) believed that proper education was a science and could provide the necessary tools for social evolution. It was this group that created the NEA (National

Education Association¹). They shared the conviction that social change should come from education (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). This was a period where the idea of teacher professionalism gained traction. Progressives were vigilant in their work. Teachers had control over the curriculum, were given the professional courtesy of decision-making, and were able to deem what was acceptable for their profession.

Shortly thereafter, the PEA (Progressive Education Association) commissioned The Eight-Year Study. Its primary aim was to encourage colleges and secondary schools to collaborate (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The PEA aspired to come up with the best curriculum for college preparation. In accordance with the beliefs of the progressives, teachers were central to the development of the curriculum. The project had funding of over a million dollars and recruited over two hundred colleges to participate. The colleges agreed to allow school officials to make recommendations to the universities about admissions, instead of only relying solely on standardized admissions tests (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). It was labor intensive and was not well received by educators founded in traditional attitudes about schools (content departments, bell schedules, conservative disciplines). Progressive educators found themselves defending their educational paradigm, and failed to permanently change education.

As quickly as teachers were viewed as experts, their status was rescinded and a bureaucratic philosophy appeared. A new group emerged: The Administrative Progressives. Tyack and Cuban (1995) claimed, "Administrative progressives believed that school governance would be more efficient... if it were more buffered from lay

¹ Founded in 1857, NEA is currently the largest professional organization and labor union in the United States. It represents public school teachers, college students aspiring to be teachers, and support personnel. For more information: <http://www.nea.org/home/1704.htm>

control. They wanted less of -- the influence of school boards... they sometimes [were] accused of being corrupt or ignorant meddlers" (p. 18). Despite efforts to break from the traditional pedagogy, the standardization of schooling endured. Student-centered learning disappeared and teacher-centered lectures, seat work, call and response pedagogy returned (Hargreaves, 2003). Within a short period of time, more than 40,000 schools standardized instruction. It wasn't until the years following World War II that America saw its teachers showing optimism about education and a sense of pride about their profession (Hargreaves, 2003; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Teachers unions. Teachers unions were created to ensure equity in the classroom and in compensation among teachers (Eberts, 2007). With feminization and financial concerns preying on the minds of educators, the collective bargaining of unions provided stability. Unions are deeply steeped in American culture and it is this culture that has affected to some degree how the public views teachers' scope of work. Unions in the United States originated in the 1930s in the private sector and did not form in the public sector until the 1960s. The public sector was under the control of governmental leadership. Alexander and Alexander (1998) emphasized, "Public decision making could be done only by elected or appointed public officials, whose unilateral and complete discretion was therefore unchallengeable" (p. 754). But, during the post-World War II era, the economic climate started to change, and teachers felt a need to challenge the authority of the government and have fair representation and compensation. This challenging of authority was a result of wages and working conditions falling behind that of private industry. Eberts (2007) argues that, "The primary role of unions is to protect workers from unrealistic demands of management, ensure a safe working environment,

and extract the maximum compensation possible” (p. 180). Teachers unions were formed after industrial models. This model was not collaborative, but viewed management as “in control” of the workplace, while the employees merely carried out the work prescribed for them (Eberts, 2007).

As teachers unions were forming, they took their cues from their industrial counterparts in attitude and philosophy. They fought for their rights to bargain, and although striking was considered illegal, teachers unions knew it was the only leverage they had. Strikes continue to remain at the heart of unions and bargaining remains at the foundation of union power. Concerning collective bargaining, Eberts (2007) states:

Researchers generally cite four reasons for the growth of collective bargaining for teachers. The first, as noted, was the passage of state laws protecting teachers’ rights to seek bargaining recognition. Second, declining enrollment and skyrocketing inflation in the 1970s eroded teachers’ financial well being, and general discontent with access to and influence over educational decision-making diminished teachers’ sense of professionalism. Third, changing social conditions and workforce demographics and increasing militancy and social awareness provided fertile ground for the union movement. Finally, as unionism in the private sector continually declined, union organizers came to see teachers and the public sector as ripe for organizing. (p. 197)

Unions became a power to be contended with and were organized at local, state, and national levels. The perception of “proper” and “professional” began to vanish. Teachers were no longer submissive and were prepared to picket for what they believed in (Kirst & Wirt, 2009); they reclaimed their influence and parity in education.

The struggle of teacher unions. Unions grew quickly, but teachers’ status paid a price Professionalism was traded for their equity in the classroom and security in salaries and employment. Cooper and Sureau (2008) point out a shift in how our country feels about unions in this way:

In 1955, 55% [*sic*] of workers in major industries were unionized; today, less than 14% [*sic*] are in a union because work has changed (from blue to white collar), become more service oriented, and unions have ceased to be the major force in employment. (p. 88)

Currently, our nation is conflicted about unions and their effectiveness in fair bargaining (Kohut, Doherty, Dimock, and Keeter, 2011). In a survey done by Kohut, et al. (2011), the higher the income of the participant, the less favorably unions are viewed. Those that make decisions about education do not favor unions and consequently teachers. Despite this, teachers believe themselves to be white-collar professionals. And yet, because they are required to pay fees, regardless of whether or not they join the union, "Eighty-five percent of teachers in American public schools are represented by unions" (Kemerer and Sansom, 2009, p. 130). A tension exists between professional identity and that of teaching as an act of organized labor.

Unions have become problematic for teachers in that they have institutionalized the role of the teacher, but have also provided desired parity in policy making (Cooper & Sureau, 2008). Teachers unions seek ensuring equity for teachers, but that equity might not exist in the eyes of the public. Lortie (1969) said, "Although teacher unions stress solidarity among classroom teachers, they have not sought to capitalize on such solidarity as the basis for professionalization. If elementary teaching be a profession, it is a profession with ambiguous membership" (p. 20). Teachers have united to achieve voice and pay, but they have not stood together to create a professional image. Because of this, there has been a lack of communication concerning some of the more controversial issues within the educational profession, including: strikes, bargaining during difficult economic times, and racial disputes. All of these have issues have caused the public to view teachers as disinterested in serving the welfare of the public (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The

public is confusing teacher attitudes, union attitudes, and the teacher's responsibility to education. They are employees of the community and have a vested interest in what happens. Teachers are, in many cases, required to be bargaining unit members, yet like professionals they are using their knowledge base to benefit the school and the community (Cooper & Sureau, 2008). Teachers want to be treated as professionals, but unions historically represent skilled laborers. Like trade unions that represent actors, airline pilots, and musicians, there is an endeavor by teachers' unions to advance the professional interests of their members by negotiating contract provisions involving teachers in curriculum development and evaluation. This inconsistent message makes it hard for the public to understand the multiple roles of teachers.

Teachers are held to higher standards (more so than some other industries) because of their influence over children. As a result, teachers are held to strict societal standards.

Eberts (2007) stated:

At first blush, it would seem that teachers unions should find standards-based systems attractive, because they promote standardization of the workplace. With clearly defined goals and objectives and mandates to adhere to these standards, teachers understand what is expected of them, are protected from capricious directives from administrators that may distract them from these goals, and can relate negotiated contract provisions such as class size reduction, to the achievement of these standards. (p. 188)

Professional standards, imposed by those outside of the classroom, have caused dissonance between the unions and their teachers. Additionally these imposed standards underscore that teachers and their associations do not have the same level of autonomy to determine teaching standards as other true professions do such as medicine and law.

Without autonomy, they do not meet the criteria of a profession as defined by Abbott (1988) and others (Lortie, 1969; Etzioni, 1969).

Teachers' professional standards and are under constant scrutiny as the discussion of teaching practices, state standards, academic performance, and school accountability are discussed in the media. It would seem as though new educational initiatives have attacked any progress that unions have made over the past several decades and even accuse teachers of being obstructionists of progress not aligned with their own. Eberts (2007) claims:

Because the new focus – on monitoring and assessing teacher practices and on tying compensation to teachers' performance – was antithetical to two decades of work by teachers unions to decouple salaries from performance and to increase the autonomy of teachers in the classroom, teachers came to be perceived as reluctant participants in reform. (p. 176)

Teachers perceive they are being held to accountability measures they have little input in and are struggling to accept the changes being imposed on them by new evaluation criteria as legislators move toward a new ethos of accountability.

A **“nation at risk.”** A fundamental shift in how Americans viewed teachers and education coincided with the country's shift in economic stability. Economic strains, due to the oil crisis of the early seventies, limited optimism for education. As Hargreaves (2003) commented, "Education suddenly became the problem, not the solution" (p. 12). Alarming statistics of academic underachievement in national and international scales were presented in a commissioned report published in 1983, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. This report prompted widespread concerns about an inept educational system. President Ronald Reagan led the public to believe that Americans were no longer competitive in “international economic competition” (Borek, 2008, p. 573). With regard to teacher ratings in the pre-1970s, Tyack and Cuban (1995) stated:

Teachers fared well in early public opinion surveys. In a poll in 1946, 60 percent won top ratings, 29 percent middling, and only 8 percent poor. Recognizing that teachers generally had low salaries and over-crowded classrooms in the mid-1950's, two-thirds of citizens polled said that they would be willing to pay more taxes if the extra money went to higher pay for teachers. In 1957 three-quarters of parents said that they would like to have a daughter become a teacher. (p. 13)

After the 1983 report, there was a fundamental shift in how the public perceived teachers.

Teacher ratings plummeted from admiration to the sole explanation for a lack of academic achievement.

The outcome of this report created numerous reform efforts to improve teaching and school quality, including adopting a business approach toward education. Standards became the backbone of reform. The reintroduction of standards-based education came from a conservative movement to take students back to the basics of learning. Education, at one time, was viewed as soft and “feel good,” leaving students ill prepared for the work of their future (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). In many subject areas over the past century, a flood of reforms muddled the purpose of school, the scope of teacher work, and definitions of teacher quality.

The content standards of the 1980s attempted to address ambiguity in the classroom by giving educators a framework of skills that students should be able to complete by the end of their education in public schools. The intent was to give our country a growing feeling of superiority in “educational achievement and economic performance” (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 13). But intent and reality were not in accord with one another. Tyack and Cuban (1995) pointed out that:

Public opinion, however, has been somewhat volatile, as indicated in an 11 percent rise from 1988 to 1990 in people who thought that the schools had gotten worse in the previous five years and a 13 percent rise from 1983 to 1988 in respondents who thought teaching was a good career for their children. (p. 31)

Instead of the desired confidence in our educational system, support for teachers declined because standards and reform took education by force leading the public to lack confidence in teachers' abilities. By the 1990s, teachers were marginalized as a profession as the persistent reform and restructuring initiatives affected their jurisdictional control over the curriculum in their classrooms. Teachers saw an increase in distractions from what was considered the focus and scope of their work (teaching and curriculum). They were required to do more regulated paperwork and participate in the "burdens of administrative decentralization" (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 13). The public grew increasingly impatient about measurable progress of student academic achievement. Despite the reforms (financial incentives for performance, student testing, longer school days) there was little improvement in student performance (Kirst & Wirt, 2009). Have teachers begun to believe the rhetoric and reflect the sentiment that they lacked quality and jurisdictional control of the teaching profession?

A nation prepared. In response to *A Nation at Risk* (1983), The Carnegie Foundation (published as The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986)) urged the American public to view *A Nation at Risk* as a death sentence for innovation and served as the impetus to improve and renew faith in teachers. In its report, The Carnegie Foundation laid out suggestions for a reform for educators that the Foundation believed would not only improve student performance, but also improve the professional status of teachers. The assertion was that students were in need of more complicated material, and teachers need the skills to address a new generation of learners. The task force (1986), stated:

Teachers should have a good grasp of the ways in which all kinds of physical and social systems work; a feeling for what data are and the uses to which they can be

put, an ability to help students see patterns of meaning where others see only confusion; an ability to foster genuine creativity in students, and the ability to work with other people in work groups that decide for themselves how to get the job done. They must be able to learn all the time, as the knowledge required to do their work twists and turns with new challenges and the progress of science and technology. Teachers will not come to the school knowing how to figure out what they need to know, where to get it, and how to help others make meaning out of it. Teachers must think for themselves if they are to help others think for themselves, be able to act independently and collaborate with others, and render critical judgment. They must be people whose knowledge is wide-ranging and whose understanding runs deep. (p. 25)

This was the a call to return jurisdictional control to the teachers and to allow them to be the experts in their field encompassing not only the content knowledge to be teachers, but also to be the pedagogical experts in the classroom. This sentiment is important to the development of an occupation as a profession because the members of the community need to have exclusive rights to the sacred knowledge needed to do the work (Abbott, 1988). Like other professions (medicine, law, and architecture), standards for performance and scope of work are necessary to ensure quality.

For the above stated reasons, The Carnegie Task Force was not condemning standards, but encourage standards while promoting teacher authority in the classroom. The reform efforts included (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986):

- Creating a National Board Certification.
- Restructuring schools to provide a professional environment for teachers.
- Restructuring to create lead teachers who provide active leadership.
- Requiring a bachelor's degree for certification.
- Developing new curriculum in graduate schools leading to a master's degree in teaching.
- Mobilizing the nation's resources to prepare minorities to become teachers.

- Creating incentives for teachers.
- Making teacher salaries comparable to other career opportunities.

Unfortunately, these suggested reform efforts have been implemented inconsistently and hold some controversy for educators. Plank and Harris (2006) argue, "Many obvious indicators of teacher quality, including certification status and experience, appear to have limited effects on student performance" (p. 43). Hanushek and Lindseth (2009) assert, "We remain confident that teacher quality is extremely important for improving student achievement, but we are less confident that the teacher certification requirements of most states actually ensure well-qualified teachers" (p. 80). The looming problem of teacher training and certification in education and the inconsistency in the professional requirements across teacher credentialing programs still questions the status of teaching as a profession.

America 2000 (H.R. 2460, 1991). *America 2000* was legislation passed in 1991 to encourage nation-wide reform. This reform included increased levels of accountability for teachers and schools. *America 2000* was not the first time that an educational reform came from the federal government, but this was the first push to centralize and standardize a national set of goals. Teachers became even further removed from having autonomy to develop curriculum. Education had traditionally been of minimal interest to Washington D.C., but after *America 2000*, politicians made a claim on standards and accountability (Kirst & Wirt, 2009; Plank & Harris, 2006). As stated in the legislation (H.R. 2460, 1991):

America 2000 is a national strategy, not a federal program. It honors local control, relies on local initiative, affirms states and localities as the senior partners in paying for education, and recognizes the private sector as a vital partner, too. It recognizes that real education reform happens community-by-community, school-

by-school, and only when people come to understand what they must do for themselves and their children and set about to do it. (pp. 5-6)

Despite the policy-makers attention to local control, the federal government had inserted its control to an extent that had not been experienced previously. By promising funds to states that complied with federal mandates, the federal government encouraged state participation in this national strategy of reform. Curriculum, standards of focus, and accountability not only were removed from teachers in the classroom, but also were removed from the hands of districts and states. The federal government strategically took control of education.

America 2000 wanted to ensure that schools were reaching their full potential because the authors of the legislation felt they had the answers that state and local governments were unable to provide. Proponents wanted schools to raise student performance by raising the bar of standards and expectations. *America 2000* had eight goals stated to improve student achievement. They included:

1. Starting students ready to learn at school;
2. Improving graduation rates;
3. Meeting competency requirements for students in fourth, eighth, and twelfth;
4. Making the United States first in the world in mathematics;
5. Preparing Americans for a global economy through literacy;
6. Making schools safe;
7. Encouraging teachers to participate in professional development;
8. Creating partnerships between schools and the parents and the community.

In addition to these goals, *America 2000* made plans to revolutionize how teachers and students learn, preparing Americans for the work force. This federal program set the

stage for a reform that profoundly affected teachers and how the public views them: The *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*.

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. In an effort to address growing concerns about student achievement, President George W. Bush introduced the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* (NCLB). As promised by its name, NCLB intended to close the achievement gap with “accountability, flexibility, and choice so that no child is left behind” (No Child Left Behind [NCLB], 2001, p. 1). However, the legislation has contradictions in it and thus, is considered one of the most controversial pieces of legislation (Franklin, 2007; Lane, Tierney, & Good, 2008; U.S. News & World Report, 1996). It demands that schools be classified as adequate with 100 percent of students proficient at their grade level by 2014. The federal legislation gives no definition of “adequate.” Adequacy and total proficiency might contradict each other based on a state’s definition. Herein lies a problem: States, districts, and teachers are being compared to one another through measurements that are ambiguous.

In his book, *No Child Left Behind and the Public Schools*, Franklin (2007, p.56) compared NCLB to fishing. He quipped:

The effect of NCLB is drift-net fishing for low quality schools...however, many schools wind up in our nets even though we do not want them there. Some of these schools may be doing an adequate job, but wind up identified simply because they have diverse or high-need student populations.

Like the metaphor suggests, NCLB set schools up for failure, catching them in an Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) net to be caught and punished instead of promoting growth and academic performance. This is because becoming a “performing school” is like chasing a moving target. AYP is a measurement index that allows the U.S. Department of Education to keep track of academic performance in schools. Kemerer and

Sansom (2009) commented, “NCLB requires all schools to make adequate yearly progress (AYP) toward 100 percent proficiency or higher for all students in 2014,” they continued, “Under NCLB, schools and local education agencies receiving Title I funding that do not make AYP for two consecutive years are designated for program improvement” (pp. 85-86). This policy places the culpability on teachers, schools, districts, and states that are not performing to standard.

As schools and districts fight for success under NCLB, the performance of teachers is closely evaluated. In NCLB, the legislation repeatedly calls for teachers to be highly qualified. The legislation specifies, “The state educational agency will take steps to ensure that both school wide programs and targeted assistance schools provide instruction by “highly qualified” instructional staff” (NCLB, 2001). Even if the instructional staff is “highly qualified,” they operate in fear of repercussions that will come to the school if they do not perform, including a lowering of public perceptions of the school. West (2006) postulates, “District superintendents most fear that No Child Left Behind will lead to a wholesale condemnation of the state’s public schools” (p. 55). It is easy to make these assumptions with a system that may inadvertently encourage ‘highly qualified’ teachers to make shifts to schools that are performing adequately, leaving inexperienced teachers at the less desirable schools.

NCLB has linked together student achievement and teacher performance. The legislation states that, “Academic achievement increases through strategies such as improving teacher and principal quality and increasing the number of highly qualified teachers in the classroom and highly qualified principals and assistant principals in schools” (NCLB, 2001, p. 1). As part of the stipulation of funding, states must ensure that

their teachers are highly qualified. But, what standards are teachers being held to and what is highly qualified? Although it is interpreted differently by each state, highly qualified is an important element in the federal legislation because of the frequency it is mentioned. In Porter-Magee's (2005) article *Teacher Quality, Controversy, and NCLB*, she claimed, "By actively working to improve teacher quality, the implication is that presently certain teachers are performing poorly" (p. 27). If the term of "adequate" is unclear, then what is the definition of "poorly?" Teachers are unaware of the criteria that rate them because the public does not have a clear set of expectations by which to judge the teachers. This has further reduced the status of teaching as a profession in the public's eyes.

Schools with more diverse populations have a tendency to have lower test scores. West (2006) asserted, "...minority, ethnicity, and low-income tend to go hand-in-hand. The percentage of students classified as minority and the percentage of students eligible for free and reduced-price lunch are highly correlated" (p. 61). It is this very struggle that encourages qualified educators to want to teach in more affluent schools. Socio-economically challenged students, students of color, and states with more diverse populations are more likely to have a higher rate of failure than other schools (Darling-Hammond and Berry, 2006). These diverse schools tend to be the harder schools to teach in because race, ethnicity, and low socio-economic status coincide with one another (Franklin, 2007). But, it is not just students that make teachers want to flee to better schools; it is the conditions they work in. Darling-Hammond and Berry (2006, p.19) suggest:

It is not enough to pay teachers more; the conditions have to be in place to give them a chance to succeed. Research shows that such factors as school leadership,

time for high-quality professional development, and teacher empowerment have a powerful effect on both increasing student achievement and improving teacher retention.

If teachers feel as though they are punished by the quality of their work site and minimal pay, why should they stay at low-performing schools, let alone education?

Race to the top. A new layer of legislation has been added to teacher and school accountability: Race to the Top (RT2). The federal government has offered sizable sums of money to states to adopt national standards and new methods of teacher evaluation. Teachers are on the cusp of a major paradigmatic shift in educational philosophy, and this doesn't come easily for anyone involved in education. With so many shifts in educational policy and philosophy, current legislators have inherited a disorganized policy space. President Barack Obama's election in 2008 was a turning point for education. The public was looking to this new administration to continue the process of educational reform. As part of his political platform, President Obama promised educational reform that would be amenable to all parties. Obama wanted merit pay to be developed with teachers and not forced upon them (Wallis, 2008). This is important because teachers are facing a certain level of crisis within their communities and across the nation. Budgets are being cut, student populations in some districts are declining, and tenured positions at schools are difficult to come by. The question that states are asking, and the federal government is attempting to answer, is what is the solution to evaluation and compensation for teachers based on performance?

Merit pay. Educational reform has come full circle. In a time when educators (teachers, administrators, and researchers) are trying to define the teaching profession, the federal government has encouraged states to revert to a pre-World War II system of merit

pay. It was an original method of paying teachers, but it also had resurgence in 1918 when Taylorism (a style of management with emphasis on increasing efficiency) was in effect (Western, 2008). It also resurfaced when America was in crisis over Russian achievements in space (launch of the Sputnik satellite), and again after the release of *A Nation at Risk*. Past merit pay movements (in the 1920s, 1950s, and 1980s) were accused of favoritism and insufficient funding for proper compensation. Some districts have responded by offering money to lure and retain teachers. Coates (2009) noted, “Teacher incentive programs were designed to recruit individuals into the educational arena. Most teacher incentive programs address the needs of teachers in the early career stages in response to recruitment efforts” (p. 5). But money alone does not ensure that teachers are effective. Clifford (2008) argued, “NCLB seeks to ensure that all students are taught by highly qualified professionals. NCLB has tapped into the debate over the importance of pedagogy or content knowledge of a teacher and their resistance in accepting blame for their student’s lack of progress” (p. 25). Has this debate helped to raise the status of teachers?

In several documents, educational researchers commented on the teachers’ role and on effectiveness. Kemerer and Sansom (2009) stated, “Research has consistently shown that teacher quality and experience play a role in student achievement” (p. 67). Likewise Wallis (2008, p. 3) concluded, “Research suggests that a good teacher is the single most important factor in boosting achievement.” There are others who disagree. “There is no such thing as a good teacher. There are only good schools—teams of good teachers” (Good & Lawrence, 2007, p. 475). Teachers should be held accountable for the learning in their classroom, but they are not the only participants in a student’s education.

How do you fairly measure a teacher's performance when it is based on a child's academic performance? Stakeholders, including teachers and unions, are exploring whether or not merit is a fair method of evaluation.

Educational stakeholders dispute whether or not flowing money into education improves student performance. Some researchers, such as Berube (2001, p. 73) claim, "The equity reformers introduced money as a key ingredient to improve the education of the poor." Others agree: "Offering bonuses to teachers who raise student achievement, the theory goes, will improve the overall quality of instruction" (Wallis, 2008). But when discussing the monetary worth of teachers, stakeholders disagree on what fair compensation is. *A Nation at Risk* maintains that teachers should be compensated based on their performance as professionals and pay should be competitive. Borek (2008) echoed this sentiment when she wrote, "Salaries for teachers should be professionally competitive, market-sensitive, and performance based" (p. 573). The question remaining is: What is a fair and equitable manner to assigning monetary value to someone's performance? Educational administrators and leaders claim that evaluation based on test scores is subjective and eliminates the concern of favoritism (Wallis, 2008). In the interests of their constituency, unions have expressed concern about evaluation on performance because of subjectivity issues.

Using state standards as a method for evaluating how teachers instruct is an objective method of evaluation, but some disagree with this because of inconsistencies in student performance. Schools and teachers have little control over who will be enrolled in the school and classes. This is the argument that unions and teachers continue to offer. Teacher unions vocally oppose evaluations based on student performance. Teachers also

resent standardized test scores as a form of incentive. “An assumption underlying the use of performance assessments is that they serve as motivators in improving student achievement and learning and that they encourage the use of instructional strategies” (Lane, Tierny, & Good, 2008, p. 469). This can be based on several factors: Teachers are not paid enough money to lure people away from private industry, teachers do not have autonomy in what they teach, and teachers are more than instructors (Good & Lawrence, 2007). Professional and jurisdictional controls are removed from the teachers’ hands and replaced with standards and accountability.

Recently, legislation appears to favor performance pay (or value-added pay), with the belief that competent teachers will be rewarded for their efforts. Porter-Magee (2005) comments, “...by judging teachers by student outcomes, teachers eventually will be distinguished ... by how effective they are in the classroom – a change that unions no doubt fear may open the door to differential pay schemes” (p. 27). However, the biggest battle that legislators and teachers face is the union opinion and influence. “The consensus here is that merit pay achieved its ostensible purpose of giving teachers an incentive to do a better job but that it caused too much contention between the teacher’s union and the school administration to be retained” (Good & Lawrence, 2007, p. 476). There are programs that unions and administrations agree upon such as TAP (Teacher Advancement Program) or TIF (Teacher Incentive Plan). Ultimately, if the way teachers are compensated and evaluated changes, then the way teachers are viewed ought to change as well. Teachers should be provided the opportunities to act professionally, with opportunities for input rather than being viewed as a factory workers clocking in (Wallis, 2008). Instead of blaming teachers of being unqualified and unprofessional, teachers

might benefit from a consistent framework from which they can base their performance and mark improvement.

Becoming a semi-profession. The teaching profession has been buffeted by cyclical reform. For a profession that is not primarily motivated by extrinsic reward, it is ironic that teachers seek (and are denied) status and respect. This denial of respect is deeply rooted in our educational origins. Teachers have historically been viewed as the extension of the domestic realm and another form of “women’s work” (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Even during periods when education made significant strides towards releasing the curriculum reins to teachers, it was fleeting and teachers were forced to comply with standardization. To further complicate matters, teachers formed unions to ensure parity in pay and political realms. But, unions in this country generally are viewed as serving organized blue-collar workers. Have teachers inadvertently disadvantaged themselves in order to create a professional edge? Secretary of Education Arne Duncan (2009) stated, “Let us end the culture of blame, self-interest, and disrespect that has demeaned the field of educators.” The history of educational reform and patterns of restricting and relinquishing teacher control are a piece of what shapes the professionalization of the American schoolteacher.

One of the main reasons why teaching is viewed as a semi-profession is likely due to the difficulty K-12 educators have in identifying a common set of values. As previously mentioned, Abbott (1988) claimed that professions achieve a degree of uniformity such that their differences are agreed upon. The divergence in educational beliefs and values of teachers concerning pedagogy and what to teach breaches this condition. Schon (1983) suggests, “Each view of professional practice represents a way

of functioning in situations of indeterminacy and value conflict, but the multiplicity of conflicting views poses a predicament for the practitioner who must choose among multiple approaches to practice or devise his own way of combining them" (p.17). The more the values of a profession diverge, the weaker hold the profession will have over its jurisdiction. Abbott (1988) explains that professional organizations regulate who is admitted and who remains in a profession. But that is not the case with K-12 education. Educators disagree about compensation and tenure (Clifford, 2008). Specifically, one of the conflicting values is how teachers should be regulated. Some believe that compensation should be based on years of service while policymakers and administrators believe in pay based on merit or value added to a child's education. The disagreement about values and opinions in K-12 education has promoted an aura of distrust among parents, administrators and teachers. It has undermined attempts to improve the jurisdiction and claim to knowledge, thus the teacher voice and arguably the view that teaching is a profession have been weakened.

Hargreaves (2003, p. 28) maintains, "If teachers want to make progress as professionals and have an impact in the complex world of schools, they must learn to trust and value colleagues who are distant and different from them as well as those who are the same." The incongruent values (such as unions, merit pay, pedagogical approaches, etcetera) of educators have compromised essential characteristics of professionalization: autonomy of knowledge and professional controls. While educators are debating tenure versus merit pay, or standardization versus subjective assessment, the growing perception is that teachers do not hold specialized knowledge. The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986) supported this sentiment when they

asserted, "The text and the scope-and-sequence of the curriculum define in detail what they are supposed to teach. Decisions made by curriculum supervisors, teacher training experts, outside consultants, and authors of teachers' guides determine how a teacher is to teach" (p. 39). Bureaucracies pervade education and actively threaten teacher autonomy (Wilnesky, 1964). When curriculum is standardized and mandated, teaching is deskilled and preparation of specialized (or academic knowledge) is devalued. Lortie (1969) asserts, "The rhetoric of 'teaching as an art,' however, projects autonomy rather than control; to use the artist as prototype is to stress individuality rather than standardization through bureaucratic or collegial controls." Some educators still subscribe to this sentiment (Sedlak, 1989), only making it harder for educators to agree on values and regulation as a profession.

Summary of teaching as a profession. The historical review of teaching as a profession has presented a picture of teaching as a cultural activity that is changing as the American values and beliefs change. As American social norms change, so does the definition of what teacher quality is (National Research Council, 2001). Teaching began with educators viewed as citizens who exemplified virtuosity and morality. But, as the responsibility of education became the financial concerns of local communities and education was feminized, salaries were lowered and curriculum was watered down (Lortie, 1969). As schooling grew, so did the philosophy that an education was needed to make deeper connections between life in and out of the classroom, and that social change should come from education. Progressivism (Tyack & Cuban, 1995) was not sufficiently deep or long lived. Universities wanted to standardize the caliber of students they were admitting. Standards were created not only for the courses being taught in school, but

also for teacher performance as well. The fight for professionalization was further complicated when teachers attempted to ensure fair and equal pay alongside the creation of and imposed membership of unions. Unions are enigmatic because they ensure political and financial parity, but they also institutionalize and diminish the role of the teacher as a worker hence contributing to the question of whether or not teaching is a profession (Cooper & Sureau, 2008).

Since the creation of unions, there has been a slew of legislation that has influenced the definition of what teacher quality is. It began with a *Nation at Risk* (1983) inciting concern that the educational system was failing students (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). It continued with *America 2000*, the first piece of federal legislation that attempted to centralize and unify education. And it evolved into *No Child Left Behind* (2001) and *Race to the Top* (2011), both controversial pieces of legislation linking student academic performance and growth to teacher performance. Teachers (and education) exist in a state of tension. It is tension that pulls teachers between the extremes of autonomy and the extremes of centralization, regulation, and standardization. Because of this state of flux, it is questionable whether teachers are able to provide the expert service that the public needs (Abbott, 1988). This provides a partial explanation as to why teaching is considered by some scholars as a semi-profession.

Teacher Credentialing Programs

Formalized training is an important aspect of becoming a profession (Abbott, 1988). In this regard, teaching is like a profession because credentialing programs train candidates for teaching. The programs have traditionally prepared teachers in not only content but also in pedagogy so that all children have an opportunity to learn under high

academic standards (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). Beginning with *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and the dispute about teacher quality, however, some have suggested eliminating credentialing programs all together. The Teaching Commission (2004) stated, “Our methods of teacher preparation and licensure are often marked by low standards, while teacher induction is too haphazard to ensure that new teachers have the knowledge, skills, clinical experience, and support they need to succeed” (p. 15). What are teacher credentialing and preparation programs doing to address accusations of low standards and low quality? Some of the answers can be found in the standards for accreditation of teacher education.

Standards for credentialing programs. Two well-known teacher credentialing accreditation organizations are NCATE (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education) and TEAC (Teacher Education Accreditation Council). At the time of this research, TEAC and NCATE have merged to create CAEP (Council for Accreditation of Educator Professionals). This merge is intended to increase the rigor of teacher credentialing programs (Sawchuk, 2011). Specifically CAEP’s goals are to raise the bar in educator preparation programs, promote continuous improvement, advance research and innovation, increase accreditation value, and be a model accrediting body and learning organization (CAEP, 2013). In August of 2013, new accreditation standards were approved by CAEP. These standards are based on the already established standards from NCATE and TEAC. There are five standards: content and pedagogical knowledge; clinical partnership and practice; candidate quality, recruitment, and selectivity; program impact; provider quality assurance and continuous improvement. By implementing these new standards, CAEP is hoping to elevate teaching as a profession. Although TEAC and

NCATE officially merged in July of 2013, the research conducted in this study was with schools accredited by NCATE. Taking that into consideration, it is necessary to understand the NCATE standards because the opinions of the professors and administrators interviewed used this as their frame of reference for standards of the teaching profession.

NCATE has six standards in total (candidate knowledge, skills and professional dispositions; assessment system and unit evaluation; field experiences and clinical practice; diversity; faculty qualifications, performance, and development; unit governance and resources). These standards are intended to “establish the shared vision for a unit’s efforts in preparing educators to work effectively in P-12 schools” (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008). NCATE identifies its first standard (candidate knowledge, skills, and professional dispositions) as important for the candidate’s learning and accountability. The conceptual framework of the standard states (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008):

Candidates preparing to work in schools as teachers or other school professionals know and demonstrate the content knowledge, pedagogical and professional knowledge and skills, and professional dispositions necessary to help all students learn. Assessments indicate that candidates meet professional state, and institutional standards. (p. 13)

In NCATE’s standards, content knowledge is defined as “...[having] in-depth knowledge of the content that they plan to teach as described in professional, state, and institutional standards...teachers are recognized experts in the content they teach,” and “understanding the relationship of content and content-specific pedagogy delineated in professional, state, and institutional standards” (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008, p. 16). In the same way TEAC states that teachers must have

subject matter knowledge (understanding the subject they are teaching) and pedagogical knowledge (converting their knowledge into compelling lessons addressing the needs of all students) (The Teaching Commission, 2004, p. 12). NCATE believes that teachers need to understand the relationship between content and content specific pedagogy. They must draw upon the content and pedagogical knowledge so that all students can learn (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008). Teachers must be able to demonstrate their knowledge through inquiry, crucial analysis, and synthesis of information. NCATE specifically states, “Teacher candidates evaluate students’ academic achievement as well as their social and physical development and use the results to maximize students’ motivation and learning. They are able to reflect on and continually evaluate the effects of choices and actions on others and actively seek out opportunities to grow professionally. They also are able to foster relationships with school colleagues, parents and families, and agencies in the larger community to support students’ learning and well-being” (NCATE: Unit standards, 2013). In other words, student learning is the goal of teaching.

Yet, content knowledge is not enough. Teacher candidates are expected to have the skills to diversify lessons to the learning modes of their students, teach critical thinking, problem solving, and performance skills that promotes active engagement in the lesson and social interactions (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008; The Teaching Commission, 2004). NCATE also states, “Teacher candidates foster active inquiry, collaboration, and supportive interaction in the curriculum goals...evaluate students’ academic achievements as well as their social and physical development and use the results to maximize students’ motivation and learning”

(National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008, p. 22). Additionally, teacher candidates are expected to uphold the professional dispositions of teaching. This includes fairness and the belief that all students can learn (2008). But NCATE's definition of disposition is ambiguous; in other words, specific dispositions and characteristics are not specifically defined by the accrediting body or the unifying standards. The definition of dispositions is left to the university to establish and implement leaving a space where a divergence in values and beliefs to exist. To illustrate, a Christian university might emphasize the belief that serving God is an attitude a teacher should demonstrate, while a public university might emphasize that a belief in social justice and equity in the classroom should be supported.

Some states and schools have addressed the implementation and evaluation of the standards in education. In July of 2008, universities in California formed a consortium that created Teacher Performance Assessments (TPAs) (PACT, 2013). There are three models currently available: the CalTPA (California Teaching Performance Assessment), FAST (Fresno Assessment of Teachers), and PACT (Performance Assessment for California Teachers). Although they are similar in purpose, the focus of this review is PACT because the participating institutions in this research use this assessment². The consortium felt that the state's assessment was too generic and they wanted to integrate an authentic and subject-specific assessment that aligned with their institution (Pechone & Chung, 2006, p.22). PACT measures the candidate's knowledge, skills, and ability in relation to the California State TPAs, and uses multiple sources of data. These data

² At the time of the research, a new teacher performance assessment, edTPA, is being considered for adoption in place of PACT. The edTPA is a new rigorous assessment that many are arguing provides a closer alignment with university teacher preparation programs. For more information go to www.edtpa.com.

include teacher lesson plans, lesson artifacts, student work samples, video clips, and reflections. Teacher candidates must complete three defined tasks that are related to their subject-specific pedagogy which are organized into four areas (planning, instruction, assessment, and reflection) (Pechone & Chung, 2006). The advantage of an authentic assessment is that it is “designed to measure and promote candidates’ abilities to integrate their knowledge of content, students, and instructional context to make instructional decisions” (Pechone & Chung, 2006, p.24). Unfortunately, there are financial implications on a university to administer an examination that requires that a committee of trained assessors be prepared to test each subject area. This might possibly explain why not all schools participate in the PACT.

An important element to the professionalization of any occupation is to have certification and licensure that happens through an accredited program (Abbott, 1988). For education, NCATE, TEAC, and CAEP are the accrediting organizations. These organizations bear the responsibility of bringing together the values and beliefs of the teaching profession. They establish the professional standards for credentialing programs, and attempt to bring rigor to the profession. Levine (2005) challenges what he considers an overly simplistic definition of a profession and accreditation. In fact, this is one of the main reasons why teaching is considered a semi-profession; if the rigor of accreditation is not present, then the jurisdiction of the profession is compromised. According to Levine, current accreditation lacks rigor and consistent implementation at the various credentialing programs across the country.

Criticisms of credentialing programs. Although standards have been established for accreditation, there is one seminal report that alarmed teacher education

communities-- Arthur Levine's *Educating School Leaders* (2005). According to Levine, accreditation is inconsistent among different institutions and what is required of teachers is not in accordance to the standards written:

There is a schism over the how's and when's of teacher education between those who believe teaching is a profession like law or medicine requiring a substantial amount of education before an individual can become a practitioner, and those who think teaching is a craft like journalism, which is learned principally on the job. (p. 13)

First, Levine condemns universities for their lack of regard for credentialing programs. Furthermore, he says, "...they [universities] actually have worsened the situation by using teacher education as a cash cow--forcing their programs to enroll more students than was desirable, lowering admissions standards" (2005, p. 22). This is confirmed by Hanushek and Pace who state, "Individuals who originally aspire to be teachers are below average for all college entrants in terms of high school achievement. Only 40% of aspirants are found in the top half of the achievement distribution defined by all students who ever attended college..." (1995, pp. 104-105). Credentialing programs have been accused of being watered down and ineffective, admitting anyone willing to pay. In fact, Levine stresses that this is the time, more than ever to strengthen credentialing programs because "today's teachers need to know and be able to do things their predecessors did not. They have to be prepared to educate all of their students to achieve the highest learning outcomes in history" (Levine, 2005, p. 11). Ultimately, the root of the problem is that the United States does not have a common vision on what current educational realities exist, or how to prepare teachers for these realities (2005, p. 14). Levine, not encouraged by the current state of teacher credentialing programs, urges change because the antiquated system of teacher preparation is no longer working in today's classroom.

Deregulation versus professionalization. Since Levine's report, some educational researchers (Berry, 2005; Kumashiro, 2010) have adopted the argument that teacher preparation programs should be dismantled altogether and that teaching should be opened to a competitive market. But others (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2000) believe that through professional training and licensing, education will be professionalized. This debate has pushed teacher credentialing programs to prove that they are "Serious about student results and are willing to challenge the assertions and assumptions deployed by the deregulationists and others looking to lessen investments in teaching and to limit the leadership potential of teaching professionals" (Berry, 2005, p. 278).

Deregulationists believe that current efforts to certify and regulate teacher preparation is a monopoly and should be dismantled. Berry (2005) argues this and reasons, "Advocates of deregulation...believe that student learning and good teachers should be measured only by standardized tests, extensive teacher preparation is unnecessary and costly" (p. 273). Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) support this in their claim, "What schools need more than anything else is the freedom and flexibility to open their doors and thus recruit, hire, and keep all teachers who can 'up' students' test scores regardless of their credentials (or lack thereof)" (p. 10). Deregulationists make an assumption that the knowledge that teachers need to be successful in the classroom is general and can be learned on-the-job. Some researchers (Berry, 2005; Kumashiro, 2010) believe that in order for teacher preparation programs to survive and earn status they must stop protecting the status quo and link diagnosis and treatment to student learning. In other words, if curriculum is reduced to standardization, there isn't a need for teacher

credentialing programs. They restrict the potential for creative expertise. As our country moves towards national standards, say these commentators, the scope of work is potentially limiting teacher jurisdictional control and reducing them more to that of a technician because of a lack of adequate training. Teachers are being asked to implement standards that go beyond the traditional scope of the classroom. They are asked to think about the future implications of their curriculum as it pertains to a student in the workplace (NGA Center & CCSSO, 2010). The material for a technician is scripted, and teacher training is devalued because it interferes with “common sense” teaching (Kumashiro, 2010). The implication is that teaching is mechanical, but advocates of the professionalization of teaching see creativity and standardization working in concert with one another.

Teacher credentialing programs have struggled with the general perception of what they do. Some programs have been criticized because it is believed that prospective teachers only learn theory (Levine, 2005). Teacher credentialing programs have been viewed as predominantly lecture-based, but portions are clinical in nature (also referred to as student teaching). Levine reflects, "This student teaching experience...was characterized consistently [by students interviewed] as ‘the most valuable aspect of my education program’" (2005, p. 39). But implementation of these clinical practicums is inconsistent across programs, continuing to raise the question about rigor and effectiveness of teacher education.

In response to deregulationists and critics, some universities have transformed their teacher preparation programs. Darling-Hammond (2010) suggests:

Many schools of education undertook successful transformations—using the standards to redesign their programs; creating stronger clinical practice;

strengthening coursework around critical areas like student learning and development, assessment, subject matter pedagogy, and teaching of English language learners and special needs students; and connecting this coursework directly to practice in much more extensive practicum settings. (p. 36)

Additionally, Darling-Hammond (2010) encourages teacher educators to create partnerships with schools to address and reject the perception that teacher preparation programs are not clinical, and she encourages teacher educators to behave as members of the teaching profession. Teacher educators are also encouraged to change, from the inside out, the culture of teaching. Darling-Hammond even proposes expanding credentialing programs:

Voices have urged the redesign of teacher education to strengthen its knowledge base, its connections to both practice and theory, and its capacity to support the development of powerful teaching...one approach would be to expand the professional training to prepare teachers for more adaptive, knowledge-based practice. (p. 166)

Credentialing programs are feeding into cultures of isolation. Teachers are not accustomed to collaborating with other teachers; instead they work independently in their classroom (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Hanushek & Pace, 1995; Wang, Spalding, Odell, Klecka, & Lin, 2010). But with a model that is outdated and ensconced in the belief “this is how it has always been done,” how is change accomplished?

Some researchers suggest that teacher educators need to not only teach, but also engage prospective teachers in collaboration via exposing, critiquing, and reconstructing their own beliefs and knowledge (Wang, Spalding, Odell, Klecka, & Lin, 2010).

Researchers suggest if there is a bridge to gap theory and practice, a new type of teacher will emerge, forming a professional culture of diagnosis, treatment, and professional inference (Abbott, 1988; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Wang et al 2010). As teacher educators and teacher credentialing programs address these issues, as Darling-Hammond

(2010) claims, “Teacher preparation matters in two ways: It can both enhance initial effectiveness and increase the likelihood of staying on the job long enough to become more experience and effective, as teacher’ effectiveness improves significantly...” (p. 37).

Summary of teacher credentialing programs. There are enduring questions about teacher quality and teacher effectiveness in the classroom. This is an outcropping of the *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and is a public ethos that continues to plague teachers (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). The public has turned to accrediting bodies and to universities to address the growing concern about teacher quality. NCATE in particular has attempted to address this through their six standards for teacher candidates (candidate knowledge, skills and professional dispositions; assessment system and unit evaluation; field experiences and clinical practice; diversity; faculty qualifications, performance, and development; unit governance and resources). The authentic assessments created by a consortium of universities specifically looks at the teacher’s content and pedagogical knowledge, how they apply it to student engagement and learning, and the implications for their further practice (Pechone & Chung, 2006).

But these programs come with criticisms. Arthur Levine (2005) conducted a seminal study of teacher credentialing programs and found that they were inconsistent, did not hold the same values and beliefs, and were not held to the same standards. This opened education up to further criticisms. Berry (2005) and Kumashiro (2010) believe that teacher credentialing programs are ineffective and should be dismantled, while others (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2000) believe that education should be professionalized through more carefully designed credentialing programs. Although

there is considerable research that has been done on the degradation of teaching as a profession and the lack of rigor and effectiveness of teacher credentialing programs, there is minimal literature on the convergence or divergence of values and beliefs between institutions. An occupation that has become a profession has a convergence of values and beliefs. This established culture creates the claim to the field and control over the professional training of the profession's members. This study will directly address what values credentialing programs hold in common, how the values are implemented in their curriculum, and what the programs are doing to promote teaching as a profession.

Chapter Three

Research Methods

Methodology

Research design—comparative case study. Teaching, as defined by practitioners, is an experience or phenomena that cannot be reduced to mere statistics. I therefore looked at three different case studies using constructivism as my theoretical lens. According to Patton (2006), “Constructivists study the multiple realities constructed by people and the implications of those constructions of their lives and interactions with others” (p.96). As Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasized, truth is constructed among a group of people and is supported by Kuhn’s (1970) statement that paradigms are socially constructed and enforced through group consensus.

Because I looked at how different universities have constructed their teacher credentialing programs, I endeavored to assemble the data through what Patton (2006, p. 236) refers to as “The Process of Constructing Case Studies.” This includes: Collecting information about the credentialing programs (document analysis), collecting raw data (interviews), coding and analyzing, and composing a comparative case study narrative.

Research participants. I explored three different universities in the southwestern region of the United States that have teacher credentialing programs. All three universities were accredited by NCATE (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education) and the Commission on Teacher Credentialing³. Although many institutions have teacher preparation and education programs that encompass credentialing and

³ The Commission on Teacher Credentialing is an agency of the Executive Branch of California’s state government. The CTC provides standards, licensing and credentialing of teachers and enforces the professional practices of educators (<http://www.ctc.ca.gov>).

master's degrees of education programs, I specifically examined classes taught to prepare teacher candidates for instructing students and classes designed to meet the credentialing requirements for this region. These universities represent different but important populations that feed into one of the largest urban districts in the nation. They represent public, private, and parochial schools of teacher education. Within each of these schools I interviewed key teacher educators including deans (or associate deans), program leaders, classroom professors, and university supervisors. The intent behind this was to understand the different perspectives of how teacher preparation programs are attempting to professionalize the field of teaching.

Deans are members of the educational community that are responsible for the administration of the education program. They have knowledge of policies and philosophies that govern the school. Program leaders are defined as teacher educators who are coordinating student clinical assignments, coordinating the direction and philosophy of programs, coordinating the professors, and coordinating publications that come out of programs. Program leaders are department chairs, directors, or assistant directors. Classroom professors are teacher educators who are instructing prospective teachers on the theoretical frameworks of pedagogy that they will then in turn apply to their clinical work. Finally, university supervisors are specifically the professors who are out in the field, observing the clinical work that teacher candidates participate in.

Because of the nature of qualitative design, I purposefully sampled my participants by selecting all those directly involved in the preparation of candidate teachers (deans, leaders, professors, university supervisors). The focus of the research is not the generalizability of the data but to gain an in-depth understanding of what deans, leaders,

professors, and university supervisors value and believe about teaching and how they implement those values and beliefs in the teacher training programs. According to Patton (2002):

The logic and power of purposeful sampling derive from the emphasis on in-depth understanding. This leads to selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research. (pp. 46-47)

Data from three universities that feed into a large, urban school district provided rich information concerning the knowledge, skills, and professional dispositions of the teaching profession. Additionally, as I thought about whom I was interviewing, and what I hoped to understand, each university became my unit of analysis. I created a picture of the realities that each university creates for its programs and then compared those units of analysis to one another.

Data collection methods. I wanted to deeply understand teacher preparation programs within each of the institutions being studied. Because of this I wanted to interview teacher educators who hold different perspectives on the teacher preparation process, understand the different vantage points they hold and how that is reflected in what they teach. From this, I created a narrative that describes the similarities and differences of these institutions to see to what extent they are in agreement about knowledge, skills, and professional disposition because according to Abbott's (1988) definition, a profession has a common set of values and beliefs.

Phase one: credentialing program publication analysis. Because I constructed a case study analysis, I needed to look at documents that represent each one of the case studies. According to Miller (1997), "Qualitative researchers are uniquely positioned to study these texts by analyzing the practical social contexts of everyday life within which

they are constructed and used” (p.77). I analyzed the information that universities publish about their teacher preparation programs and how they talk about their program in ways that promote the professionalization of teaching in the context of how a profession is defined by Abbott and others. Of course, there were challenges to document analysis. Patton (2002) notes some of these challenges include: Access to the documents, how and why the documents were created, accuracy, linking documents to other sources of data, and interpreting what the texts mean. To address some of these concerns, I used a protocol for document coding and analysis (see Appendix A). By looking at the documents I came to understand how the teacher preparation programs promised to teach skills, knowledge, and disposition, how they marketed teaching as a profession, and how their program aligned with accreditation standards. I answered these questions by examining marketing publications (pamphlets, websites, etcetera) and through course descriptions (course catalogs) and course syllabi.

Phase two: interviews. The core of my research was done in a semi-structured interview format. Because I did not have the time or the resources to observe all the classes and clinical practicum that each of the three universities requires of their teacher candidates, I interviewed those people who oversee and operate the program. In total, there were eleven interviews lasting between 60-90 minutes. Of those interviews, two were male and the other nine female. Additionally, the focus of the study was less about the classes being taught, and more about what the university valued and how those values on were imparted to their students. According to Abbott (1988) the more the values of a profession converge, the stronger hold the profession will have over its jurisdiction. So, I examined the implicit and explicit assumptions and values that the instructors have about

the professionalization of education. I also questioned how they considered their education program in support of the professionalization of teaching via their accreditation standards and how their programs responded to the key criteria of NCATE. Because I employed a semi-structured interview and had an open framework to promote a more conversational dialogue, themes emerged during the interviews (Patton, 2002). I also entered into the interviews with themes grounded in the previous research on teaching as a profession as discussed in the review of literature, including: Beliefs and values, instruction around jurisdiction (diagnosis, treatment, inference).

The emergent nature of semi-structured interviews allowed me to understand other people's perspectives on the teacher preparation programs. But, as Patton (2002) points out, the information gleaned from interviews is "largely dependent on the interviewer" (p.341). I created an interview guide (See Appendix B) so that I could ensure that the same concepts and line of questioning was observed in every one of my interviews. But, there is a caveat: It was a guide. Patton says, "Topics might still emerge during the interview, topics of importance to the respondent that are not listed explicitly on the guide and therefore would not normally be explored with each person interviewed" (p.343). The guide was used, but as ideas and themes emerged, the line of questioning was adjusted accordingly. This produced data rich interviews.

Data analysis methods. I followed Creswell's (2008) recommendations for coding. First I got a sense of the interviews as a whole. I read the transcripts carefully, making sense of the ideas that had emerged from the interviews. I then compared the documents to the interviews and looked for surface information and deeper meaning made between the stated and hidden assumptions about the teacher preparation programs

and the published literature about them. I then clustered together like topics and tried to expose patterns. I looked specifically for some of the categories that I previously had identified for the interviews: beliefs and values, instruction around jurisdiction (diagnosis, treatment, inference), program efficacy, and comparison to other programs.

Once preliminary categories were identified, I used Saldana's (2009) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* to name codes or themes that emerged from the interviews. The three primary codes I used were: *In Vivo Coding* (literally means "in that which is alive" refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data, a method of extracting indigenous terms), *Values Coding* (application of codes onto qualitative data that reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview) and *Holistic Coding* (an attempt to grasp basic themes or issues in the data by absorbing them as a whole, preparatory approach to a unit of data before a more detailed coding or categorization process through first or second cycle methods). These codes were used to identify themes, which then turned into narratives that described the universities and how they construct their curriculum to promote teaching as a profession, as defined by Abbott and others.

Researcher's role. My interest in teacher education programs and the teaching profession is directly connected to the fact that I am currently a teacher in San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD). From the time that I entered into the doctoral program at the University of San Diego (USD) to my current standing, I have been interested in movements towards merit and performance pay. As I researched, I began to question what a profession is and whether or not teaching meets the criteria of being one. In the midst of my research at USD, within the context of my classroom, I had a student

teacher. As I observed my student teacher, interacted with her professors, and participated in program evaluations, I began to wonder what other teacher preparation programs were doing that aligned with some of the definitions the aforementioned literature presented.

As I stated before, my participation in the education community exists in multiple spheres. Not only am I a teacher, I am currently a student or have been a student, at two of the universities I studied. This provided opportunities for access into these universities. I made these contacts either as a master teacher working with the teacher credentialing program, or as a student/alumnus of the school. Because I researched universities and not the actual school district, I steered clear of backyard research (convenient samples generally free of obstacles), but left the opportunity open for me to access entry into the organization (Creswell, 2008, p. 177). Of course, there are disadvantages to this also. It is possible that my participation in these organizations creates a bias. According to Creswell (2008) the researcher is a key instrument in collecting data. He states, "Qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, or interviewing participants...but the researchers are the ones who actually gather the information" (p.175). To ensure the validity of myself as the instrument, I had to address my bias.

I kept a researcher's journal about the research experience so that I could identify where my bias and limitations interfered with the analysis of data. Additionally, external validity was a primary concern because of my membership in the teaching community. Howe (2004) prioritizes external and internal validity when he says, "External validity should take greater priority than internal validity, at least in practical fields such as

education.” Additionally, Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage researchers to establish confidence through establishing credibility and truth in their findings. I used member validation of interview transcripts and analytic memorandas to accomplish this. I asked one interviewee from each university to review their transcript and my interpretation of what was said to insure that I was fairly representing the meaning of the words.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

There were certain limitations that needed to be addressed before I proceeded with the research. The first had to do with confidentiality. Because I interviewed prominent members of an academic community, there was concern about divulging information that might be detrimental to their position in the university. I took measures to assure the research participants that the information remains confidential and would not be presented with descriptors that would identify them.

Another limitation was the lack of generalizability this research produced. This is a comparative case study. It was not meant to be representative of all (or even most) teacher credentialing programs. It was meant to illuminate what three universities are doing to promote professional qualities in their teacher candidates. Additionally, because of the emergent nature of this research, I wanted to define what is not being studied. This research was not attempting to evaluate teachers, student teachers, professors, or state mandated credentialing requirements. This research was not exploring merit pay, value added pay, or teacher evaluations. This research was only attempting to understand the ethos of the teaching profession and how credentialing programs are promoting teaching as a profession as that term is generally defined. Additionally, the intention of this research was not to evaluate institutions themselves, but to examine what strategies the

teacher education programs were using to teach skills, knowledge, and a professional disposition.

One of the major considerations of this research was the ethical responsibility of the researcher. All materials and research plan were submitted to the University of San Diego's Institutional Review Board (IRB). I took all appropriate steps to inform the participants of their rights as they participate in the interviews (see Appendix C).

Summary of Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore what teacher credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession. This study was a qualitative study that used document analysis and interviews of faculty at universities that have teacher credentialing programs. The findings from this study are presented in the following chapter through the lens of knowledge, skills, and dispositions—qualities NCATE, TEAC, and CAPE deem necessary to possess by every teaching professional.

Chapter Four

Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore what teacher credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession. According to Abbott (1988), "A jurisdictional claim made before the public is generally a claim for the legitimate control of a particular kind of work. This control means first and foremost a right to perform the work as professionals see fit" (p. 60). This study investigated how teacher preparation programs instruct student teachers in professional dispositions, knowledge, and skills to professionalize teaching, all of which are used to make a jurisdictional claim on education. The study also explored what commonalities between credentialing programs have and explains some of the differences surrounding standards for accreditation. In order to understand credentialing programs, the following research questions were employed:

1. What is the relationship between teacher credentialing programs and the professionalization of teaching?
2. What types of knowledge, skills, and dispositions are teacher credentialing programs instructing candidate teachers and do they promote the professionalization of teaching?
3. What are the factors that support or challenge the professionalization of teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs?
4. In what ways are teacher credentialing programs convergent or divergent in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are perceived necessary for the preparation of teacher candidates?

This study was completed in two phases in order to construct a rich description of each university's teacher credentialing programs. The first phase focused on analysis of documents and web-based materials. The document analysis phase was intended to gain an understanding of how each individual credentialing program advertises what it values while also gathering information to create a full picture of their credentialing program. The second phase of the study used semi-structured interviews of those who oversaw and operated teacher credentialing programs. In order to understand what the interviewees valued, it was necessary to first understand the credentialing programs they taught in, and then explore their individual beliefs. I wanted to see what values and beliefs they espoused in their publications. Next I examined the values and beliefs held by the individuals in these credentialing programs. These findings represent the core of the research completed. Finally I examined the convergence and divergence in values within each credentialing program and then between the programs.

Credentialing Programs Depicted in Publications

The original intent was to collect print publications and information from the programs' websites. I began analysis with the electronic publications because information on websites was more readily available than print publications. I found that credentialing programs had the capacity to publish more information via websites than through paper publications. All three institutions had the same basic organization for their websites. The websites typically led with a program introduction. Information was then organized by type of credential: multiple subject, single subject, and special program credentials. Through websites I was able to derive a basic understanding of the credentialing program's philosophy towards education, an overview of what each program valued, and

steps taken to accreditation. An unexpected advantage of perusing the websites was access to course syllabi, professor biographies, links to accreditation requirements, links to admittance testing, and links to governmental agencies. I used the websites to get a basic understanding of the programs' core values and demographics prior to interviewing: (a) professors (classroom professors who are instructing prospective teachers on the theoretical frameworks of pedagogy), (b) university supervisors (professors in the field observing the clinical work that teacher candidates participate in), (c) program leaders (teacher educators who coordinate student clinical assignments), and (d) administrators (deans and associate deans).

Heath University. Heath University⁴ is a private school in Southern California that has been instructing teachers for over forty years. Heath is accredited by WASC (Western Association of Schools and Colleges) Accredited and NCATE (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education) accredited. Heath University's School of Education is home to sixteen different credentialing programs and four certificate programs in addition to a Master of Arts in Education. Current enrollment for graduate work is just above 500 students. The faculty members pride themselves on the research that is conducted from within the School of Education and the research partnerships they have developed with organizations outside of the institution.

Heath University implies in its publications that teaching is a profession. On their website they state, "students will begin to understand teaching as a profession that is a complex endeavor embedded in a larger organizational and social context." Because of this, there is coursework specific to this school that addresses participating in a

⁴ Pseudonyms were used instead of actual university names to maintain confidentiality.

“community of practice.” The coursework at Heath University is designed to encourage students to “think more deeply, more broadly, and more systematically about what teaching is, what teachers do, and whether teaching is an appropriate career choice for them.”⁵ The school touts that their program emphasizes “the connection between theory and practice.” Heath University advertises that by the end of the credentialing program students will be able to demonstrate content knowledge, apply learning theories, apply research and analytic tools to inform teaching, and use appropriate pedagogical approaches in the classroom.

Although there are multiple credentialing program paths at Heath University, there are certain entrance examinations all prospective teaching candidates need to successfully complete. Multiple subject credential candidates are required to successfully complete the CBEST (California Basic Educational Skills Test), receive a certificate of clearance from the Commission on Teacher Credentialing, complete required history classes, pass the RICA (Reading Instruction Competence Assessment), pass the CSET (California Subject Exam for Teachers), and have maintained an acceptable grade point average (2.75) in their undergraduate coursework. Single Subject Credential candidates are required to pass the CBEST, receive a certificate of clearance from the Commission on Teacher Credentialing, successfully complete required history classes or pass the U.S. Constitution examination, pass the RICA, pass the CSET in the content area they wish to teach in, and have maintained an acceptable grade point average (2.75) in their undergraduate coursework.

⁵ Quotes and information are from program websites that are not further identified in order to maintain confidentiality.

Merriam College. Merriam College is a small private Christian college that has been present in Southern California for over one hundred years. The website emphasizes that they are developing “highly qualified, high-performing educators of noble character in the context of a vital, Christian learning community.”⁶ Merriam College is committed to “nurturing professional dispositions in all of their education candidates.” These dispositions are aligned with the religious heritage of the College. Merriam claims that they are an “evidence-based program that focuses on student learning and supportive relationships.” They advertise that they prepare professionals to lead effective teaching and learning experiences in both business and K-12 learning settings. The college also states that it is committed to continually improving its academic programs and “align [its] curriculum to the highest national standards in the respective academic disciplines.” The standards are specified on their the college’s website.

Merriam College does not publish separate statistics for its School of Teacher Education from that of other graduate programs. Overall the college has 1,100, predominantly female, students enrolled in its graduate programs. Merriam’s School of Teacher Education offers five different credentials and nine different professional certificates. Merriam also offers three different Master of Arts in Education programs as well. Merriam College also offers a BTSA (Beginning Teacher and Support Assessment) program for graduates of the credentialing program. BTSA is a teacher induction program where universities work with school districts to provide additional support, training, and units for teachers in their first two years of teaching. For both the Single Subject and Multiple Subject Credentials students are required to pass the CBEST, the

⁶ Quotes and information are from program websites that are not further identified in order to maintain confidentiality.

Multiple Subject CSET plus the writing examination or CSET for Single Subjects, receive a certificate of clearance from the Commission on Teacher Credentialing, tuberculosis clearance, and a passing grade in an undergraduate speech course.

S&C Tech. S&C Tech is a large public university providing almost 120 years of teacher education and preparation programs in the region. S&C advertises that there are six reasons why they are one of the best credentialing programs in California: strong partnerships with local public schools, block models, multicultural teaching focus, research-practice connection, two-semester and three semester program options, and affordable tuition. S&C Tech has over 650 students enrolled in the College of Education and has issued over 2,000 advanced degrees and approximately 450 credentials in the 2012-2013 school year. S&C offers twelve different credentials with multiple different specializations for special education. Within these different credentials, there are multiple paths to earn each of these credentials with an emphasis on learning academies, technology, and multicultural teaching foci.

S&C Tech believes in partnering with the schools in its region. The faculty, “work closely with these districts to “grow” excellent new teachers for the area.”⁷ The S&C faculty also note, “Our public school partners understand and embrace the challenge of developing the next generation of teachers.” S&C Tech’s College of Education puts student teachers into cohorts with team leaders for the express purpose of providing social and emotional support for each student. Additionally, the cohort promotes collaboration and professional growth. S&C Tech espouses that they are focused on the diversity of the program as a reflection of the diversity in the region in which they are

⁷ Quotes and information are from program websites that are not further identified in order to maintain confidentiality.

located. Student teachers are encouraged to learn to embrace diversity and consider it as they support their students academically. S&C Tech's College of Education is proud of the fact that it incorporates the realities of clinical practice while instructing their students with cutting edge research and pedagogical theory.

S&C Tech requires prospective student teachers to have successfully completed courses in multicultural education, health education for teachers, and classroom adaptations for special populations (or courses on children with special needs). Students applying for a Multiple Subject Credential program need to successfully complete a "structure and concepts of elementary mathematics" course. Prospective students are required to pass the CBEST, pass the CSET plus writing skills test, and successfully complete the ELM (Entry Level Math) and EPT (English Placement Test) exams or the EAP (Early Assessment Program) exam. Prospective students are also required to obtain a certificate of clearance from the Commission on Teacher Credentialing or an Emergency Teaching Permit, tuberculosis clearance, a grade point average of no less than 2.67, and early field experience (observing and participating in a regular classroom in a public school).

Overview of Values

At the beginning of each interview I asked the interviewees to write down on notecards characteristics they believed student teachers and classroom teachers should possess. I reviewed the note cards and then followed up with questions. I asked them to discuss and define what those values meant to them and how they were taught in their program. This question was a mechanism to prompt them to think about aspects of their program that promote teaching as a profession. According to Kvale (1996), "The first

five minutes of an interview are decisive. The subjects will want to have a grasp of the interviewer before they allow themselves to talk freely, exposing their experiences and feelings to a stranger” (p. 128). I asked the interviewees to sort the cards in order of importance and define the characteristics for me. The outcome of the card sorting exercise was a conversation about what each interviewee valued. These values, and how the interviewees perceive them, are summarized below.

By using these cards to prompt discussion, I gained an understanding for how they frame their thoughts about teachers and the qualities they should possess. What each of the professors valued was of concern for this research because I was able to understand the context of the work credentialing program set out to achieve. Abbott (1988) maintained, "academic professionals demonstrate the rigor, the clarity, and the scientifically logical character of professional work, thereby legitimating that work in the context to larger values” (p. 54). Additionally, I was able to use the cards for a preliminary look at how the definitions of values converge and diverge between interviewees within the same university and across universities.

Heath University notecards. Heath University’s notecards were compiled together from three separate interviews. Although Heath University’s notecards represented an appreciation of knowledge, skills, and dispositions, the values defined and discussed most frequently related to characteristics of desirable dispositions in teachers. Of the dispositions defined, the one mentioned most often was integrity (or honesty). Interviewees were skeptical that integrity and honesty could be taught, but they also felt they are foundational to teaching and should be screened for prior to admittance into their credentialing program. The university supervisor said the following:

Every time that you get up in front of kids this is about your integrity and if you come into a classroom, thinking you can just teach a lesson by the seat of your pants, with no prior planning, no prior research, no prior anything, this to me is what your integrity is telling kids. You're not important enough to me.

Professional commitment and professional disposition were valued with the same importance as integrity and honesty. An educator who has professional commitment to teaching has a willingness to learn and to try to make things better for students or, as the classroom professor stated, "Vision of the future, love for children, belief in young people, hope for the future, concern for others, and the importance of education." The professors at Heath University voiced these dispositions that include integrity and a willingness to learn and grow, are important for teachers to possess.

Interviewees at Heath University also asserted that teachers should possess "soft skills" that include empathy, passion, and a sense-of-self. Empathy was defined as creating an ethic of care for others and being able to walk in their shoes. Passion was specifically defined as an attitude towards being a teacher. The university supervisor said, "Passion is a love for your subject matter...passion for your profession." The classroom professor defined passion as a main characteristic of a profession, but not a requirement of acting like a professional. She said, "To me profession is an attitude that all work is valuable that you're going to do the best you can at it... if you have a passion for [the work] or develop a passion for it because you see its importance in the scheme of things-- that to me is the perfect thing." As part of defining passion, professors and administration gave examples of a lack of passion. They claim that lack of passion includes blaming the system, blaming the superintendent, or blaming the principal. The interviewees also conveyed that with passion, teachers must have a sense of self. The interviewees expressed that there are soft skills that teachers (and students teachers)

should possess. Soft skills are characteristics that facilitate work with other individuals. This includes having a love for teaching and an awareness of how one behaves and acts in the classroom. Andrew Abbott (1988) would recognize these soft skills as “knowledge transfer”. There is an overlap of tasks that a professional does. This transference of knowledge requires the professional to have the ability to interact with colleagues to complete a task. The above stated qualities (soft skills, empathy, and passion) are all dispositions that Heath’s faculty used to define teaching as a profession.

Some of the values on the notecards were representative of what the professors, supervisors, and deans valued in teacher credentialing programs and its global applicability to teaching as a profession. Autonomy was frequently mentioned by the interviewees. They argued that autonomy is represented by an ability to make decisions at the school site level. The dean in particular stated, “We can’t do that [autonomy of hiring] in public education, in the United States, because we have to look at seniority, we have to go to unions; we have to go to central offices.” This sentiment was not specific to Heath’s credentialing program, but indicative of a problem endemic to education.

The professors at Heath also felt that teacher preparation should mirror a teaching hospital model. The dean expressed, “Ideally we wouldn’t be putting [student teachers] in forty-two different school districts, ... we would have a teaching hospital model, so that these young people could be exposed to the different kinds of districts; the different kinds of ways of doing things.” Professors, supervisors, and deans valued the idea of autonomy within schools and a model of training and new member induction that reflects that of the medical profession.

Some of the values that Heath University discussed on the notecards included skills and specific kinds of knowledge that teacher candidates and classroom teachers should possess. To begin with, the professors of Heath maintain that professional knowledge consists of both content and pedagogical knowledge. Beyond that of content and pedagogical knowledge, teachers should also be research-minded. The professors at Heath insist that being research-minded is manifested by an ability to stay abreast of current research, especially in technology. Other skills that professors, university supervisors, and deans stated teachers should possess included reflection and coachability. The university supervisor defined reflection as looking at lessons and knowledge and thinking about what to adjust and change for the next day's lesson. She stated, "We try to build reflection everywhere: journals, metacognition of the professor reflecting in front of the students, methodologies (vignettes, case studies, and project based learning)." However, the professors claim that reflection is not enough. Teachers need the skills to accept feedback and coaching. Coachability is defined as "the constant repetition, the immediate feedback, the opportunity to practice the positive reinforcement." At Heath, reflection was one of the most commonly discussed qualities valued and was repeatedly mentioned in all of the interviews.

Merriam College notecards. Merriam College's notecards were gathered together from three interviews. Merriam College professors discussed at length the skills they suggested the classroom teachers and student teachers should possess when they teach. Some of the professors noted that classroom management consists of doing triage—taking attendance, keeping the students quiet, and moving the lesson along. Other professors noted that classroom management is managing the behavior of students,

dispensing curriculum, managing the set up of the room, and being aware of the relational/special awareness of the classroom. One of the classroom professors asserted that there are eight areas of focus for classroom management: room and materials; planning, teaching, rules, and procedures; student accountability; student behavior; instruction; conducting instruction; climate, community, and self-management; and getting off to a good start. But classroom management is not the only skill Merriam professors expect of teachers. They suggest that organizational skills are part of classroom management and are defined as being organized enough to get curricular materials into the hands of students.

Beyond the organizational and managerial skills that teachers need to possess, Merriam College professors said that the curriculum should have relevance or be engaging, current and interesting to the students. They expressed that being able to effectively communicate is important and that teachers should be facilitating learning and communicating through writing. Teachers also need to embrace an attitude of cooperation. For the professors, cooperation encompassed harmony and collaboration. They also believed working with colleagues and administration is some of the best methods needed to instruct students.

A final skill that Merriam professors, university supervisors, and deans value is that of being a reflective learner and a reflective practitioner. The associate dean defined a reflective learner as, "Open to new information [such as] the whole notion of improvement in one's career and in what you do by being open to any new information that is posed." The faculty of Merriam expect a reflective learner to evaluate his or her teaching practice, meaning the a reflective learner reflects on what has been taught, how

students have benefited, and how to better help the students in future lessons. A reflective practitioner talks with students about their scores and why they performed the way they did. Reflection is also how teachers consider how they behave as teachers in a classroom.

Because of their affiliation with a religious organization, the dispositions discussed by the Merriam College professors are at the heart of their values and beliefs. The interviewees uniformly discussed and defined the dispositions of noble character. As a department, the faculty agreed these dispositions are important to them and student teachers have multiple opportunities to formally reflect upon them. These dispositions include honor, spirit of harmony and collaboration, being a reflective learner, and professional and positive perseverance. Beyond the dispositions of noble character, professors at Merriam expect teachers to have respect for education and not just a respect for their colleagues, but also a respect for the students. This respect is demonstrated through listening to each other, knowing what teachers bring to the classroom and encouraging student teachers to be collaborative. The professors and administrators also discussed honor and how it relates to their religious beliefs and teaching. The university supervisor said, "We are all individuals created in the image of God and we are committed to civility, respect, hospitality, and grace." Ultimately, the professors of Merriam highlighted the need for teachers to be cognizant of diversity (know where their students come from and acknowledge the differences that are present in their classroom), have enthusiasm (passion for learning and teaching), and love children no matter where they are academically.

Finally, there were several values expressed by the professors and administration of Merriam College that related integrity to the rigor of teaching. Professors defined

integrity as “not doing the minimal amount of work but [instead] knowing about the students and doing extra planning.” They explained that this means being sensitive to the learning needs of the students and knowing their varying needs. The professors interviewed for this study also valued teaching as a profession. The classroom professor said, “A profession is a career. It is more than a job and we meet the needs of our students and make a difference in their lives.” The university supervisor was more specific and claimed teaching is a rigorous profession. The Merriam College faculty defined integrity as a work ethic that is consistent and self-monitoring. With profession and rigor in mind, one interviewee claimed that teachers must have passion, and defined it as a calling and an understanding of the gravity of that passion that must be at the center of one’s career.

S&C Tech notecards. S&C Techs notecards were assembled together from five different interviews. A growing concern for S&C Tech is the lack of content knowledge that current teacher candidates and potential teacher candidates possess and this was evident because it was mentioned in four out of the five interviews. Professors at S&C Tech assert that there are three different kinds of knowledge that they feel student teachers must be taught: pedagogical expertise, content knowledge, and general knowledge. Pedagogical expertise is defined as understanding how students learn. Content knowledge is the need to be an academic expert in at least one content area that is taught in the curriculum. Specific content knowledge is contrasted by that of general knowledge. A classroom professor said, is, “knowing a little about everything, but having a focus on one specific thing that becomes your content knowledge.”

The S&C Tech professors, deans, program leaders, and university supervisors made it clear that they valued knowledge about the diversity in human growth and development (specifically an understanding of early childhood development). Another quality they valued was the student teacher's knowledge of diverse populations. Several of the classroom professors that knowledge of diverse populations meant looking at evidence (like cumulative folders and state testing results) to determine student strengths and weaknesses. A credentialing program leader from S&C Tech stated, "We have a lot of diversity in our community, and [student teachers] need to recognize it as what it is and embrace it and learn as much as they can about those cultures that they're encountering, and not see it as a deficit but to see it as a positive kind of thing." Overall the professors of S&C Tech expressed the values they believed student teachers must learn in the program, but they group them into one concept: knowledge of diversity.

Beyond the professional and academic knowledge of their student teachers, S&C Tech professors described the dispositions they value in teacher candidates and classroom teachers and their stance on the question of whether teaching is a profession. The associate dean defined the term profession as, "Not a job, but a career; a mindset that creates a different approach, growth potential, and is life changing." Another classroom professor said professionalism is receiving raises and benefits and a place in society as demonstrated through written communication, public conduct, and professional dress. Did they think teaching was a profession? Whether a profession or not, S&C Tech interviewees valued teachers having common sense or being realistic about the classroom space a teacher is in and the limitations that exist because of that physical space.

Another cluster of dispositions that S&C Tech faculty valued was support for a multicultural curriculum that recognizes and engages a diverse population of students. They used several different terms to describe this disposition. One characteristic of multicultural curriculum is compassion. A program leader defined it as “listening to what is being said and then building on it. Recognizing and embracing diversity as much as they can about the cultures they are encountering in the community and seeing it as a positive thing and not a deficit,” while a classroom professor referred to diversity as what a teacher brings to the classroom meaning the range of skills and what they can teach. Additionally, multiculturalism meant an awareness of the various abilities of the students.

According to a classroom professor, it isn't enough to be aware of one's own heritage, but that teachers need to understand culture and the community that becomes knowledge and understanding or equity/social justice. Some interviewees felt that in order to achieve equity and honor diversity in the classroom teachers need to be collaborative (sharing practices, skills, successes, and discussing what is best for kids), respectful not just of the profession, but also towards one's self, students and institutions. Teachers need to be patient with students developmentally, cognitively and socially, and lastly teachers need to have integrity and uphold a moral code.

Finally, S&C Tech faculty expressed that they valued specific skills. Professors, university supervisors, and administration defined skills as understanding the teaching space and having good classroom management. More specifically one classroom professor claimed classroom management skills was “having your ducks in a row and knowing where your pencils are...transition[ing] from one lesson to another...how you get the youngsters high and there's a noise level in there, and how long it takes you to

bring it back down again.” Some of the skills the faculty expect their student teachers to demonstrate include classroom management, being organized (having a plan), flexibility (understanding that some things need to be changed in order to better meet the needs of students) and being able to reflect (distinguishing between the good and bad events of the day in great detail).

Summary of notecards. The notecards and the ensuing conversation were used to prompt interviewees to think about what characteristics they value in classroom teachers and their student teachers. Interviewees at Heath University above all value integrity in teachers. They suggest that it is a sign of professional commitment. Along with this professional commitment, Heath interviewees also value teachers having “soft skills” meaning compassion, passion, empathy and a sense of self. Merriam College values classroom management and has designed courses it to ensure this value is enacted. Merriam professors also value teachers’ abilities to communicate and have a cooperative attitude toward working with their colleagues.

Lastly, S&C Tech faculty value teachers being equipped with adequate content knowledge in addition to developmental knowledge learning theories. S&C Tech interviewees don’t just value knowledge, they also value student teachers and classroom teachers having a sense of responsibility to teaching as a profession and being organized and methodical in the work that teachers do. In sum, many qualities each of the universities valued were similar. In a number of cases it was only in language where there was a divergence because the definitions of their values converged (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1
Brief overview of qualities of teachers valued by professors of credentialing programs.

	Heath University	Merriam College	S&C Tech
Knowledge	Research minded Theory-based teaching Intelligence	Research minded	Research minded Intelligence Open-minded Understanding human growth and development
Skills	Collaboration Content Knowledge Organization Technologically Adept Creativity Pedagogical Skills	Collaboration Content Knowledge Organization Engaging Sensitive to learning needs Classroom Management Cooperation Reflection	Collaboration Content Knowledge Organization Critical thinking Good listener Creativity Pedagogical skills Cooperation Reflection
Dispositions	Belief all children can learn Enthusiasm Integrity/Honesty Humble Emotionally stable Sense of self Coachability Dedication Compassion	Belief all children can learn Enthusiasm Integrity/Honesty Dedication Compassion Perseverance Professionalism Humor Patience Respect Appreciate diversity Empathy	Belief all children can learn Enthusiasm Integrity/Honesty Humility Respect Appreciate diversity Empathy

Understanding Knowledge

Knowledge is defined by NCATE (2008, p. 84) as, “Empirical research, disciplined inquiry, informed theory, and wisdom of practice.” The credentialing

programs researched in this study have expanded their concept of knowledge to include pedagogical knowledge and content knowledge. Pedagogical knowledge is defined by NCATE as, “the general concepts, theories, and research about effective teaching regardless of content areas,” where content knowledge is, “a thorough understanding of the content to teach it in multiple ways, drawing on the cultural backgrounds and prior knowledge and experiences of students” (p.84). Although all three of the teacher credentialing programs acknowledge all aspects of NCATE’s definition of knowledge, the most prevalent comment that surfaced from the formal interviews was regarding content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge.. Abbott (1988) points out, “The true use of academic professional knowledge is less practical than symbolic. Academic knowledge legitimizes professional work by clarifying its foundations and tracing them to major cultural values,” (p.54). In exploring the professionalization of education, it is necessary to understand what kind of knowledge is needed to construct the foundations that Abbott refers to. Comparing NCATE’s definitions to the importance that Abbott’s places on knowledge, credentialing programs establish the values and the norms of the teaching profession.

Heath University. Faculty members at Heath University agree with NCATE’s definition of pedagogical and content knowledge. They have also recognized that empirical knowledge (defined as research that is currently being done in the field of education) is important to credentialing programs. Heath’s faculty have taken NCATE’s definitions of knowledge and expanded upon them. Overall, Heath’s faculty agrees that content knowledge is presumed to be something that the teacher candidates came into the program with; it is the information that the teachers will present to the students. Because

of this, content knowledge was not discussed at length. Pedagogical knowledge was more commonly discussed in conversations with professors, university supervisors, and deans at Heath University because it is the theory behind “how to teach” and thus very important for the development of candidates as they prepare to engage with students in classrooms of their own. The university publications and the conversations I had with these educators indicated uniformly called emphasis on teaching the candidates how people learn and how to utilize that knowledge to develop the lessons. There was minimal weight placed on empirical knowledge as evidenced by only one out of the three Heath professors mentioning it during the interviews.

The dean of Heath’s School of Education felt as though NCATE has given validity to what their program has been doing to prepare teachers for the classroom. She stated, “So what’s great about the state of California and the national scene right now is that they are requiring preparation programs [to have] exams on content knowledge and performance assessments and they are required to demonstrate the connection between content and pedagogical knowledge.” However, not all Heath professors were in agreement with the Dean. At Heath University some professors agree with fundamental concepts required of them in accreditation. But in regards to NCATE’s definition of knowledge, they tended to be critical of all the ambiguous definitions of knowledge and the multiple areas knowledge encompasses. The classroom professor lamented, “We go to our accrediting bodies that say teachers need to have solid content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, the pedagogy of their content, how to teach their content, dispositions of being a learner, managing skills, of managing behavior, (pause) and now technological, openness to learning new ways of doing things through

technology.” In other words, the breath of knowledge a beginning teacher needs to master spans beyond the traditional classroom knowledge. Teachers must be masters of content, pedagogy, human development, technology, and research. A university supervisor at Heath felt that although their credentialing program is strong and rigorous, they might fall short of success because they can’t address the growing body of knowledge teachers need to know. She said, “We’d like every teacher to have strong teaching practice when they come in to the teaching world, but that’s rare.” She expressed that she has had to counsel student teachers out of their profession because they are unable to gain the necessary knowledge to be effective in the classroom. The faculty expressed tension between understanding the reason behind the needed amount and rigor of knowledge to be accredited and the reality of imparting that knowledge through their curriculum.

Merriam College. Merriam College faculty related that student teachers should know how to write effective lesson plans based on the information gathering, pedagogical knowledge, and theoretical knowledge. The classroom professor expects that her student teachers will gather information when they “read the cumulative folders...know their students as learners before they plan their lessons and after they know their learners, they’re meeting their needs in the planning.” Professors at Merriam College also believe that student teachers should enter the program with knowledge of the content they are going to teach. They believe the job of the credentialing program is to teach prospective teachers how to impart that knowledge to a variety of students. The Associate Dean of Merriam’s School of Teacher Education commented, “If [pedagogical knowledge] is a true skill and craft to have, to learn the pedagogy to deliver a teaching message that is

remembered, sustained, utilized, put into practice, is to actually have an effect on someone else.” Consequently, the program focuses on equipping their student teachers with theoretical knowledge and pedagogical knowledge.

Theoretical knowledge is part of Merriam’s philosophy on information gathering. Some of the interviewees at Merriam believe that teaching is a profession that engages in research. They believe that if teachers are informed and are curious they will be better equipped to teach and consequently be more effective in the classroom. The classroom professor said, “We teach our students to research and come up with a variety of possibilities rather than a more traditional approach to instruction.” This is evidence of the uniform belief by Merriam professors that in order to be effective in the classroom student teachers need to know current, cutting-edge pedagogy. This means that the professors need to be current on research themselves. University supervisor said, “I like the field of education because it’s kind of a lifetime journey and as a beginning teacher you’re just learning and then later on you can use that knowledge to mentor other teachers.” This speaks to an emphasis on a lifelong learner as a requisite disposition for educators.

The classroom professor emphasized that as the teachers of teachers, professors need to know what is happening currently in classrooms and what is trending in education. This professor believes it would be inappropriate to deliver old material and old teaching strategies to student teachers. The associate dean said, “We need to stay current and relevant yet as teachers and make sure that we are showing the public that we are informed and curious to know what is current, how we can teach through research based practices, and that we are a profession that engages in research.” Yet, in the same

program another professor stated, “I mean some of the things I tell them are old fashioned but they hold true no matter what. I mean they’re still employed by teachers worldwide, the organization and those kinds of things.” There is inconsistency between what the professors at Merriam College espouse in publications and what they actually are practicing in their program. As stated earlier, Merriam College advertises on its website that they prepare professionals to lead effective teaching and learning experiences in both business and K-12 learning settings. Yet, based on the above comment, professors are using dated pedagogical methods that are subjectively effective.

S&C Tech. The professors at S&C Tech have expressed that they believe that student teachers need to have knowledge of the student population they are teaching. Some of the professors and administrators believe that knowledge of content area and pedagogical expertise are the most important qualities a teacher can have. This is a concern for the program at S&C Tech because if a teacher is going to help students learn, the teacher not only has to know the content well enough to explain it in depth, but also needs to know how children learn. The Associate Dean of S&C’s College of Education commented, “There is a relationship between what I do as a teacher and who my students are. I have to know them, I have to know how to teach them, which is related back to the content and the pedagogy.” The professors believe that if a teacher can’t effectively look at evidence, and doesn’t understand that there can be multiple forms of evidence to determine a student’s strengths, then the teacher won’t know how to respond to what the students need. One program leader explained, “Teachers need to know how to analyze and use data to ensure meeting all students’ needs and what I mean by that is all the individual students’ needs... it’s using evidence to make decisions as a teacher.”

Knowledge isn't limited to only the evidence and data gathered by teachers. It also includes academic and cultural knowledge.

This academic and cultural knowledge is about addressing the students' needs and understanding where the students are coming from. The Dean at the College of Education offered, "We take understanding, culture, and community very seriously and that becomes both knowledge and understanding. Understanding a culture and a community means that you have to have a certain level of knowledge to teach." This means being able to understand what the varying needs of the students are in order to adjust the lessons to better reach them. An adjunct professor in the program claimed, "When we talk to students about planning and instruction, we spend time talking about this idea of addressing what the student needs, and where that student is instead of where we would like the student to be." In other words, culture and community at S&C Tech is student-centric—where the student comes from academically and socially and what is needed to take them further in their learning is privileged.

S& C Tech's professors also believe that in order to be an effective teacher it is necessary to understand all the theories that exist concerning teaching and learning. One classroom professor claimed that teachers, in general, not only need to know learning theory, but they also need to be intelligent and have a natural curiosity to learn more themselves. He stated, "If you don't understand learning you can't understand effective teaching." This classroom professor expressed that he wants incoming student teachers to be self-taught and curious. He is hoping for interesting people who are smart, have strong academic backgrounds and a vast array of prior knowledge. He believes these qualities make a good teacher. Multiple interviewees commented on intelligence as a key

attribute. Overall they believe that teachers need to have multiple intelligences and be multi-faceted in their interests. An adjunct professor said, “This is the intelligence that they need to take on if they’re going to become teachers, and it’s not just about knowing their subject matter, it’s about knowing the latest research and best practices of this profession that they’re going into.” The Dean of the College of Education, on the other hand, believes that early childhood education and development is the real foundational piece for all prospective teachers participating in the credentialing program. He stated, “I think that’s important, because everything connected with teaching and learning is rooted in what we understand about human growth and development.” The Dean believes that in order to teach the child, it is necessary to understand the sum of their developmental experience.

There is a lack of agreement about knowledge at S&C Tech and this is because of the multiple definitions the professors have for it. Some professors believe that NCATE’s general definition of knowledge is inaccurate. One classroom professor argued, “I think the best teachers are the people who don’t even understand what prior knowledge means and they smell a skunk whenever anybody talks about it or use it as an excuse in the teacher’s lounge.” In other words, this professor feels that the emphasis on knowledge in a credentialing is unauthentic. But in contrast, another professor comment, “A teacher should have a strong knowledge of content and how that content is addressed in the state standards because that’s the job of the teacher today and if a teacher doesn’t know the content, it’s impossible to teach the content well.” In the end, student teacher knowledge of content is an area that S&C Tech struggles with because their incoming students struggle with mastery of it.

Summary of knowledge. Faculty at all three of the programs researched believe that teachers must possess knowledge of pedagogy and learning theory in order to be effective in the classroom, but how they define pedagogical and learning theory varies from university to university (see Figure 1). Faculty at S&C Tech believe that the student teachers need to have a natural curiosity to continue learning about pedagogical theory and practice. Whereas faculty at Merriam College believe that knowledge is being aware of the current research that exists to better serve the students. Additionally, it seems as though having knowledge about the student population is important. Merriam College professors believe it is knowing a student's personal history (like grades, citizenship, behavioral patterns) while faculty at Heath University believe it is having knowledge about a student's culture and community. Lastly, not all professors agree with the definition of knowledge as provided by NCATE. NCATE claims knowledge is, "Empirical research, disciplined inquiry, informed theory, and wisdom of practice" (2008, p.84). Faculty from all three of the universities believe that the definition doesn't encompass all the knowledge that teachers need to know to be effective in the classroom or the definition contains more than the credentialing program can teach their students through the coursework.

Figure 4.1 Summary of Knowledge Valued in Credentialing Programs

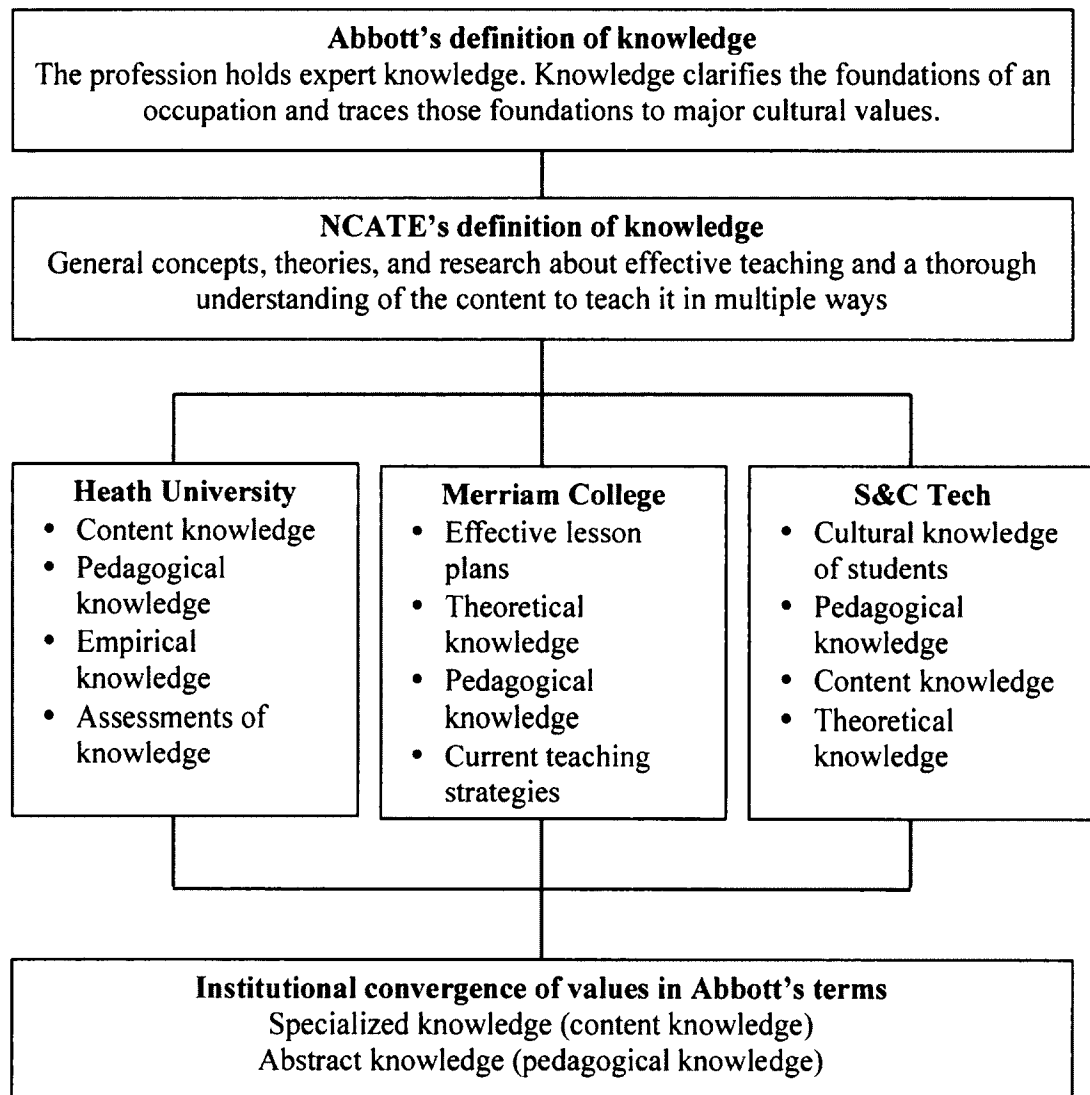


Figure 1. Brief overview of knowledge in credentialing programs. This figure illustrates what professors at each of the credentialing program value in regards to NCATE (2008) and Abbott's (1988) definition of professional knowledge. Values listed in the figure are those stated by a majority of interviewees at each institution.

Understanding Skills

The teacher credentialing programs' definitions of skills differ in many ways from how NCATE outlines and defines skills. According to NCATE skills are defined as, "The ability to pursue content, professional, and pedagogical knowledge effectively and readily

in diverse teaching settings in a manner that ensures that all students are learning” (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008, p. 91). Abbott (1988) provides a theoretical rationale for NCATE’s focus on skills when he says, “Specialization most commonly arises because the skills applicable to a given task area develop beyond the ability of single practitioners.” In other words, if teachers pursue empirical and pedagogical knowledge and translate that into the setting of the classroom, then they develop specialized skills that set them apart from just general content knowledge. These specialized skills include a broad understanding of instructional strategies and a presentation of content in a clear and meaningful manner. NCATE also claims that these skills include using technologies that promote student learning and being able to clearly explain why those technologies are used in the classroom. (p. 17). The credentialing programs’ divergence from NCATE’s definition includes, but is not limited to, the organizational aspects of the classroom and interactions with colleagues to collaboration.

Heath University. Although there is a basic definition that NCATE gives for “skills,” the faculty at Heath University expanded on the construct. Skills in their view include human relation skills and classroom management skills. Classroom management skills are essentially skills that are tools that can be used to make the classroom more efficient and the interactions between students and teachers more positive. Heath University wants their student teachers to be empowered to have classroom management skills that will create a safe learning environment. One classroom professor used a business metaphor to describe what classroom management looks like to her. She described the teacher as the CEO of a classroom. She feels it is the teacher’s

responsibility to make sure that no one experiences excessive stress in the learning environment. She commented, “So, you’re the CEO—all powerful position with being a CEO [and] you have a responsibility with that. You create the environment that the kids live in.” Unlike classroom management, which is about maintaining order, human relation skills are about social justice and the cultural proficiency in the classroom in addition to working with parents and other staff members on the campus. She added, “We watch them teach the main key tenants of our program: constructivism and social justice.” Some professors describe human relations skills needed for social justice as “soft skills.” Heath University screens for these soft skills during the admission interview process. Specifically they look for compassion, empathy and integrity.

The student teachers in Heath’s credentialing program do not always possess the skills the professors and advisors want. Heath’s university supervisor, previously a principal in a large urban district, said she had experienced ineffective student teachers. She commented, “We would end up having to say “Get this person out of here, they can’t control a class, they don’t know their content, they haven’t got strong teaching skills.” I don’t know what methods class they’re in but they certainly don’t seem to be practical and helpful for the classroom.” The university supervisor feels that it is her responsibility to make sure that student teachers have the necessary skills to be effective in the classroom. She stated that she feels as though her program has integrity, rigor, and personalized curriculum to meet the needs of the students. The university supervisor also asserted that student teachers should collaborate and work with not only their professors but also their peers. It is in this collaboration she believes successful skills can be discussed and in turn a place where skills can be remediated. The classroom professor

said, “I think teachers need to have that sense of being collaborative with their peers so that they see the energy and the way that that can move mountains when they have kids collaborate and then they’ll be not so alone in the world.” Heath University wants its graduates to come out of its program with a sense of power, a sense-of-self, and to be collaborative with colleagues so they can be effective in the classroom.

Merriam College. It was clear from the interviews that the faculty at Merriam College focus on classroom management, organization, and the dispensing of curriculum. A considerable amount of time, energy, and resources in the credentialing program is devoted to teaching student teachers about controlling the classroom environment. Merriam has a specific course dedicated just to classroom management. The professor of this class commented, “New teachers lose their jobs in the first year because they can’t manage the classroom and so based on that research we decided to do something about it and this [the classroom management course] is what we came up with.” The professors, university supervisors, and deans have a great sense of confidence in the skills they are teaching their students teachers because of this class. The classroom professor bragged,

We hear back from the community how organized our students are, how our students can manage, how our students are always on top of everything, and that, you know for some people that does come naturally, but for most people stepping into the teaching profession it doesn’t because they don’t know how organized they’re going to have to be.

The faculty and administration at Merriam believe that having the ability to manage a classroom includes managing behavior, managing the work the teachers have to do, and managing the work the students have to do. The teacher must dispense the curriculum and do it in an organized fashion. They believe that classroom management is the creation of a relational space between the student and the teacher.

Although classroom organization and management are valued, not all professors at Merriam believe that student teachers have natural organizational abilities. Some of the professors believe that classroom management should be a prerequisite to being admitted to their credentialing program. The university supervisor commented, “Some of them come in and they just naturally have that knack of controlling the class but then really it has to do with them wanting to have the classroom management more than the ones that don’t recognize that they have a problem. That is a problem.” The classroom professor commented:

It’s not something you’re automatically imbued with—that you’re organized, it’s something that you have. Well, some people are naturally organized but, but they may not be naturally organized in a classroom so they have to get that under their belt to understand all the different facets of classroom organization and that’s actually one of the classes I teach here.

In other words, all student teachers need to understand the value of classroom management. There are some professors and university supervisors at Merriam College who would like to see classroom management a prerequisite to admissions into the program, while others believe classroom management should be taught because it is the key to teacher effectiveness.

There are some professors and advisors at Merriam who believe that skills should be something that can be explicitly communicated and modeled. The classroom professor uses her own class to model teaching strategies. She stated, “Everything I do, even when I’m teaching my reading class is modeling. I want them to see this as something you would use in your classroom to keep yourself organized, to keep yourself on task, to keep kids on task.” The university supervisor believes that through modeling writing she can help facilitate learning. Merriam College professors also believe that their student

teachers should be reflective, especially in evaluating their own practice. The university supervisor said, "If you're going to be a great teacher you have to reflect on your own teaching practice and if you're going to get better you need to reflect on what we've done and how we can benefit students more by what we've done in the classroom." Merriam is striving for its students not only to be reflective learners, but also to utilize reflection in their own classrooms. The Associate Dean of Merriam's School of Teacher Education commented, "I just feel like the best teacher quality is that you can self-monitor for how you're feeling at any time over the course of the year and make sure that your work ethic is just as good as it was the first day that you arrived at school." Through reflection students and teachers can become better learners.

S&C Tech. Reflective practice is prevalent at S&C Tech as well and many consider it the method by which a teacher grows and a method that promotes the professionalization of education. One classroom professor feels as though teachers should strive to be better on their second day; better in their second week; better in their second year. He lamented that if teachers don't reflect and grow then they find themselves having taught twenty years with only one year of experience repeated nineteen times. A credentialing program leader commented:

I think, as a profession, we need to think about how critical it is to know what our learning outcomes are, to plan with those outcomes in mind, and design instruction that is going to capture students' attention and engage them in the learning and then directly assess whether they've learned what we've taught.

A credentialing program leader said, "I think research has shown good teachers are reflective teachers and so we ask students to reflect on their work all the time. After an observation from either the guide teacher or the S&C Tech supervisor, students are expected to reflect on the lesson that they've just taught." The professors believe that

reflection skills need to be explicitly addressed with student teachers because it is easy to walk away from a lesson when they are tired and not think about what happened in their day. If they don't stop and reflect they won't be able to distinguish between what went well and what didn't go well in their classroom.

One of the ways S&C Tech faculty promote reflective thinking is through their student cohorts. In the cohorts, a small number of student teachers work in an intense environment over a period of time. Some of the professors believe that the cohort environment builds social capital, encourages teamwork, and promotes collaboration—all qualities they would like to see in the classroom. This method of putting student teachers into groups has been successful for S&C Tech. A credentialing program leader said, “We work hard at trying to create environments that are trusting, supportive and encouraging of people acting in creative ways.” The faculty and administration of S&C Tech believe that reflection is a critical part of assessing and adjusting lessons to improve learning in the classroom.

Although reflection is valued, some of the professors are critical of the inflexibility that their own peers have when it comes to reflecting about their own pedagogy. One program leader commented, “I think we probably have some faculty that are rather inflexible themselves, and so it's hard to encourage flexibility if you're not flexible yourself, but I know certainly most of the people I work with encourage flexibility.” Another program leader remarked:

It's almost a calling that you are dedicated to doing the best you possibly can with every child in your classroom and being the best teacher that you can... and this applies to faculty at the university as well as in the schools, in terms of they've been doing it for so long that it's sort of rote and they're just sort of doing the things over and over again, and to me if you're really dedicated to this you're always looking for fresh things.

Frustration doesn't exist only with professors at S&C Tech. One professor expressed frustration that even the teachers at the cooperating schools were not reflective and not modeling it for the student teachers.

Like the other universities, the skill of classroom management is an area of focus in S&C Tech's credentialing program. The Associate Dean of the College of Education mentioned, "We foster management into our coursework. You can't teach the kids if you aren't grabbing their attention. It's about how you manage classrooms." Another classroom professor believes that teaching is physically and psychologically hard work and that if a teacher is not prepared then it makes the job that much harder to do, or as he said, "You will drown if you don't have your ducks in a row." Some of the professors believe that having a sense of the space in a classroom makes it easier for the teacher to manage the students. However, according to the S&C Tech professors, classroom management is more than an understanding of a physical space—it is the transition from one lesson to another. It is about getting the students to go from one level of energy to a different level of energy. A credentialing program leader reflected, "I think that good teachers are organized. Good teachers know where they start, where they want to end up, and how they get there. [It] can be a whole lot of different ways, but they have a plan, and they need to be flexible with that plan." According to some of the professors at S&C Tech, a disorganized teacher has a disorganized classroom and optimal learning can't happen in that environment.

Summary of skills. In summary, skills have a limited range of meaning for the professors at each university (see Figure 2). Interviewees from all three credentialing programs have placed emphasis on classroom management. They believe that as student

teacher should be organized to effectively disseminate the curriculum. But, the faculty of the credentialing programs also diverge in their beliefs about soft skills, social justice, and reflective practice. Heath University faculty believe that there are a couple of different types of important skills including classroom management and human relation skills. The human relation skills are softer skills, which include compassion, integrity, and empathy. Heath faculty also like to have their student teachers collaborate so they can build their skill set together. They also hope their teachers will collaborate with other teachers at their future school sites. Merriam College has a strong emphasis on classroom management and has made it the focus of the credentialing program. The faculty at Merriam believe that in a classroom that has order knowledge can be effectively dispensed in an ordered classroom. They also believe that teachers should have the skill to be able to communicate and model the behavior desired in the learning environment. Although they spend a good portion of the credentialing program teaching classroom management, there are some professors who would prefer to have the course as a prerequisite to the credentialing program admission so they can focus more on the pedagogical and theoretical knowledge student teachers need. Finally, S&C Tech has a strong emphasis on reflection and how that affects the classroom environment. Reflection is believed by professors at S&C Tech to be a critical component in the life cycle of a lesson. Without reflection, a teacher cannot grow and change with the ever-changing academic and social needs of their students

Figure 4.2 Summary of Skills Valued in Credentialing Programs

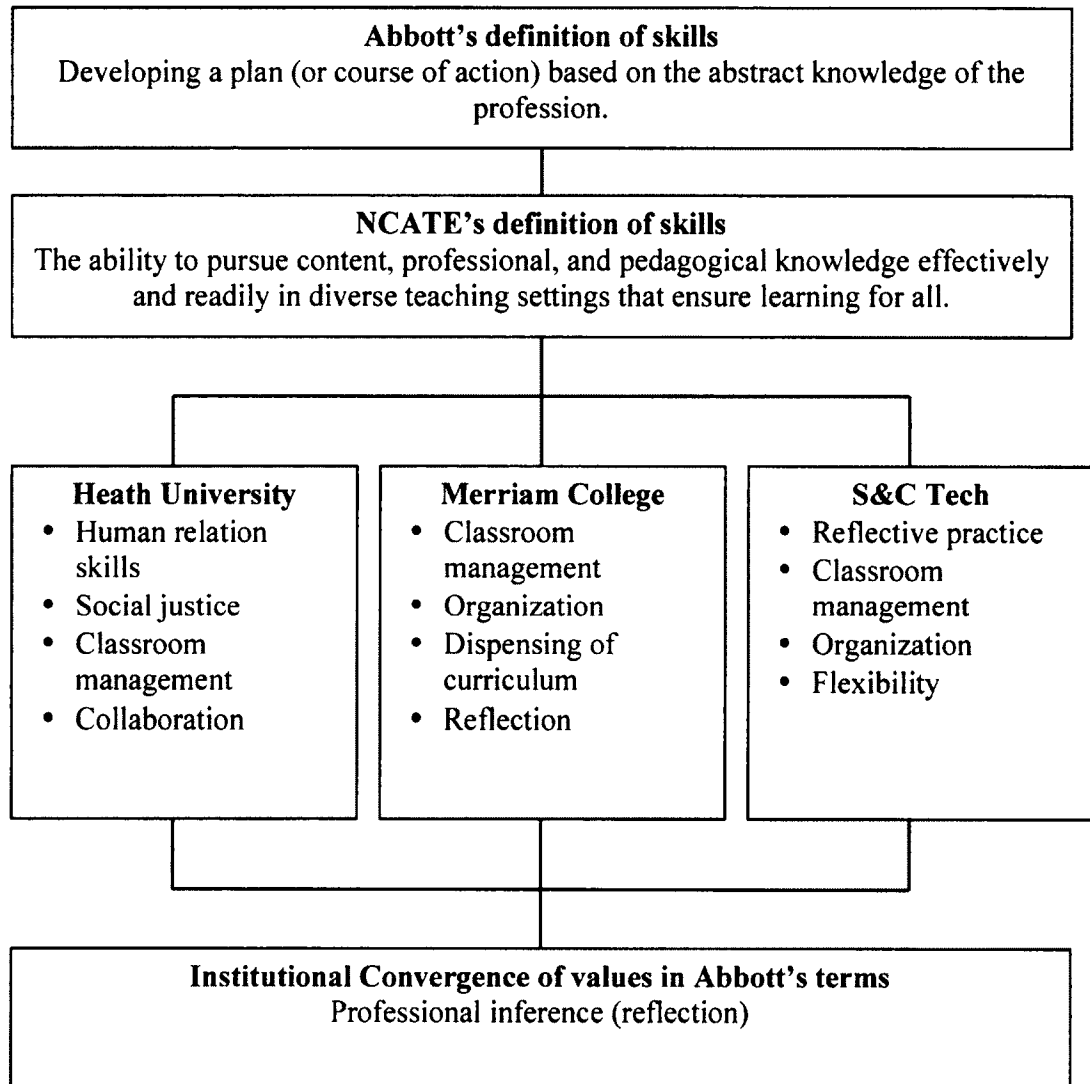


Figure 2. Brief overview of skills in credentialing programs. This figure illustrates what professors at each of the credentialing program value in regards to NCATE (2008) and Abbott's (1988) definition of professional skills. Values listed in the figure are those stated by a majority of interviewees at each institution.

Understanding Dispositions

NCATE posits that professional dispositions are, “professional attitudes, values, and beliefs demonstrated through both verbal and non-verbal behaviors as educators

interact with families, colleagues, and communities” (2008, p.84). Although Abbott (1988) does not refer to them as dispositions, but rather as ethos, he explains:

By nurturing the profession's ethic within its members, a profession offers a better means of shaping human behavior in situations of chaotic violence, stress, and ambiguity than bureaucratic management can ever hope to achieve. In other words, within the culture of a profession is embedded an ethos that strongly informs the actions of the individual profession. (p.11)

NCATE left the definition of dispositions ambiguous for university credentialing programs so they can refine them as a reflection of what their school values. NCATE does expect to see a couple of specific dispositions in their accreditation process. This includes an assessment of fairness, and the belief that all students can learn. Because NCATE has provided the room for the credentialing programs to operationalize professional dispositions, it could be assumed that this is the area of greatest divergence. It is quite the opposite; many of the dispositions defined by the schools are similar to one another.

Heath University. Heath University faculty members believe that their student teachers are ambassadors of their program in the community. Consequently they believe there are certain dispositions their student teachers should possess. As a prominent university in their community, a positive disposition towards teaching and learning is ideal and Heath has a strong emphasis on screening for it in the application process. Several of the professors claimed that as a department they have discussed at length the need to believe that all students can learn. The classroom professor explained, “We value all students being able to have equity in the classroom—not just, ‘I’m treating you fairly,’ but that we teach knowing learning theory in such a way that you will learn because I am committed to your learning.” Because of this sentiment, Heath University faculty expect

to observe this disposition toward an ability to learn in their student teachers.

Additionally evaluation of this disposition during the student teaching practicum determines whether or not they move on in the program. While discussing student teacher placement, the university supervisor remarked, “They need to be spending time in a classroom, to find out if they number one they like it, number two like children (or I guess those kind of go in hand in hand) but like children first, like the possibility of teaching second.” This speaks to a crossover quality of soft skills. University supervisors want to see the student teacher in the classroom having these humanistic dispositions.

In addition to these dispositions, the professors of Heath want to see in their student teachers’ world-mindedness, social justice, and an appreciation for reflection. One university supervisor claimed that these dispositions cannot be taught and need to be inherently part of the student teacher’s personality. This includes: love for children and a belief in young people, adaptability, flexibility, enthusiasm, a willingness to learn, and integrity. Other professors and university supervisors at Heath University believe that these “soft skills” cannot be taught, but certainly can be honed in and improved upon through observation and modeling by the faculty. The dean said, “We’d like every teacher to have strong teaching practice when they come into the teaching world, but that’s rare. If they are willing to learn, it can be done.” Thus, there is a belief that the responsibility of how the student teachers represent Heath University belongs to the professors, assuming that the dispositions can be improved, or even taught. Clearly there is tension between what student teachers are expected to bring into the program and what the professors can contribute to the student teachers’ growth. There is also pressure on

the professors to ensure that student teachers are representing the university fairly but dispositions are difficult to measure.

Merriam College. As a faith-based institution, Merriam College, espouses that teaching is a gift from God and because of that belief the college has a strong emphasis on dispositions. The emphasis is on “dispositions of noble character” which includes: honor, spirit of harmony and collaboration, reflective learning, and professional and positive perseverance. These dispositions are used as a professional screening process for the college’s program with the intent of increasing the professional rigor of teaching. The Associate Dean of the School of Teacher Education commented:

We teach the candidates that these behaviors are filled with ability to be all of this because of God’s grace, but when you are in the public sector and you’re teaching in a public institution, you can still be all of these wonderful things and in a way that they’re just so appreciated by the public sector without naming them.

Because of the credentialing program’s strong beliefs in these dispositions, they were represented as a theme in all the interviews conducted. They were manifested in conversations about classroom management, organization, dispensing of curriculum, and in diversity. Merriam College professors take the time to make sure every single candidate, upon entering the program, knows what dispositions of noble character look like in action and the expectations that they will reflect on them while student teaching. The university supervisor at Merriam discussed the notion of honor. As a retired principal, she felt that far too often she was seeing teachers sliding by in their classroom and not doing the right thing for students (coming prepared, reflecting on their lessons, or putting the students’ needs above their own). To clarify she said, “Part of what Merriam does as a Christian university, is to make part of their evaluation [of student teachers]

these characteristics.” But evaluating is not merely enough to ensure that student teachers are displaying these dispositions—the faculty must believe in them too.

In addition to emphasizing “dispositions of noble character” with their student teachers, Merriam College professors believe that they need to model the dispositions for their student teachers. The classroom professor described how she models dispositions when she said:

I think we do it well which is we model in the classroom for those candidates and not only in the classroom but I think we have a very personalized program so that the students have consistent contact and they’re respecting diversity in their own settings and in the context of the classroom, when they’re learning.

The professors acknowledged how difficult it is for students to shift mental models because the professors are asked to shift their own paradigms through living out and modeling in their own classes the dispositions of noble character. The associate dean said, “We give them grace and we show them grace and I think you can show grace without lowering your expectations and we have all kinds of opportunities to be empathetic and graceful with our students.” The classroom professor didn’t have as much compassion and said, “If you don’t like kids you shouldn’t be teaching. It is my feeling and can credential programs teach that? I don’t think so. I think that individuals come in with that mindset.” One of the ways that Merriam has student teachers reflect is to evaluate their own dispositions via self-assessments at the beginning of the credentialing program. They are evaluated at several critical points in the program and throughout their clinical practice. This self-assessment is done with the guidance of their cooperating teacher.

The professors of Merriam College value putting students first and value the acknowledgement of the diversity of each child in the classroom. One of the ways they

believe a teacher can achieve this is through reflection, flexibility, and expectations for learning. Being in Southern California, some of the interviewees acknowledged that there might be more diversity in the classroom like ethnicity, sexual orientations, or different religions in their classroom. This requires an appreciation that everybody brings something to the table that benefits learning. The classroom professor said:

It's their first touch of noticing that each child is an individual and that they bring all kinds of attributes (good or bad) to the classroom and that they can come in on any given day and you may be prepared for what you want them to accomplish that day but they may not be prepared to do any of that because of something that has happened at home earlier in the day.

In other words, it is expected that teachers meet their students where they are academically and developmentally. Additionally, some of the professors believe that teachers need to set high expectations for their students and constantly reinforce positive behavior as students attempt to meet those expectations. The Associate Dean commented, "We model most of these ones [dispositions] because we as faculty go through these indicators of behavior for ourselves, and [we discuss them] at every single faculty meeting so we're very familiar with them." The high expectations that Merriam holds for their student teachers are matched with the high expectations for the professors.

At Merriam, the admission process is rigorous, disposition screening is a serious consideration, and the fidelity of observing and evaluating of dispositions is a priority. The Associate Dean of the School of Teacher Education commented, "There's a pretty strict screening process to get into the graduate program and then there are [disposition] benchmarks along the way before they actually go into their student teaching." The professors have a united expectation of rigor. The classroom professor remarked, "We hold high expectations for every single student." During the credentialing process

Merriam has an advancement interview where the student teacher must stand before two faculty members and the student is questioned in two arenas: content and professionalism. If a student teacher does not sufficiently pass the oral examination then the teacher is placed in a remediation program. The student teacher takes a one-unit course with a faculty member of the student's choosing and prepares again to be orally examined by two more faculty members. The Associate Dean of the School of Teacher Education commented, "It's the same exact questions; we are not trying to trick them, but we want them to know we take them being a teacher very seriously." The professors of Merriam College believe that this is the first line of defense: They are able to screen and help students improve before they are sent into the public schools to teach, thus believing that dispositions can be improved and taught. The associate dean said, "The Credential Program lends itself, if it's done correctly, to allowing candidates to somewhat explore what they've been called to do." The faculty, in general, believes that they are equipping, transforming, and empowering the students to go out and do "Gods calling" in the schools.

S&C Tech. S&C Tech as a teaching community has had in-depth conversations about the definition and parameters of "dispositions" and how they are incorporated into the credentialing program. The associate dean commented, "I know we've had conversations at S&C Tech where we talk about what exactly do we mean by dispositions and how can we define appropriate dispositions as opposed to inappropriate dispositions?" Another interviewee commented:

Well I think that standard in particular is so vague, that it almost becomes meaningless. I mean what is meant by dispositions? What might be an appropriate disposition for one grade level or subject area is not necessarily the same

disposition that would be appropriate for a different grade level and a different subject.

NCATE's definition of dispositions (or lack there of) has been a source of frustration and disagreement at S&C Tech and not all the professors are able to come to an agreement on what dispositions they should focus on or how to handle student teachers as they work on them. One of the credentialing program leaders reflected, "Occasionally you have a student who just doesn't have the dispositions for teaching, and how do you define that? And how can you articulate that in a way that's fair to everyone involved? That's a really hard one." Because of this the dispositions taught and valued are far ranging and wide at S&C Tech.

A couple of the dispositions the professors at S&C Tech value are that all children can learn and an acknowledgement that they all bring diversity to the classroom. Professors stated they believe that all students can learn and they try to encourage their student teachers to adopt that sentiment. Some of the interviewees referred to this as diversity or multiculturalism. The associate dean commented, "It's not about treating everybody the same, it's about treating students in ways that maximizes their potential and address what they need." Some professors clarified that a teacher can want the best for their students and care about them, but that doesn't mean they believe every student has the ability to reach the student's highest potential. One of the credentialing program leaders said, "Teaching is a relationship between what I do as a teacher and who my students are, so I have to know them, I have to know how to teach them and I have to know what I'm doing, [which] results in their learning and also their awareness that they're learning." A classroom professor commented, "There's just no such thing as a

reluctant student. If they look like they're reluctant, it's my fault." The responsibility is on the teacher to believe and reinforce the potential in all their students.

S&C Tech also values compassion and understanding in the classroom. The faculty believe it is important for teachers to recognize values are different and that constitutes using different approaches. This speaks to S&C Tech's emphasis on teachers learning about human growth and development. One university supervisor commented, "I possess the ability to be compassionate and understanding, meaning what it is that you're doing and why it is you're doing it. We know that learners learn best in environments where you understand that, that people I'm working with care about me and how well I'm doing." This emphasis of compassion and understanding is born out of patience. The professors acknowledge that the landscape of education in California is changing and sometimes challenging. One professor insisted, now more than ever, is the time for teachers to practice patience in order to have compassion and to help accelerate the students to go further academically. The professors at S&C Tech also put an emphasis on collaboration, cooperation, and maintaining a high standard for teachers and education. One of the credentialing program leaders asserted, "Sharing best practices, sharing successes, discussing ways to best create a good learning environment for children, collaboration skills, being willing to collaborate and knowing how," is critical for teachers to be successful in the classroom. Through collaboration and cooperation teachers will understand diversity broadly and not generalize about the students in their classroom. Professors also believe that teachers need to have a moral code. This code includes not cutting corners or letting lesson plans or permitting behavior to slide.

Teachers need to hold themselves accountable in addition to holding students accountable to create a climate grounded in the belief of equity.

S&C Tech is attempting a new paradigm for student teaching that has put an emphasis on fostering relationships between the university and their partner schools. Instead of the traditional master teacher and student teacher model, S&C Tech encourages their cooperating teachers to view their role as teaching side-by-side with their student teacher as opposed to roles where one person is dominant over the other. Because of this paradigmatic shift in thinking about student teaching practicums, S&C Tech has to be selective in choosing their partner schools. One university supervisor commented, “We choose [school partners] carefully, [they] offer great support so that our candidates really understand what teachers are required to do, and what’s expected.” S&C Tech works closely with districts and the professors feel as though they have a mutually beneficial relationship, as opposed to an attitude of “just cooperating” with the districts.

Summary of dispositions. Professors at Heath University expressed that dispositions are important to them because dispositions are not only reflective of teaching as a profession, but also because their student teachers represent the university in the teaching community. Because of this representation, they expect their student teachers to provide equity in the classroom and have humanistic interactions with the students to uphold the integrity of educators. Merriam College, because of its religious affiliation, defines dispositions through the lens that teaching is a gift from God. Because of this, they not only screen for dispositions, but also expect the professors to model the “dispositions of noble character” for the student teachers. They also have critical points in

the credentialing program where student teachers reflect and evaluate their progress in order to advance to the next phase of the credentialing program. The professors at S&C Tech emphasized the conversations they have had defining what dispositions they value and what that means for their students. This includes valuing multiculturalism, the belief that every student can learn, attitudes of cooperation and collaboration, and valuing partnerships with the community. They also encourage student teachers to foster relationships through the alternative form of student teacher practicum where the cooperating teacher and student teacher are equals and co-teach in the classroom.

In sum, the three universities take a similar view toward dispositions (see Figure 3). In doing so, they have developed a set of values and beliefs that are consistently carried throughout the implementation of the credentialing programs and consequently sent into public schools. Abbott (1988) argues that a profession has a professional code of ethics that informs the actions of the individuals in the profession. Similarly, NCATE (2008) believes that professional dispositions, or as Abbott refers to it, a professional code of ethics, are demonstrated through both verbal and non-verbal behaviors. Instead of determining what those dispositions are for universities, however, NCATE has left the definition ambiguous so each individual program can define dispositions as a reflection of universities values. As a result we see an assortment of dispositions that reflect the values of the institutions but doesn't show a convergence in values.

Figure 4.3 Summary of Dispositions Valued in Credentialing Programs

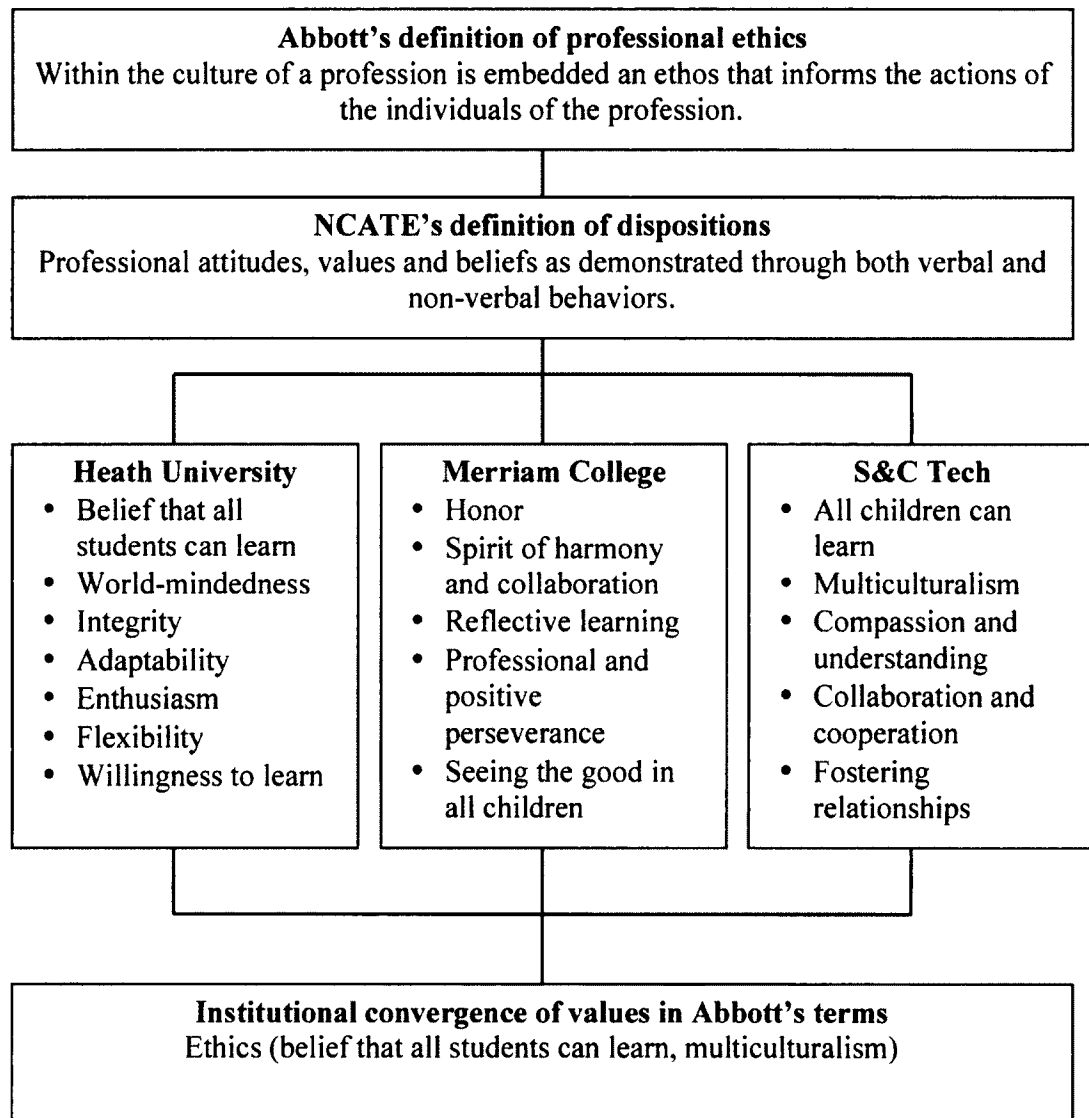


Figure 3. Brief overview of dispositions in credentialing programs. This figure illustrates what professors at each of the credentialing program value in regards to NCATE (2008) and Abbott's (1988) definition of professional dispositions. Values listed in the figure are those stated by a majority of interviewees at each institution.

Authentic Assessment

PACT (Performance Assessment for California Teachers) measures the candidate's knowledge, skills, and ability in relation to the California State Teaching Performance Assessments (TPAs). The exam uses multiple sources of data. These data

include teacher lesson plans, lesson artifacts, student work samples, video clips, and reflections. Teacher candidates must complete three defined tasks that are related to their subject-specific pedagogy which are organized into four areas (planning, instruction, assessment, and reflection) (Pechone & Chung, 2006). It is this data that is of particular interest of NCATE because it represents “outcome-based” information about teacher credentialing programs (“Possible alternative accreditation, 2009). Through the PACT, credentialing programs are assembling artifacts and placing structures in place to ensure that all entrants into the profession have the same level of competence. Abbott (1988) encourages this sentiment and states, “First, other things being equal, the more strongly organized a profession is, the more effective its claims to jurisdiction” (p. 82). The use of an authentic assessment is considered by many of those interviewed as a way to organize and add rigor and professionalize teaching. Only two out of the three universities participate in PACT and of those two universities, one struggles with controversies about how it has affected the curriculum in its teacher credentialing program. Merriam College does not participate in PACT but uses TPA’s (Teacher Performance Assessments) to define their program and assess their student teachers’ competence. Credentialing programs are required to administer an assessment to issue a credential. It is for this reason that the rigor and effectiveness of credentialing programs are questioned.

Heath University. Heath University believes that teacher competence is defined by whether or not its student teachers pass the PACT. Additionally, the PACT has become a unifying activity that every professor and member of this educational community has invested in. A university supervisor at Heath commented that the PACT has established consistency and high standards in the university’s teacher credentialing

program. The Dean of Heath's School of Education claims that PACT has not only improved the competence of student teachers, but of the professors as well. Concerning the students, the dean commented, "If they have passed their PACT they are absolutely unequivocally competent beginners. So they have demonstrated expertise in pedagogical skills that they can begin to then hone during their careers." She also commented:

The performance assessments have totally changed everything... all of our faculty had to be trained; all of our faculty had to be calibrated... they do calibrations every year, they are so much more engaged in the preparation of teachers, they are so- their knowledge is deeper, their assessment of learning of our teacher candidates is so much deeper.

This is attributed to the feedback that the professors receive based on student teacher performance on the PACT and the reflection they have to do to improve passing rates. Regarding the reflection and evaluation process the classroom professor remarked, "We all bring forward, in a narrative or in a hard copy, their work samples and we make decisions on whether to advance the student, whether to dialogue with the student, what that student needs for some assistance to become [a teacher]." This dialogue has increased the level of rigor and accountability in the credentialing program.

Heath University also believes that the PACT has changed more generally the face of teacher education and credentialing programs for the better. The implications of change are at the university and state levels. The Dean of Heath University's School of Education mentioned, "What's great about the state of California and the national scene right now is that they are requiring preparation programs, and [Heath University] has been doing it for a long time on our own, [to administer] exams on content knowledge and performance assessments is required to demonstrate the connection between the content and the pedagogical knowledge." In addition, the classroom professor stated, "It

pulled us all together... to look and work together on how, not just to meet the letter of the law, but what are we doing now that works and what do we need to change, to fit into the clinicals.” The faculty believes that the PACT is the teaching profession’s version of clinicals like nurses and doctors go through, meaning the observation and teaching of actual students as opposed to theoretical studies. And yet, the classroom professor was discontented with PACT and stated, “I think the difference is that in teaching there are so many variables, that it’s hard, perhaps to measure by way of the PACT process when you don’t necessarily have an assessment tool that goes along with what you’re watching on a video clip.” Either way, the professors believe that despite the fact that the PACT is labor intensive because of the instruction time it takes to prepare student teachers, it is improving credentialing programs in California. Ultimately, they believe that the PACT has added value to credentialing programs and because the rigor for the assessment is high, the university has to maintain standards of excellence for its student teachers.

S&C Tech. Some of the professors at S&C Tech feel as though using the PACT as a performance-based assessment has formalized teacher credentialing programs. They believe that PACT is an instrument that has required student teachers to plan instruction with the context of the classroom in mind. The PACT requires student teachers to be able to explicitly articulate the reason for their lessons, display how they use academic language, and assess English language learners and special needs students. One of the credentialing program leaders commented, “I think we’re probably doing it better today than we were ten years ago, in this respect; I do think that an assessment tool like PACT is a very legitimate, helpful, structure.” S&C Tech has multiple different credentialing tracks and the use of the PACT has helped to keep all the programs aligned together to

meet certain standards of practice. Another of the credentialing program leaders remarked, “Because these are all things teachers should be doing all the time we’re putting a structure on it and making us articulate all of those things, where we might not have necessarily done it before.” In other words, it has provided a unifying structure of rigor that previously didn’t exist at S&C Tech.

The PACT is also a source of conflict. One interviewee at S&C Tech feels that the PACT is not an authentic assessment, it is cumbersome to prepare for, and it is difficult to complete. He believes that it has replaced quality curriculum. The classroom professor argued, “ [The PACT] is not intended to be the curriculum; it’s intended to assess the student learning.” This professor even believes that the authentic assessments are compromising credentialing programs. He specified, “I’ve been supervising student teachers for forty-eight years. I know what it’s supposed to look like and I know how easy it is to perform a lesson for an observer who comes in.” He further complains, “We’ve become a secondary test preparation in the schools and some portion, which ranges from a little bit to a lot, of the curricular day is committed to test preparation, high stakes test preparation.” He believes that because of authentic assessments, credentialing programs have become piecemeal and that what they are learning is not practical or translatable to the classroom. Ultimately, this professor is worried that student teachers aren’t learning in the credentialing program how to think creatively through problems. He believes student teachers are only learning how to pass an examination and they will not be able to instruct their students to think creatively through problems. In other words, this particular professor is concerned that instead of being a tool to assess competency in teachers, passing the PACT has become the primary focus the curriculum.

Other professors at S&C Tech agreed that PACT is not perfect. They questioned whether failing the assessments is a true indication of an effective teacher or vice versa. One interviewee questioned, "I always wonder about someone who fails the teaching event and passes student teaching, because if it was really an authentic, if it was truly authentic, then if they fail the teaching event they should be having difficulty with their student teaching as well." Several professors observed that it is not enough to be able to write good lesson plans. The teachers need to be able to enact them and then evaluate the lesson plans. This is where, for several of the interviewees, the PACT redeems itself. Student teachers are required to video record themselves teaching and analyze their teaching, which provides a sampling of what the student teachers are capable of in a classroom. But, again PACT is problematic because it is dependent on partner schools and partner districts. Some professors have expressed concern about the differences in curriculum between cooperating teachers and what the PACT assesses student teachers on. One of the credentialing program leaders said:

There really was no accountability at the elementary level for social studies whatsoever, suddenly PACT comes along and the students are paying more attention, they're not coming into class saying, "Well my guide teacher doesn't teach this at all. It's not assessed in the schools. Why do I have to take this methods course and why does this even matter?"

This concern has caused a few of the professors to struggle with endorsing some student teachers because they have not been adequately prepared in the partner schools and creates difficulty in helping the student teachers pass the PACT. Some of the professors at S&C Tech use the PACT as a means of assessing the student teachers' readiness for the classroom. One program leader commented, "We evaluate them in a variety of ways and we say that in the document. For example its how you interact with peers, how they

interact with their faculty and their team leaders. How they interact with their cooperating teacher [or] with students. How they interact with administrators.” They believe that the PACT has provided a means to calibrate and assess student teachers, which has been “a game changer” for their programs.

The overall sentiment at S&C Tech is that through PACT the credentialing program has been formalized and professors are having more meaningful conversations about their courses and the content they are teaching. One classroom professor said, “I think it forces us as faculty to make sure that we address each of these things because what happens is that everybody thinks that someone else is doing it and it’s really an opportunity to make sure that all of these of things are being touched on.” Members of the S&C Tech faculty acknowledge that there are those who believe that they spend too much time preparing for the teaching event, but that in preparation for the teaching event they are addressing more of the skills needed for teaching than if they weren’t preparing for the PACT. One of the university supervisors responded by commenting:

I think that over all we noticed, for instance, after the first year that our students were really struggling with academic language, and we didn’t know that before, and this allowed us as faculty to say academic language is important. And if it’s important, how can we help our students understand academic language in a better way and be able to then use that in their classrooms so that their students gain the skills involved in academic language and language acquisition?

In other words, several of the interviewees believe that if, as a faculty, they are reflective and look at what the authentic assessment is generally telling them, then the faculty can work on improving instruction on those skills to elevate the quality of their credentialing program.

Summary of authentic assessments. Merriam College does not participate in PACT. They didn’t indicate that they were intentionally evading the assessment, but that

they use the TPA's to evaluate their student teachers. Although Merriam does not participate in PACT, they utilize the TPA's as a set of curricular guidelines that mirrors the reflection process of Heath and S&C. Heath University believes that the PACT has changed the face of teacher credentialing programs. The PACT determines if a student teacher has basic competency to start teaching. They also believe that through the PACT they have become more reflective as a faculty and have made their program more consistent and aligned with state requirements. The assessment has also opened the door for better communication and calibration with the faculty and their individual curriculum. S&C Tech professors had the most to say about the PACT and expressed the most dissention over it. While they overall believe that the PACT has formalized teacher credentialing programs and that it has prompted conversation about practice, they also feel that it is flawed and has room for improvement. Some of the professors felt that the requirements of PACT have replaced the traditional curriculum with test preparation and as a result student teachers are not being taught to think critically through problems. Other professors observed that what is being taught in the program, in order to align with the PACT, might not be practical for the experience of the student teaching practicum.

In sum, two of the universities who participate in PACT related that it has formalized credentialing programs and has established accountability for not only student teachers but also for the professors in the program (see Figure 4.4). This is done through the collection of multiple sources of data including lesson plans, lesson artifacts, work samples, video clips, and reflection from the student teachers. Abbott (1988) acknowledges that the more organized a profession is more, the stronger it can claim of jurisdiction. NCATE supports the use of authentic assessments in credentialing programs

because it is outcome based and provides a measurement of the effectiveness of the credentialing programs (“Possible alternative accreditation, 2009). Stanford University designed a new assessment (the edTPA), which is intended to be used not only in California, but also out of state (“edTPA”, 2014). Similar to PACT, this assessment is used to measure whether or not a teacher candidate is ready for the classroom. At the time of this research, S&C Tech used the PACT, but since completion of the research has transitioned to edTPA.

Figure 4.4 Summary of Authentic Assessments Valued in Credentialing Programs

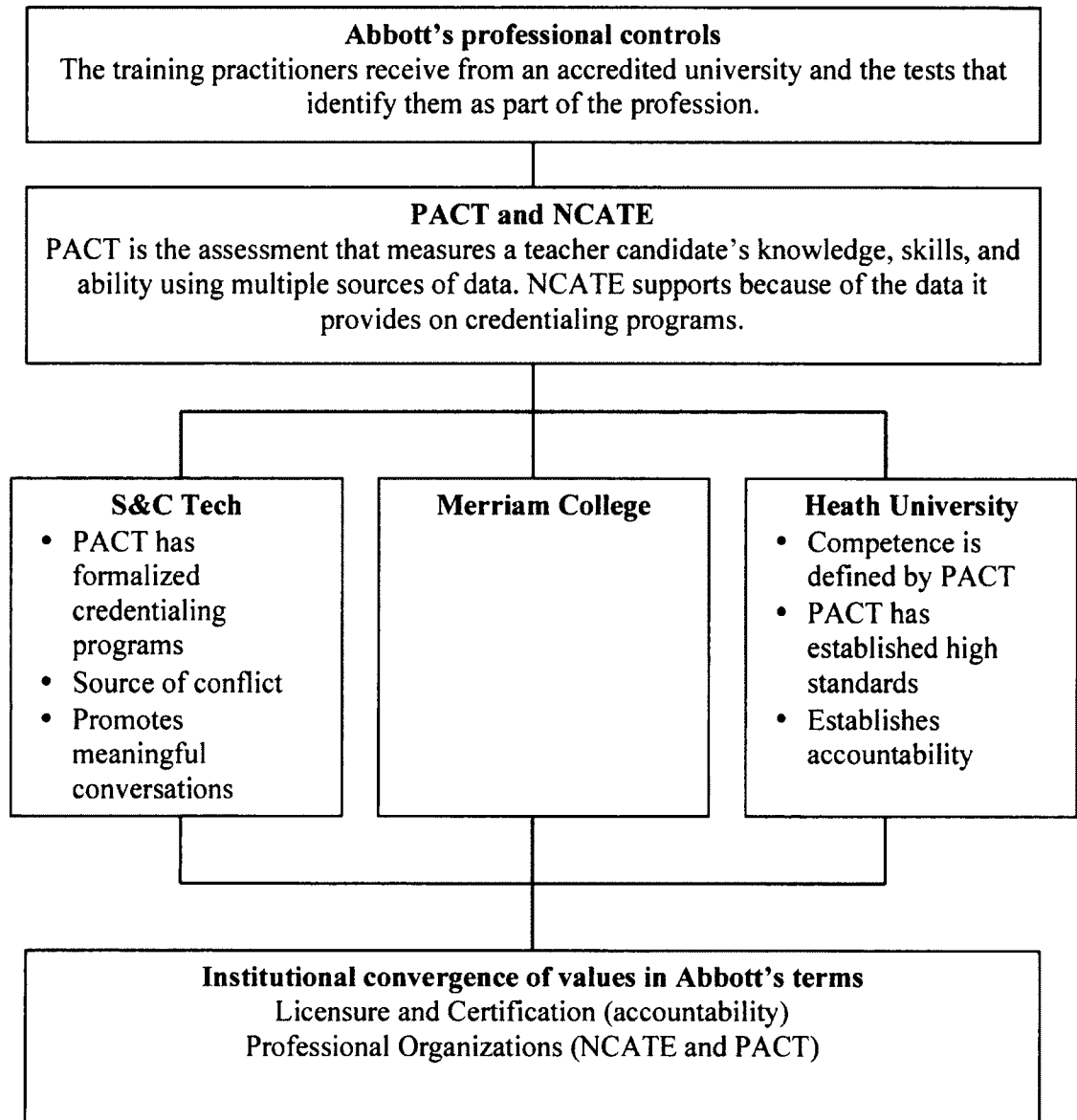


Figure 4. Brief overview of credentialing programs views of PACT. This figure illustrates how professors at each university values and describes the use of authentic assessments in their credentialing program. Values listed in the figure are those stated by a majority of interviewees at each institution.

Complications and Obstacles

The topic of complications and obstacles was a theme that emerged from interviewees' responses concerning their program. It first began with the question, "How

does your university differ from other programs,” and eventually evolved into “what complications are you experiencing in your credentialing programs?” Many of the interviewees feel that teaching has become a bureaucratic machine. Teachers are limited in their function within schools essentially acting as a cog for the larger mechanism of their school. This creates a struggle for universities as they attempt to induct newcomers into the profession. Abbott (1988) states, "Thus, paradoxically, the bigger the dominant professions, both in structural and in cognitive terms, the more numerous the jurisdictions, both in structural and in cognitive terms, the more numerous the jurisdictions open for attack" (p.110). Universities and their credentialing programs have been under attack and professors have concerns about master-student teacher relationships, relationships with partner schools, and knowledge that student teachers come with upon entering the credentialing programs.

Heath University. The first complication Heath University has experienced relates to the politics of education. The faculty claims that all credentialing programs are lumped together, but not all programs are equal. It was repeatedly mentioned that Heath’s credentialing program has different values than other schools and that they resent how they are viewed the same as other universities. Additionally, there was a bitter sentiment that sub-standard “for-profit” schools are allowed to issue the same credential even though the quality of education they provide is questionable. The Dean of Heath’s School of Education stated, “We didn’t police our profession before NCATE...there are so many institutions in this state that are preparing teachers and they’re not nationally accredited programs. That’s wrong.” The classroom professor contrasted Heath’s program to other non-accredited programs and claimed, “We [Heath] have a very rigorous system, you

apply to the program, you have to be interviewed for the program, you have to go do practicum, you have to hang out in the classroom, you have to be interviewed again before you're even allowed to go onto student teaching." Not all credentialing programs have the same level of rigor, and some of the professors are concerned about the fundamental success of public education in this country when the quality of teachers is not regulated.

The professors of Heath University also believe that the relationships between the school districts and credentialing programs are strained. Current pedagogy being taught in credentialing programs does not coincide with district mandates. Although the faculty did not talk negatively about their partner schools, they expressed getting the partner schools and the credentialing program in the same theoretical space is a challenge. Additionally, what is being taught in their credentialing program is not being practiced in the partner schools' classrooms. The university supervisor interviewed commented, "It's been a bit problematic with me because some of the placements I've seen, I'm like, 'Why is this student teacher, whose already struggling being put with a Master Teacher who seems to have nearly the same struggles that I see the student teacher having?'" The university supervisor commented that she has also observed poor teaching techniques from the master teacher and then observed the student teacher mimicking it. But not all interviewees agreed. Some believe that the experience is invaluable. The university supervisor commented, "They're [student teachers] going to see real live classrooms that have all the good, bad and the ugly and yet they're going to see how these theories can be used, and in fact are used in the classroom." The university's faculty want to believe the master teachers are the operational experts. The faculty also want to believe that the

operations of a classroom are being shared with the student teachers, but this isn't always the case.

Merriam College. Similar to the professors at Heath University, professors at Merriam College struggle with the placement of weak student teachers with weak master teachers. The university supervisor expressed, "I don't think all the student teachers get the same experience which is kind of a concern that I have." The concern is that the standards between the credentialing programs and the partner schools are not aligned. Furthermore, if the standards aren't aligned then some of the professors are not confident the master teacher and the student teacher are cooperating and collaborating together to create the best possible learning environment for the students. The university supervisor at Merriam commented, "Sometimes the student teacher becomes a clone of the master teacher and some of the best experiences I've seen with cooperating teachers are the ones that really collaborate together and they value each other's expertise." A few of the professors believe that the biggest influence on a student teacher is the master teacher because the student teacher will be lost without the practical guidance of someone who lives everyday in classroom. As a result, the faculty at Merriam observed that the cooperating teacher is key to a student teacher's development. To combat some of lack of knowledge or experience that master teachers have, student teachers are encouraged to bring their lessons and readings into the classroom and share them with their master teachers and try to educate them as to what the university expects the master teachers to provide or, at the very least make them aware of current pedagogical theories.

Merriam also struggles with commitment of their program's professors and program content. The Associate Dean of the School of Teacher Education commented,

“The biggest obstacles we’ve encountered is making sure that [the student teachers] are taught with fidelity. We have a large number of adjunct faculty in our school of education and to make sure that you have fidelity in all that you do with this many adjunct faculty is really tough.” One of the big questions that the administration asks is, “How do you make sure there’s consistency and fidelity in teaching every student these types of qualities, probably because they’re a little bit more of a personal nature and might be interpreted, could be interpreted differently by different people?” One of the ways that Merriam addresses this struggle is to be intentional in making sure that the professors in their program have an understanding of what the program goals are and then bring it to the classroom. They also regularly evaluate the professors and provide feedback for improvement.

S&C Tech. The biggest concern expressed by professors from S&C Tech is the lack of content knowledge that current student teachers possess. Some professors are concerned that student teachers are accepted into the program and are not adequately qualified to teach in their content areas. One of the professors claimed, “If a teacher doesn’t know the content, it’s impossible to teach the content well. They have to have an in-depth understanding and a breadth and depth of knowledge in order to clarify concepts to youngsters.” Another classroom professor stated:

If you don’t understand how that lesson is going to help students learn how that lesson design is going to help students learn, and we know that good teachers mean everything in terms of student achievement, and if you don’t understand how to teach, what you know then—you can’t be a teacher, from my point of view, you can’t be an effective teacher.

Some of the faculty claimed that they are finding insufficient mastery of content knowledge in the student teachers and as a result they have to spend time teaching them

the content as opposed to the pedagogical theories needed to teach effectively. One university supervisor questioned, “How do you teach mathematics, how do you teach reading, how do you teach science, how do you engage students in the learning when you have insufficient content knowledge?” Another classroom professor commented:

I think there’s a general tendency for people, including faculty members, community members, students, others to make excuses for why things don’t happen or didn’t happen and I think the most important way that this kind of thinking relates to preparing teachers and programs is helping candidates not use income, not use race, not use gender, not location as a reason for me not doing what I could do or should do and take responsibility for in a situation.

In other words, the professors in the credentialing program need to avoid making excuses, just like student teachers need to stop making excuses and they need to do the hard work of preparing teachers adequately.

S&C Tech professors also expressed some concerns about the curriculum being implemented in the school districts and how that compares to what student teachers are learning in credentialing programs. A program leader at S&C Tech stated:

We encourage students to think outside of the box and I think where we run into trouble sometimes is when we encourage students to be open-minded and think outside of the box and be flexible and then they get put into a classroom where there’s a curriculum in place that doesn’t allow them to do all those things that we’ve been asking them to do.

Some of the professors attribute this to getting their student teachers in the right placement with the right partner schools. But some professors lament that there are too many constraints in terms of whom they can place and where they can place them. Ultimately there is a disconnect between what S&C Tech is proposing as effective curriculum and what is being taught in the classroom. One university supervisor explained, “I cannot require my students to do activities that are not requirements in placements where they are teaching.” Several professors and program leaders expressed

that they wished there was a lab school or “third space” where student teachers and classroom teachers could experiment and learn about pedagogy together.

Summary of complications and obstacles. Heath University professors expressed frustration that not all credentialing programs are equal and yet all credentials are valued the same. They also expressed that they have strained relationships with partner schools because not all master teachers are adequately trained. Merriam College has also expressed frustration with student teachers being placed with weak master teachers. They find that student teachers tend to mimic the master teacher even if it is considered poor pedagogical practice. Merriam also has concerns about the fidelity of their program because so many of their professors are adjunct professors and they are concerned that they might not hold the same values and beliefs as the overarching university program. S&C Tech professors are concerned about the quality of student teachers that are being admitted in the program. Not all of the student teachers are coming into the credentialing program with adequate content knowledge and consequently the professors are having to dedicate their time bringing students up to speed on content as opposed to teaching them about pedagogical and empirical knowledge. S&C Tech professors also expressed they are frustrated that the curriculum and methods they are teaching in the credentialing program do not coincide with what is expected in their partner schools.

In sum, professors from all three of the universities have experienced a level of frustration with a divergence of beliefs between the universities and the partner schools. Abbott (1988) refers to as interprofessional competition. Abbott asserts that the bigger the dominant profession, the more frequently the jurisdiction of the profession will be

attacked. This is demonstrated through the lack of consistency that the professors experience with the teachers from partner schools. Professors are in competition with master teachers to prepare student teachers theoretically and practically for the realities of teaching. This has strained the master-student teacher relationship, and according to Abbott, this might potentially be a structural and cognitive artifact that is weakening teaching.

The Professionalization of Education

Because one of the purposes of this research study was to explore how teacher credentialing programs are promoting the professionalization of education, interviewees were asked about their views on teaching as a profession. Some of the responses were embedded in the explanation of values and beliefs they have about characteristics teachers should possess, while other respondents spoke explicitly about how teachers need to shift to make teaching a profession. Overall the interviewees believe that having standards, using authentic assessments, and collaborating will professionalize education.

Heath University. Heath University's faculty has varying opinions about the professionalization of education. Some of the professors related that if the rigor of teacher preparation programs increases then professionalization of education would also improve. Several of the faculty asserted the preparation of teachers should to be put in the center of political and educational agendas. Teachers should not be prepared in isolation but in collaboration with one another. Some professors said that if educators focus on the science and measurable aspects of education, then teaching would be considered a profession. The Dean of Heath's School of Education commented, "So the science of our profession is not where it needs to be, this is why I love PACT! It's helping to bring

science to the profession.” At Heath some observed that there has only been a focus on the “artistry of our professions” and that the science is important to the work teachers do. Yet, the sentiment is that “teaching as a profession” lies in the passion of the work teachers do. The university supervisor remarked, “I’ve said this many, many, times, in many situations but I would even put our profession against, doctors, lawyers, merchants, chiefs, and I would suggest that we have fewer bad apples than most professions.” The metaphor of the good and bad apple might speak to the passion that teachers have for not only instructing but also the passion that teachers have for the humanistic approach towards their work. To be clear though, the classroom professor clarified, “I think passion is the characteristic of a profession. [But] I think you can be a professional without having the passion.”

Others expressed that if teachers are honest and authentic in their profession and that if they allow mediocrity to grow, then the only way to prevent it is to filter through those who are capable with assessments. They believe that the PACT is critical in solidifying teaching as a profession. The dean bemoaned school districts accepting mediocrity when she stated:

We’re still moving lemons, whether they’re principal lemons or teacher lemons, we’re still moving people, and they aren’t a lot of lemons out there but there are lemons that we move around. And we don’t- we’re not honest, we’re not authentic with each other, and part of it is because of some of the union issues, and seniority issues.

The classroom professor commented, “Like the bar exam in law, you are not a lawyer until you pass the bar exam and a physician isn’t a doctor until they pass their boards. You’re not a teacher in California until you pass an exit exam.” Several faculty

members at Heath University feel as though the PACT will professionalize education and solidify the work of credentialing programs.

Merriam College. A theme that emerged from interviews at Merriam College was that educators are more than just teachers, which is why it is hard to put parameters on and define whether or not teaching is a profession. Because of the scope of the work that teachers do, the level of passion and dedication determines whether or not teaching is a profession. The associate dean remarked, “I think the educational field is a profession. We’re educators we’re not just teachers. We’re counselors. We’re principals, but we all have that profession to meet the needs of the students and I think it’s something that’s really worthwhile and makes a difference in the lives of the students fulfilling.” Some of the professors believe that passion is important to teaching because it is a, “very grueling, difficult, hard job and has lots of responsibility attached to it.” In other words, in order to be a teacher there must be passion because the work is complex and ever changing.

S&C Tech. At S&C Tech there was general agreement on what promotes the professionalization of education. Professors felt strongly that teaching cannot be considered a profession without a program for preparing teachers. One classroom professor defended credentialing programs by arguing, “Teaching is a profession with all kinds of ethereal things wrapped up around professionalism, but at the root it’s work, and a good teacher is someone who does the work,” meaning the credentialing program. The professors at S&C Tech are concerned about the longevity of credentialing programs. One interviewee expressed, “You can eliminate teacher schools if you want and you can turn the classrooms over to people who are going to just figure out how to teach there, but you’re not going to send my grandchildren to those schools.” Some professors related

that credentialing programs provide opportunities that don't happen in alternative paths into education. A credentialing program leader stated:

If you wanted to be a dermatologist [the joke is], "If it was wet you dry it, if it's dry you wet it and if it's neither you use steroids." So that would be the same thing as just saying "Here's the textbook, and go do it," but we all know that there's way more than—you know—why is it wet, why is it dry. So that "why" thing, I really think that's the difference between having a credential program and just saying here's the book go teach.

In other words, the professor claimed that it is the learning opportunities and the opportunities to develop the professional dispositions that separate professional training from that of occupational training.

Other professors at S&C Tech asserted that if the preparation of teachers is not organized and methodical in its practice, then it will never be considered a full profession. Upon reflecting on the credentialing program the Dean of the College of Education stated, "We haven't codified a lot of those practices to the point where we should. We could say, or we should say, that school is not a very appropriate school for very young children because they don't do what we know should be done with very young children." He expressed that the recognition and codification of the knowledge base around teaching and learning is what will professionalize teaching. One credentialing program leader stated, "When you think of it as a profession, it is a higher level than as a job, and when students take the approach that this a profession, they're looking at longer term growth, and knowing that this is a lifelong kind of thing for them as opposed to a job." At S&C Tech there are some professors who believe that teaching is an immeasurable and emotional profession. They also believe that because of the unpredictable nature of education, respect needs to be at the core of what teachers practice. A credentialing program leader commented, "We're talking about teachers who

are building community, who are a part of a community and respect needs to be there for themselves, for their students, for the profession.” There was even a professor who was resentful that education is being compared to medicine. She argued, “You can’t compare it [teaching as a profession] to medicine because in medicine you handle one patient at a time, and you diagnose them individually. You don’t have a classroom of them, or a group of them coming in, running out.”

Summary of professionalization of education. Heath University professors’ ideas of a profession do not appear to converge. Their beliefs on how to professionalize education ranges from acknowledging the passion teachers have to measuring teacher results. Some of the professors believe that having an authentic assessment increases the rigor of the profession and consequently its status while others believe that teaching needs to be the center of political agendas in order to gain status. Merriam College professors believe that parameters cannot be placed on teaching as a profession because teaching is so much more than one task or job. It can’t be compared to professions that are narrow in scope. Teachers are more than individuals who dispense information. Their work is multifaceted encompassing social work and administration. S&C Tech professors asserted that in order for teaching to be professionalized there must be methodical and organized methods of preparation for teachers. But this is not to underscore the human element of working with people at an intellectual level; it is hard to measure and quantify emotions and artistry of teaching. Additionally, some of the professors at S&C Tech observed that teaching is difficult and complicated work and unless there is passion for learning and teaching and the humanistic aspect of teaching, otherwise no one would do

the job. Professors at S&C Tech also were of the opinion that having credentialing programs is an indicator that teaching is a profession.

Overall Summary of Findings

The purpose of the study was to explore what teacher-credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession. There were five areas discussed by the interviewees including knowledge, skills, dispositions, authentic assessments, complications and obstacles, and the professionalization of education. All three of the credentialing programs researched espoused that teachers ought to possess knowledge of pedagogical and learning theory in order to be effective in the classroom. How they defined pedagogical and learning theory varies from university to university. Professors at S&C Tech observed that the student teachers need to have a natural curiosity to continue learning about pedagogical theory and practice, while professors at Heath University related that knowledge is being aware the current research that exists to better serve the students.

Faculty from all three of the credentialing programs agreed that some of the skills their student teachers should possess are classroom management and human relation skills. To hone these skills, the professors at Heath University and S&C Tech encouraged their student teachers to collaborate and reflect together. Specifically at S&C Tech, the professors wanted student teachers to encourage partnership, collaboration, and reflection. There is also a strong emphasis on classroom management, which has been made the focus of Merriam College and Heath University. At S&C Tech and at Merriam College, the faculty placed emphasis on reflection and how that affects learning in the classroom environment. Reflection is recognized as a critical component in the life cycle

of a lesson. From all three universities a number of the professors believe that without reflection, a teacher cannot grow and change with the ever-changing academic and social needs of their students.

Some of the professors of all three credentialing programs expressed that dispositions are important to them because they are not only reflective of teaching as a profession, but also because student teachers represent the university out in the teaching community. Because of their religious affiliation, professors in the credentialing program at Merriam College defined dispositions through the lens that teaching is a gift from God. The professors of Merriam emphasized the dispositions by modeling them in their own instruction of student teachers, and continuously evaluating student teachers on them. S&C Tech professors collectively emphasized the amount of time they devote to discussing dispositions they value and what that means for their student teachers. This discussion included valuing multiculturalism, the belief that every student can learn, attitudes of cooperation and collaboration, and valuing partnerships with the community. They also encourage student teachers to foster relationships through the alternative form of the student teacher practicum where the cooperating teacher and student teacher are equals and co-teach in the classroom.

Heath University and S&C Tech, but not Merriam College, participate in the PACT. Professors at both Heath University and S&C Tech believe that the PACT has changed the face of teacher credentialing programs. It determines whether a student teacher has basic competency to start teaching. The PACT at S&C Tech has caused some controversy because some of those interviewed feel as though the assessment is flawed and has room for improvement. Overall though, many of those interviewed believe that

the PACT has formalized teacher credentialing programs, and has prompted a helpful conversation about their own practice.

With regard to complications and obstacles, all three of the programs experience a strained relationship with partner schools because master teachers are not considered adequately trained. They find that student teachers tend to mimic the master teacher even if it is considered poor pedagogical practice. Professors also expressed that relationships with partner schools are strained because of inconsistent and marginal pedagogical practices of the master teachers. Some professors also expressed concerns that school district curriculum is not aligning with the philosophies and instructions of their credentialing programs and that they would rather have a instruction school (much like an instructional hospital). At S&C Tech, a couple of the professors expressed concerned about the quality of student teachers that are being admitted in programs. Not all of the student teachers are coming into the credentialing program with adequate content knowledge and consequently the professors are having to dedicate their instructional time bringing students up to speed on content as opposed to teaching them about pedagogical and empirical knowledge.

There is very little convergence among the three colleges on the concept of professionalization of education. Professor beliefs on how to professionalize education range from acknowledging the passion teachers have to measuring teacher results. Some of the professors believe that having an authentic assessment increases the rigor of the profession and consequently the status, while others believe that teaching needs to be the center of political agendas in order to gain status. Some professors believe that parameters cannot be placed on teaching as a profession because teaching is so much

more than one task or job. Other interviewees believe that in order for teaching to be professionalized there must be methodical and organized methods of preparation for teachers. Additionally, some of the professors believe that teaching is difficult and complicated work and unless there is passion for learning, teaching, and the humanistic aspect of teaching, then no one would do the job.

Chapter Five

Implications and Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to examine what three teacher-credentialing programs in the Southwestern United States are doing to build teaching as a profession in the context of Andrew Abbot's (1988) criteria for recognized professions. This study investigated how these programs instruct student teachers in professional dispositions, knowledge, and skills to professionalize teaching. It also explored commonalities between the credentialing programs and explained the differences surrounding standards for accreditation. In order to understand credentialing programs, the following research questions were employed:

1. What is the relationship between teacher credentialing programs and the professionalization of teaching?
2. What types of knowledge, skills, and dispositions are teacher credentialing programs instructing candidate teachers and do they promote the professionalization of teaching?
3. What are the factors that support or challenge the professionalization of teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs?
4. In what ways are teacher credentialing programs convergent or divergent in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are perceived necessary for the preparation of teacher candidates?

The findings in chapter four are based on the research questions stated above and they suggest that, although there is some divergence between the universities in how they prioritize their values and beliefs, there is also a convergence of values. In order to

provide anonymity, the three universities examined in the study were referred to using pseudonyms: Heath University, Merriam College, and S&C Tech. Heath University is a private school that has been instructing teachers for over forty years. Heath University's School of Education is home to sixteen different credentialing programs and four certificate programs in addition to a Master of Arts in Education. Merriam College is a small private Christian college that has operated in Southern California for over one hundred years. Merriam's School of Teacher Education offers five different credentials and nine different professional certificates. Merriam also offers three different Master of Arts in Education programs as well. S&C Tech is a large public university in Southern California providing almost 120 years of teacher education and preparation programs in the region. S&C Tech offers twelve different credentials with multiple different specializations for special education. Within these different credentials, there are multiple paths to earn each of these credentials with an emphasis on learning academies, technology, and multicultural teaching foci.

Those interviewed in this study included professors (classroom professors who are instructing prospective teachers on the theoretical frameworks of pedagogy), university supervisors (professors in the field observing the clinical work that teacher candidates participate in), program leaders (teacher educators who coordinate student clinical assignments), and administrators (deans and associate deans). Depending on what their role was in the credentialing program, interviewees had different perspectives. Deans were concerned with the overall state of teaching as a profession and the conditions of the credentialing programs. Credentialing program leaders were focused on authentic assessments and the implications of the assessment results for their program.

Program leaders were also concerned about the relationships between school districts and their credentialing program. Classroom professors were focused on their own students and the curriculum of the courses they taught. University supervisors expressed a deep passion for pedagogical knowledge and concern for student teacher dispositions. This is a reflection of the function and role that each individual serves in the credentialing program and their perspective of Abbott's characteristics of a profession. Unequivocally all eleven respondents were passionate about teaching and uniformly wanted to improve the status of teaching. Even though not every interviewee knew the intricate details of accreditation, they were aware of what their credentialing program's values were and how those values were implemented into their credentialing program, curriculum, and pedagogical philosophy. As discussed in chapter three, I examined teaching as a profession using the criteria set forth by Abbott. While some of the qualities and characteristics that the interviewees discussed were found to be relevant or relate to his definition, some did not.

The overall sentiment of the respondents was that their credentialing programs provide structure and organization thus, promote teaching as a profession. They were of the opinion that teaching is complicated work and requires passion and an understanding for the human condition. There was also evidence of a convergence of methods used to integrate values into the teacher credentialing programs (and many of those values were shared across programs). On the other hand there was evidence of a divergence in the language used to describe those values. Based on Abbott's criteria that a profession needs established values, the lack of common language used to describe the work of teachers threatens to undermine the professionalization of education. In addressing the third research question, I found several supports and challenges to the professionalization of

teaching. Teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs were taught a similar set of values facilitated by the accreditation process as defined by the National Council for Accreditation of Teachers of Education (NCATE). Authentic assessments also provided credentialing programs an opportunity to be reflective about their own practice and effectiveness. Furthermore, teacher credentialing programs struggle with clinical practice because there is a divergence between what credentialing programs are teaching and what school districts are advocating for practice. Heath University professors described a difference between their pedagogical practice and the pedagogical practice of master teachers while those at Merriam College struggle with weak master teachers mentoring their student teachers. Professors at S&C Tech expressed concern that the curriculum in districts is not aligned with the research based curriculum they teach their student teachers. The tensions that frequently exist between the values and ethics of the academic institution and the values and ethics of the practitioners undermined efforts toward the professionalization of teaching. Consequently this contributes to the public having a lack of faith in the abilities and rigor of the profession, thus limiting the status of teaching.

According to Abbott (1988) a profession moves through three stages that are necessary for the growth of an occupation into a profession: professions must have a formal licensing process, entrants to the profession must attend formal schooling where they acquire the required knowledge needed for their field of study, and a profession must have established cultural norms. Not all of these stages are fully developed for education, thus implying it is a growing profession more like a semi-profession than a fully recognized profession. In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the

implications of the findings described in chapter four, focusing specifically on the extent to which the respondents' descriptions of the three programs aligns with Abbott's definition of a profession. I also provide areas for further research in the investigation of teaching as a profession.

Analysis of Findings

In this section I will examine the interviewees' responses through the lens of Abbott's *The System of Professions*. I will then look at some of the supports and challenges of the professionalization of education, including how credentialing programs converge in beliefs, improve through assessments, diverge in beliefs, and address the ethos of research. Although the educators interviewed for this study expressed a desire to professionalize teaching, their comments indicated that not all qualities, characteristics, and values taught in their programs related to the definition or conceptual understanding of a profession as described by Abbott (1988).

Abbott says a profession is comprised of esoteric knowledge, jurisdiction, and professional controls. Esoteric knowledge is sacred to the profession and is the foundation of the work that its members do. This includes academic, specialized, and empirical knowledge of the field. Jurisdiction is the professions exclusive right to its field and control of the profession's social structure and growth. Jurisdiction includes taking information into the professional knowledge system (diagnosis), finding a solution that comes from the general knowledge (treatment), establishing a relationship between diagnosis and treatment and the implication for further knowledge (inference). Lastly, Abbott explains that controls imposed on a profession include how practitioners are trained, what examinations test them, and the licenses that identify them. A profession

that is highly organized in its internal structure is less likely to receive external attacks. I will refer to Abbott's criteria (see Figure 5.1) periodically in this chapter in my efforts to analyze the extent to which teaching is a profession.

Figure 5.1 Summary of Abbott's Criteria of a Profession

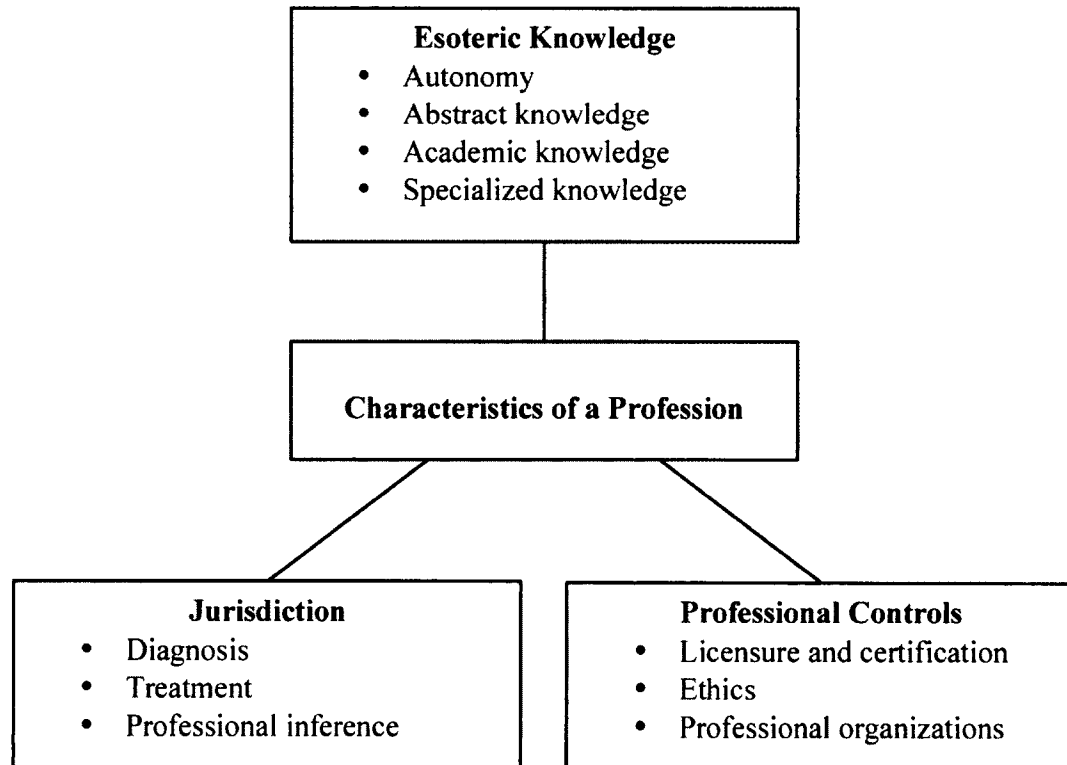


Figure 1. A brief overview of characteristics of a profession as identified by Andrew Abbott. Adapted from “*The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor.*” by A. Abbott, 1988. Copyright 1988 by The University of Chicago Press.

Esoteric knowledge. Abbott (1988) says esoteric knowledge is sacred to the profession and is the foundation of the work that its members do. As a form of recruitment, credentialing programs advertise through publications not only the cultural norms of their program, but also the esoteric knowledge the coursework focuses on in the

program. Though the comments from interviewees did not always fall within Abbott's definition that professions have specialized knowledge, it can be concluded that most of the faculty's responses to the interview questions were consistent with the sentiment of the universities' published materials. The professors at all three of the institutions unvaryingly explained that they were aware of the need to be consistent in how they present and teach esoteric knowledge. This consistency is important not only for perspective students, but also for the general public's image of teaching as a profession. This uniformity between university publications and professor comments could be attributed to the university being effective in communicating the publications to the faculty. But more than likely the consistency between printed and verbally espoused values stems from the conversations the faculty recalled that they had with each other about their shared body of knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Faculty from all three of the institutions mentioned similar discussions suggesting that the faculty had input on content in the credentialing programs' publications. Abbott's esoteric knowledge includes the abstract knowledge, academic knowledge, and specialized knowledge of the profession. Specifically, Abbott says, "The academic knowledge system also provides new treatments, diagnoses, and inferences for working professionals; if it fails in this function, professional jurisdictions gradually weaken" (p.57). The work of the teacher credentialing programs is to instruct teacher candidates in all three of Abbott's stated kinds of knowledge. If the professors are not consistent in what they espouse and what they enact, not only will their own jurisdiction be weakened, but potentially the jurisdiction of teacher candidates will be weakened too.

Jurisdiction. By Abbott's (1988) definition, jurisdiction is taking information into the professional knowledge system (in essence connecting theory with practice), developing a plan based on that knowledge, and making a connection between the diagnosis and treatment to contribute to the abstract and academic knowledge of the profession. Although Abbott makes a strong link between esoteric knowledge and jurisdiction, the professors at the universities did not overtly make such a link. The professor's defined knowledge as understanding learning theory that teachers must know when they walk into a classroom, but it is limited to the context of the university classroom and not practiced in the K-12 classroom. Once the teacher candidates begin their teaching practicum, they are expected to use management skills and dispense curriculum without explicit direction to connect the practice back to the learning and teaching theory. During the course of the conversations, it was uncommon for an interviewee to reference how a student teacher incorporated learning and teaching theory into their practice in the classroom. This led me to believe that interviewees grappled with jurisdiction. Because teaching is multi-faceted, interviewees did not explicitly make connections between learning and teaching theory and student teacher practice. Not making a connection between practice and theory has limited the jurisdiction of the teacher in the classroom because they are not contributing to the academic knowledge of the profession.

Professional controls. Abbott (1988) says that licenses and certifications issued by a profession are essential because they control the ethics that must be adhered to, and govern the overall organizations of the profession. It is these professional controls that bring into question whether or not teaching should be considered a full profession. The

respondents stated that their credentialing programs, through the accreditation and assessment process, are establishing the cultures and norms of a rigorous profession. They believe that they are changing the work that teachers do and consequently the perception of the public. Abbott specified, "A jurisdictional claim made before the public is generally a claim for the legitimate control of a particular kind of work. This control means first and foremost a right to perform the work as professionals see fit." The faculty of the credentialing programs are claiming that through accreditation and through the licensing process (which includes an authentic assessment) they are publically reclaiming the work that teachers do.

But claiming responsibility for the increased rigor has also created a sense of frustration. In the interviews, the university professors expressed concerns about the quality of credentialing programs. Abbott's (1988) framework for a profession insists that a profession must have a common set of ethics and values that credentialing programs are adhering to. Levine (2005) claims that teaching is not a profession and that teacher credentialing programs are inconsistent, do not hold the same values and beliefs, and are not held to the same standards. Since Levine's report, credentialing programs have changed. The professors are attempting to create a common set of ethics and values at their institutions. Through reflection the participants in this study were all willing to examine the shortcomings of their programs, discuss areas for improvement to increase the rigor of the credentialing programs, and consequently convergence the values and beliefs of the faculty. While the absence of common cultural norms and ethics undermines support for teaching as a profession, the faculty's reflective stance toward program improvement contradicts Levine's accusations of being weak and unwilling to

change. Although some of the faculty has expressed concerns that programs might be weak, at least the professors interviewed in this study were willing to acknowledge it in an effort to improve the rigor and status of teaching as a profession.

In summary, when analyzing teaching as a profession using Abbott's framework, we find evidence that explains why teaching might not be considered a full profession. First, the professors of credentialing programs are aware that they need to be consistent in how they enact the espoused values of the university, but this does not mean they are consistent between credentialing programs. Additionally, they need to not only make sure that the general public is aware of what they are teaching, but also how they are ensuring that the knowledge is specialized, academic, and unique to teaching. There was also evidence that there is a not an explicit connection between the theory that the professors are teaching the teacher candidates, and the practical application in the classroom. This lack of connection limits the jurisdictional control of the teacher candidates and ultimately public K-12 classroom teachers. Finally, the professors are making a legitimate claim on the professional controls of teaching and the work teachers do via accreditation and assessment. I now turn to the factors that support and challenge the professionalization of teaching.

Supports and challenges to the professionalization of teaching. Through these interviews, I had expected to discover that there was a convergence in values across the three programs that would help create a cohesive picture of teaching as a profession. Even the interviewees had expressed that they looked forward to hearing how other educators supported their values so that they could confirm that there is a more cohesive image of teacher credentialing program that promotes the professionalization of teaching.

While there is indeed a convergence in cultural norms, at all three of the universities there is an unexpected absence of promoting research that comes from teachers in the K-12 classroom setting.

Convergence through accreditation. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) has provided a structure for credentialing programs that did not previously exist. This accreditation process has resulted in many programs adjusting the focus of the programs and aligning with other credentialing programs. According to Collay, "Leaders in any setting must continually ask themselves what values are driving their actions and whether they are best positioned to act upon those values" (2006, p. 132). The value that seems to drive credentialing programs the most is student teacher dispositions. This is attributed to the notion that the student teachers are ambassadors of the credentialing program and impact the community's view of the university. I heard credentialing program professors expressing concern about their public image and how the student teachers represent that image. In an effort to ensure that the credentialing programs are fairly represented by student teachers, the faculty use dispositions as means of evaluating prospective student teachers during the admissions process.

Abbott (1988) says that this norming of values, in the case of credentialing programs is part of how a profession defines itself. Dispositions are the heart of cultural norms for teaching. But according to NCATE (2008) not every cultural norm has to be identical from institution to institution. The exception to this diversity is that NCATE requires evidence of the dispositions of fairness and the belief that all students can learn. Otherwise, credentialing programs are permitted to determine dispositions that define the values and beliefs that best suit their respective institutions. Abbott says this is acceptable

as long as professions agree on differences. It is in through these differences that the three credentialing programs establish the cultural norms of teaching.

According to Abbott (1988), a profession is characterized by uniform definitions of cultural norms. A profession can disagree about whether or not those cultural norms are present, but regardless of those differences how those norms are defined remain the same. In the case of the credentialing programs, all three universities value similar dispositions, but the language they use to define these ideals is dissimilar. For example, while all three credentialing programs value student diversity, the terms used vary in their meaning and how they are used. One program refers to implementing cultural proficiency while another program addresses accepting different cultures and heritages. This only undermines the professionalization of education as opposed to promoting it. Abbott says that the more a profession is organized the more jurisdictional control it will have over the work performed. As long as the profession is perceived as serving the client well, society will yield professionals the latitude to apply its specialized knowledge with minimal inference. If the cultural norms vary between institutions, it could create a lack of confidence in teaching from the public.

The different academic language that the credentialing programs demonstrates a lack of organizational cohesiveness. For example, multiculturalism (the appreciation of ethnic diversity) is different from cultural proficiency (having the capacity to teach and to learn about differences in ways that acknowledge and honor all the people and the groups they represent), which is, in turn, different from diversity (valuing the experiences, viewpoints, and backgrounds of students). However, the professors in the credentialing programs use the words interchangeably to mean acknowledging the background of each

individual student and how that impacts that student's learning. This lack of cohesiveness extends beyond the university level and into the classroom. Student teachers take the knowledge they gain from their university programs to their school sites and consequently a lack of common academic language is perpetuated. It could be argued that the jurisdiction of teaching will continue to be questioned unless there is cohesiveness in the language used to describe dispositions.

In sum, credentialing programs generally converge in their values and beliefs with the exception of dispositions. This has become a challenge in the professionalization of education. The intended purpose for NCATE's ambiguous definitions of dispositions was to provide a means for each credentialing program to incorporate their institutions cultural norms into the curriculum. But instead, autonomy has become an obstacle for developing teaching as a profession because the terms used to describe its values and norms vary leaving room for interpretation and criticism.

Program improvement through authentic assessments. Authentic assessments have compelled professors, administrators, program leaders, and university supervisors to reflect on their own practices and curriculum. They were created by a consortium of universities to specifically look at the student teacher's content and pedagogical knowledge, how they apply it to student engagement and learning, and the implications for their further practice (Pechone & Chung, 2006). In California, the primary assessment used is Performance Assessment for California Teachers (PACT). One of the professional controls that Abbott (1988) claims is important to the creation of a profession is the examinations that test practitioner's knowledge.

Not only does the PACT establish professional controls for teaching, but it has also created a structure for licensure and certification for the credentialing program community and the teaching community. The university credentialing programs are working hard to address standards of learning with PACT while trying to maintain their accreditation through NCATE. It was through the accreditation process and the meeting terms of the authentic assessment that the professors have begun to learn about their credentialing program's weaknesses and strengths⁸.

Another benefit of implementing an authentic assessment in the move toward professionalizing teaching is that communication has become more commonplace between professors. This fosters the culture that Abbott ascribes to a profession. Some of the faculty of the credentialing programs reviewed here described working at a university as traditionally being made to feel isolated and shoved into a research mill. One of the professors at S&C Tech claimed, "We are a publish or perish institution. We are insular. We work at our workstation, close the door behind us. We are asocial, primarily in regard to teaching, and the objective is to get through the courses." The adoption of PACT is helping to forge relationships between professors who are required to spend more time not only with their students but with one another. Professors are also required to have more conversations about the student teachers and whether or not the student teachers are competent in the curriculum and their pedagogical practice in the classroom. This communication has led to individualized remediation plans to ensure the quality and rigor

⁸ The edTPA is a new rigorous assessment that many are arguing provides a closer alignment with university teacher preparation programs. For more information go to www.edtpa.com.

of the credentialing programs. Administrators expressed concern that if rigor is not increased in credentialing programs then they could cease to exist.

At some of the institutions change has been difficult for the professors. They have been resistant to the adoption of the authentic assessments which is posing a challenge to the professionalization of education. The change brought forth by PACT has prompted some of the credentialing program faculty to question aspects of their program's ideals. For example, as noted in the previous chapter, a professor at S&C Tech commented (referring to the influence of PACT on their programs), "We've become a secondary test preparation in the schools and some portion, which ranges from a little bit to a lot, of the curricular day is committed to test preparation, high stakes test preparation." The end result of this is that several of the credentialing programs changed their curriculum to become more relevant, rigorous, and authentic. Since the advent of PACT the faculty has become more uniform in their message of rigor they are conveying to student teachers concerning the credentialing process and the rigor of teaching as a profession. Although adopting an authentic assessment has been a challenging and a demanding process for the faculty at all three universities, they have become more cohesive in their refinement of the program's curriculum.

Deans and program leaders perceive that some credentialing programs are watered-down and less rigorous. This professed inequality contributes to the public lack of respect and suspicions about lack of rigor that the public perceives in credentialing programs. Deans, in particular, admonish school districts for accepting all student teachers that receive credentials, fully knowing that not all programs adequately prepare or assess student teachers for the classroom. Heath University's dean was most outspoken

about this issue. She outlined the costs of accreditation and the implementation of the PACT, and yet the biggest obstacles she has to face are not the financial implications of the PACT, but the political implications. The dean is frustrated that the school districts do not differentiate between rigorous and weak credentials. Because of this she feels as though the integrity of the standards for teaching is compromised. There were other interviewees that agreed with this sentiment, which speaks to the view that credentialing programs carry the burden of preparation whereas school districts do not because they permit less rigorous paths into teaching. At schools where the PACT is administered, it serves as an organizational mechanism to filter those teachers who are competent and ready to step into a classroom. It is important to remember though only two of the three university credentialing programs participate in the PACT and that the school districts are willing to accept teachers regardless of the rigor of their credentialing program. This is evidenced through the comments made by educators at Merriam College. Although the professors of Merriam believe they have a rigorous program, they do not participate in the PACT, bringing into question how prepared and competent their student teachers are.

In sum, authentic assessments have promoted teacher credentialing programs and teaching as a profession. Ultimately, according to Abbott (1988), having an examination that tests practitioners is an important criterion of professional controls. In teaching, the PACT assesses whether or not a teacher is competent enough to design curriculum and instruct students. These authentic assessments are also a benefit to teaching because communication between the faculty of credentialing programs has increased. This communication has encouraged consistency, quality, and rigor in teacher training. But, there are some struggles with the assessments. Professors expressed that they have

adjusted their curriculum to prepare students for the test instead of the classroom. Deans also expressed frustration that authentic assessments are not necessary to receive a teaching credential.

Divergence of values between credentialing programs and school districts.

Credentialing programs face many challenges as they attempt to increase the rigor and status of teaching as a profession. All three credentialing programs have struggled with inconsistency between school district curriculum, the pedagogical theory that is being taught in the credentialing programs, and what they expect their student teachers to do in the classroom. This undermines the professionalization of teaching. One of Abbott's (1988) criteria of a profession is that an organization has a uniformly recognized set of values and ethics. But there is an inconsistency and gap in knowledge between the credentialing program and the teachers in the public K-12 partner schools.

A majority of professors interviewed indicated that the master teachers (school district teachers who work with the student teachers) are hindering teacher credentialing programs. This is one of the flaws of a clinical model of practice Levine (2006) identified when he said, "The quality of tomorrow will be no better than the quality of our teacher force" (p.11). Several faculty of credentialing programs admitted that their student teachers are sometimes placed with incompetent master teachers who are not knowledgeable of current learning theory or pedagogical practice. This practice perpetuates the inconsistency between credentialing programs and their partner schools. The credentialing programs are equipping the student teachers with current learning theory and research with the hopes that they will place it in the hands of the classroom teachers at partner schools, but as Collay (2006) said, "We ourselves carry beliefs and

values that reach back through a lifetime of socialization; we were shaped by assumptions and inequities embedded in historical patterns of schooling" (p. 133).

Student teachers are pulled between what they are learning and the accepted assumptions and values that are embedded in the culture of teaching in the schools in which they go to teach.

Divergence between credentialing programs and partner schools is problematic because student teachers receive feedback from master classroom teachers that contradicts what they are learning in the credentialing program. Professors then face a dilemma: Do you fail a student teacher because the student teacher doesn't demonstrate the necessary skills to be competent, or do you pass the student teacher because it is not the student teacher's fault that the opportunity to demonstrate competency was not present? Some schools like S&C Tech and Merriam College provide training for their master teachers but not all master teachers attend. Consequently, the master teachers don't know or understand the underlying values of the program or expectations of knowledge, skills, or dispositions required of the student teachers. Collay says, "Teachers continue to shape their professional identities through interactions with others in the workplace" (p. 133). The result is that a cycle of mediocrity can be repeated.

Beyond the pedagogical practice of individual teachers at partner schools, there is a disconnect between what the universities are teaching their student teachers and the reality of mandated curriculum by school districts. School districts provide curriculum to school sites that does not always align with how the university is instructing student teachers to design their own curriculum. This creates a friction between the university faculty and the teachers in the partner schools that consequently hinders the potential

growth of the student teachers. The mandated curriculum also sets the precedent that teachers do not have discretion of curriculum design or autonomy of practice in the classroom, thus removing professional controls from the teachers. One program leader at S&C Tech stated:

We send our student teachers across [the canyon], tell them at the university that this what you should be doing, and they would go across this tight rope and they would go to the school and say, 'This is what we're supposed to be doing.' 'Well we don't do that here.' Then they come across the tight rope and say, 'They don't do that there. Well, let me do my assignment here so I can get my grade and then someday get into that school.'

Some of the interviewees indicated that they were working with school districts to better align their curriculum with district curriculum, but these interviewees also lamented that because of budget restraints schools don't necessarily have the capabilities of updating and revamping curriculum to be current and relevant.

The credentialing program faculty felt as though their hands are tied. Several interviewees even expressed the desire to have a clinical school. Darling-Hammond (2005) supports this concept and wrote:

Many of these programs [credentialing] have joined with school districts to create professional development schools, which--like teaching hospitals in medicine--provide sites for state-of-the-art practice as well as for training novices, offering professional development to veteran teachers, and conducting research. And research has shown that many of these schools have improved teaching practice and student achievement, while building professional knowledge. (p. 23)

Clinical learning schools are rare because of legislative restrictions. Generally speaking, credentialing programs are dependent on school districts granting permission to use classrooms for clinical practice. The faculty interviewed lack confidence that local partner schools and their districts will give consent to create a professional-development school.

Another struggle that credentialing programs experience is that professors are far removed from the K-12 classroom. This confirms Levine's (2006) claim that professors don't know what is happening in the classroom. It is hard for professors to predict and prepare student teachers for the realities of the current classroom. The focus of the faculty has been pulled away from being in the classroom to preparing for the standards of NCATE and the PACT. Several of the professors interviewed felt as though the curriculum and the philosophy of the credentialing programs were compromised because of the assessment processes. Levine described this sentiment in his report, "Teacher education is a troubled field, characterized by curricular confusion, a faculty disconnected from practice, low admission and graduation standards, wide disparities in institutional quality, and real quality control enforcement" (p. 21). Although the professors, university supervisors, program leaders, and deans are aware of this sentiment, some of them are reluctant to shift their focus from "how to teach" to "how one learns," or to shift to focusing on skills students must master rather than the knowledge teachers need to teach (Levine, 2006). One professor interviewed for this study said, "People like me who've been away from full-time teaching for a very long time, we've lost contact with, how much work it is to be a teacher."

Although it would be easy for faculty of credentialing programs to place the blame of mediocrity entirely on partner schools, the professors also have their part to play. There is a struggle to keep current in academia and a struggle to keep current with what is happening in K-12 institutions. Abbott (1988) says that academic knowledge is knowledge that clarifies the foundations of an occupation and traces those foundations to major cultural values. By not staying abreast with current struggles classroom teachers

experience, professors in credentialing programs cannot assist their partner schools in redefining the culture of teaching to be more applicable and current. This questions the professors specialized knowledge, meaning their ability to work with problems beyond the scope of general knowledge. This diminishes teaching as a profession within the context of Abbott's criteria because those who prepare teachers for their careers are not in command of the specialized knowledge teachers need to possess.

In sum, credentialing programs face the challenge of inconsistency between school district curriculum and the program's expectations of their student teachers. The professors indicated that some student teachers are placed with incompetent master teachers, which perpetuates mediocrity in the classroom. The professors also explained a divergence between what credentialing programs value and enact in their program and what master teachers value and evaluate student teachers on in their classrooms. There is also friction between university faculty and teachers in the partner schools because district mandated curriculum does not always coincide with current pedagogy being instructed in credentialing programs.

The absence of the ethos of research. There is an absence of teaching how to conduct and evaluate empirical research in credentialing programs. In Abbott's (1988) social constructs of a profession, academic knowledge must be present. Academic knowledge is what clarifies the foundations of a profession and is traced in the profession's major cultural values. This knowledge is used as part of the profession's jurisdiction and it informs decisions and future practice. This knowledge should be generated within the profession; otherwise the profession is limiting the authority they have to autonomy and exclusive practice. This has become problematic for teaching

because much of the research being taught in credentialing programs did not come from K-12 classrooms. Not only are teachers not generating research that is grounded in their teaching, they don't know how to discern quality research. Without learning how to discern quality research, teacher credentialing programs are nothing more than an avenue to learn general knowledge (Kumshiro, 2010). This validates some of the criticisms of teaching and the teaching profession because teachers are not making a connection between the diagnosis and treatment to contribute to the abstract and academic knowledge of the profession (Abbott, 1988).

Although NCATE identifies empirical knowledge as critical, the curriculum in the credentialing programs lacks instruction for student teachers on how to conduct their own research to further their knowledge in the field of education. This was a recurring theme with the interviewees from all three credentialing programs. Although professors at the universities value empirical research and even teach cutting-edge research to their students, they are not teaching the student teachers how to generate it on their own. Teachers don't learn how to generate and evaluate research unless they participate in a masters program, which is not required for a credential. Wilensky said, "Occupations which successfully identify themselves with the sacred [esoteric knowledge] may achieve as much of a mandate for monopoly as those who identify themselves with science" (1964, pp. 139-140). The creation of empirical knowledge in the field of education is left to those who are outside the classroom.

The problem is two-fold. First, student teachers do not know how to generate research to contribute to education's body of knowledge. Second, credentialing programs are not training student teachers how to evaluate or implement the newest, cutting-edge

knowledge. Based on the responses from the interviewees, the student teachers are only exposed to research that has been evaluated and filtered by their professors. Burk (2002) states that professions don't just intuitively understand the knowledge—they need to form new ideas. If teachers can't question what is being handed to them because of their lack of understanding of empirical knowledge, then these very teachers have to accept the research they are presented with and relegate their jurisdiction to those outside the classroom. This further prevents teaching from becoming a profession.

Recommendations for the Future

Educators in this study value empirical research as demonstrated via their curriculum. However, the professors and administrators of these programs feel as though current K-12 classroom teachers do not value current research. Some universities have taken this disposition into their own hands. One professor explained the issue as follows:

We really are a community of learners and just like in medicine and technology, any science, any other field, there's emerging research and especially with all the neurosciences. All of the changes to national standards and assessment accountability and funding for programs—it is hard to keep up with all of that. So the student teachers are in a position to really share some really valuable insights, and information, and articles and references, resources, with their guide teachers.

Urbanski says, "Teachers must have access to the most current knowledge available to meet their students' needs" (1998, p. 451), and yet, current classroom teachers are not accessing the research on their own.

The first recommendation is to have credentialing programs collaborate with schools districts to hold seminars on current research. Members of the teacher education community (e.g., credentialing programs, administrators, professors, et cetera) need to transcend conversations about academic and specialized knowledge and explore how to engage teachers in learning research about their area of expertise and address empirical

knowledge. The training might include how to read research, how to evaluate research, and how to identify the implications of the research for the teachers' own practice and how to conduct their own research. This could prompt public school teachers to claim responsibility for their own practice and potentially increase the rigor of teaching as a profession (Urbanski, 1998).

The second recommendation is for credentialing programs to help reduce the gap between university credentialing programs and K-12 partner schools by providing training for perspective master teachers. This training could include not only current pedagogical and learning theories, but also values and beliefs that the credentialing programs espouse. Although two universities in this study provided training for their master teachers, attendance was inconsistent. The credentialing programs could place more of an emphasis on the importance of the training. If this were universally done, then master teacher training would become a norm and be considered a best practice for bridging the gap of beliefs between credentialing programs and K-12 schools.

The third recommendation for teacher credentialing programs is to incorporate into program curriculum how to generate research or at the very least, how to evaluate and discern between adequate and meager research. Ultimately the goal should be for student teachers in credentialing programs to learn how to do research, which impacts their campus and student learning once they become fully credentialed teachers. This won't be easy work for teachers to do. According to Fullan (2007) "...the harder work is to change schools into learning organizations..." (p. 266). The implications of this go beyond just what is learned in credentialing programs but a widespread change to teaching as a profession. Fullan asserts, "Better teacher preparation, hiring, and induction

are not a set of structural reforms. We are talking about reculturing the teaching profession as a whole" (2007, p. 282). This is supported by Hargreaves (2003) who states:

Today's teachers therefore need to be committed to and continually engaged in pursuing, upgrading, self-monitoring, and reviewing their own professional learning. This includes but is not restricted to participating in face-to-face and virtual professional learning networks, adopting continuous professional-development portfolios in which teachers accumulate and review their own professional learning, consulting and critically applying the evidence of educational research so their practice is informed by it, undertaking action research and inquiry of their own, and connecting professional learning with levels of reward in teacher pay (p. 24-25).

Unless teachers recognize that they are permitting those outside the classroom to generate the knowledge needed to be effective teachers, then teachers will relinquish their jurisdictional control over education and will likely remain nothing more than a semi-profession. Abbott (1988) points out, for an occupation to be classified as a profession, the members must control the knowledge base within which they work.

Limitation of This Study and Implications for Future Research

Only teacher credentialing programs at three universities were examined in this study. Given the vast number of teacher credentialing programs across the country, those examined in this study are not necessarily illustrative of teacher credentialing programs in general. There is an assortment of programs designed to meet the needs of a wide range of student teachers. The programs in this study were only of accredited traditional programs even though non-traditional programs exist. Nontraditional alternative credentialing programs are modified training programs designed to quickly get teachers in districts that are experiencing teacher shortages. Nontraditional alternative credentialing programs include: for-profit online programs, Teach for America, and

school district designed programs. School districts accept their credentials just as they accept credentials from rigorous institutions.

During the interviews conducted for this study, the deans of the credentialing programs expressed their disdain for the lack of rigor in “nontraditional alternative” certification programs. To gain a better understanding of how teacher credentialing programs are preparing future teachers, additional research must be conducted. This research could investigate how for-profit institutions and non-traditional programs are furthering teaching as a profession or continuing to the deprofessionalization of teaching. Based on the comments of the deans of the three universities credential programs there is a hierarchy of quality credentialing programs. A comparative study of non-traditional teacher credentialing programs could provide additional further insight into the convergence and divergence of values as they pertain to teaching as a profession. There is a caveat to this suggested research. There might not be any significant convergence of values in non-traditional credentialing programs and they might not be contributing to teaching as a profession. But, before we rule them out, research needs to be conducted. Because of the lack of generalizability of the research in this study, a quantitative study could be designed comparing traditional and non-traditional credentialing programs to each other.

One additional recommendation would be to create an instrument that could be used to test and measure Abbott’s criteria for a profession in credentialing programs and then the credentialing program’s effect on the promotion of teaching as a profession. There is also a lack of empirical evidence about what how traditional and non-traditional credentialing programs compare to each other and how the non-traditional credentialing

programs promote teaching as a profession. The professors, deans, and university supervisors of traditional universities expressed the need to establish a measurement of credentialing programs that extends beyond accreditation. It would also be appropriate to research the impact that master teachers within school districts have on the effectiveness of student teachers.

Implications for Teaching as a Profession

Some educational researchers have given short shrift to credentialing programs because of the lack of consistency and rigor. Although the credentialing programs in this study are attuned to the criticism, there is still disagreement over the science and craft of teaching. Teachers should embrace empirical research to expand education's body of knowledge. If they do this, there is a potential for teachers to gain the same respect and latitude for practice as other professions. Teachers need to conduct research, discuss it with colleagues, and then use their research to promote improved classroom instruction and student performance. The education community needs to reassess their expectations of student teachers and teachers alike. This means looking to the recognized academic leaders of education to help transform teaching into that of a fully recognized profession. In order to do this, teachers need to be empowered to be those leaders and facilitate the growth of knowledge, skills, and disposition in their colleagues in order to transform teaching.

This research shows that teaching is a profession that is in ascension as opposed to decline. Although principals and teachers don't have the autonomy to make decisions in education, teaching as a profession still meets two out of the three stages that Abbott (1988) states are necessary for the growth of an occupation into a profession: (1)

Teachers should obtain a license in order to practice in the classroom, (2) Teachers should attend formal schooling where they acquire the academic and specialized knowledge needed for their field. But, Abbott's third stage is consistency of cultural norms of which teaching lacks. Additionally, the length of time in a credentialing program varies, the terms used to describe the cultural norms vary, and the tests that assess the cultural norms are optional for licensure. Finally, because teachers don't take on the task of research, their work is not considered complex and infused with the most recent academic knowledge, as is found in other fully recognized professions. Teachers need to have more of an investment in their profession as opposed to just "dispensing" the curriculum.

If teaching is to become a true profession then teachers could begin with conducting the kind of research that informs practice in the classroom. Darling-Hammond observes, "Professional development in most districts still consists primarily of one-shot workshops, rather than more effective problem-based learning that is built in to teachers' ongoing work with their colleagues" (2005, p. 24). Although teachers attend "best practices" conferences, these conferences only address skills that teachers may need to be effective in the classroom. Teachers are in need of conferences that build the empirical knowledge and empower teachers to reclaim the expertise of teaching as a profession; otherwise teachers will always be relegated to a substandard position in society and not be considered a full profession. In comparison to other countries, teachers in the United States are not afforded the time for professional learning or collaboration (Darling-Hammond, 2005). Fullan emphasizes, "Teachers of today and tomorrow need to do much more learning on the job, or in parallel with -- where they constantly can test

out, refine, and get feedback on the improvements they make” (2007, p. 297). Teachers need to be afforded the time to collaborate. They can no longer operate in isolation. The time has come for them to do empirical research, use that research to inform their practice, share the research with their colleagues, and claim their full status as a profession.

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Appendix A:
Document Analysis

- Questions that surface because of the document:

7. *REFLECTIONS:*

Appendix B:
Interview Protocol

Research Questions:

- What is the relationship between teacher credentialing programs and the professionalization of teaching?
 - What types of knowledge, skills, and dispositions are teacher credentialing programs instructing perspective teachers and do they promote the professionalization of teaching?
 - What are the factors that support or challenge the professionalization of teacher candidates in contemporary teacher credentialing programs?
 - In what ways are teacher credentialing programs convergent or divergent in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are perceived necessary for the preparation of teacher candidates?

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Question Type</i>	<i>Research Questions</i>
Background Information	Warm-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about when your interest in education first began. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why did you go into teacher education?
Beliefs and Values (Disposition) <i>*Note to self: make sure to ask these</i>	Descriptive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • List professional characteristics you feel are important for teachers to embrace (blank 3x5 cards that teacher educators can write qualities on and sort)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Tell me more. ○ Which of these characteristics would you think are most important for student teachers to learn

<p><i>questions for each characteristic listed.</i></p>		<p>about?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are there other characteristics that you think are important?
	<p>Reflective</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe how you believe your values and beliefs align with what you are teaching perspective teachers.

<p>Jurisdiction (Skills)</p> <p><i>*Note to self: make sure to ask these questions for each characteristic listed.</i></p>	<p>Descriptive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe how teacher candidates gain an understanding of professional and pedagogical knowledge and skills in your program. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Could you speak more about _____? ○ What do you mean by _____? • What are some obstacles that you have encountered teaching _____? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How have these obstacles affected your program? ○ How have these obstacles affected your students?
	<p>Reflective</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe how you utilize these skills in your courses or work with the student teachers.

<p>Jurisdiction (Content Knowledge)</p> <p><i>*Note to self: make</i></p>	<p>Descriptive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe how student teachers demonstrate their content knowledge. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Could you give me an example? ○ How do you adjust the curriculum to prepare student teachers to demonstrate their knowledge
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<p><i>sure to ask these questions for each characteristic listed.</i></p>		<p>through inquiry?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Could you give me an example? ○ How do you adjust the curriculum to prepare student teachers to demonstrate their knowledge through critical analysis? ○ Could you speak more about _____?
	<p>Reflective</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What obstacles are you encountering as you prepare student teachers to be experts in the content they are teaching?

	<p>Descriptive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you feel your teacher preparation program differs from other teacher preparation programs in instructing _____? • How do you feel your program differs from other programs in preparing prospective teachers for the classroom?
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Interview protocol adapted from Kavle (1996), Patton (2002), Glesne (2006).

Appendix C:
Email Solicitation to Participants

Subject line: Participants being sought for a research study on values in teacher-credentialing programs

Email content:

Rachel Rice, a doctoral student at the University of San Diego is looking for participants for her research study. You are receiving this email because you are a member of the faculty in a teacher-credentialing program.

This study is about how the espoused and enacted values of credentialing programs promote the professionalization of education. If you take part in this study, you would be asked to participate in a sixty minute interview about your beliefs of teaching and credentialing programs. To be able to take part in this study, you must be a member of the faculty of a teacher-credentialing program at a university.

If you are interested in participating or have questions about the study, please email Rachel [REDACTED] or call ([REDACTED]).

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,
Rachel Rice

Appendix D:
Research Participant Consent Form

**University of San Diego
Institutional Review Board**

Research Participant Consent Form

For the research study entitled:
Engaging High School Students via Community Service

I. Purpose of the research study

Rachel Rice is a student in the School of Leadership and Education Sciences at the University of San Diego. You are invited to participate in a research study she is conducting. The purpose of this research study is to explore what teacher-credentialing programs are doing to build teaching as a profession.

II. What you will be asked to do

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to:

Participate in an interview about your values and beliefs about credentialing programs and how they are promoting teaching as a profession.

You will be audio and/or video recorded during the interviews.

Your participation in this study will take a total of 60 minutes.

III. Foreseeable risks or discomforts

Sometimes when people are asked to think about their feelings, they feel sad or anxious. If you would like to talk to someone about your feelings at any time, you can call toll-free, 24 hours a day:

San Diego Mental Health Hotline at 1-800-479-3339

IV. Benefits

While there may be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study, the indirect benefit of participating will be knowing that you helped researchers better understand how teacher-credentialing programs are promoting teaching as a profession and how universities socially construct their programs through their espouse and enacted values.

V. Confidentiality

Any information provided and/or identifying records will remain confidential and kept in a locked file and/or password-protected computer file in the researcher's office for a minimum of five years. All data collected from you will be coded with a number or pseudonym (fake name). Your real name will not be used. The results of this research project may be made public and information quoted in professional journals and

meetings, but information from this study will only be reported as a group, and not individually.

VI. Compensation

You will receive no compensation for your participation in the study.

VII. Voluntary Nature of this Research

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You do not have to do this, and you can refuse to answer any question or quit at any time. Deciding not to participate or not answering any of the questions will have no effect on any benefits you're entitled to. You can withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

VIII. Contact Information

If you have any questions about this research, you may contact either:

1) Rachel Homel Rice

Email: [REDACTED]

Phone: [REDACTED]

2) Frank Kemerer, PhD

Email: [REDACTED]

Phone: [REDACTED]

I have read and understand this form, and consent to the research it describes to me. I have received a copy of this consent form for my records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Participant (**Printed**)

Signature of Investigator

Date