

TEACHERS' IDENTITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF PROFESSIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

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Dedication

The first special education “teacher” I ever knew was my mom, who to this day supports, educates, and cares for people with disabilities—and fights for and alongside them, as well. She was a pioneer, steadfast in the belief that every person deserves the right to decide who they are want to be in this world. I can only hope that this work honors her ongoing efforts by supporting and inspiring teachers to pursue their journeys with the same dignity, grace, and strength with which she has forged her own path.

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For long years (too many, indeed), this project has resisted completion. In active times, it wrestled with me, taunted my slogging steps, and reveled in my frantic attempts to compel these teachers' stories into a tale worthy of their efforts. There were as well the quiet periods, when days became months, and months watched seasons lengthen into years, all with little progress. Still, this project shadowed me in the dark corners, sending wispy doubts into the air: "You'll never finish this, you know." At times, I believed those voices.

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Abstract

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TEACHERS' IDENTITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In response to increased accountability measures and evaluation systems, schools adopt new approaches and innovations. Such activities often require teachers to adopt new roles and responsibilities, develop new knowledge and skill, and reconfigure their relationships with peers and administrators. As a result, teachers build new professional identities in response to the underlying question—who am I as a teacher? This dissertation describes the journey of four Midwestern educators as they participate in a two-year professional development initiative to establish Instructional Consultation Teams (IC Teams) in their schools.

IC Teams (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011) is a problem-solving model implemented via a two-year training model based on Joyce and Showers' (1981) theories of professional development. The author's position as an IC Teams trainer for the project permitted a strategic vantage point from which to conduct a critical ethnography involving the four teachers featured in the study. For the duration of the training, records were collected of training sessions, team meetings, IC Teams case management activities, as well as extensive interviews with study participants.

Considered in light of Kelchtermans’ (1993) “personal interpretive framework,” study findings describe how participants struggled to make meaning of their new identities in a context riddled with competing value systems and marked by shifting allegiances among colleagues. In response, they navigated the “project of the self” by appropriating definitions of mastery from program standards while refiguring their own metrics for success. The discussion of these findings lends itself to a potentially new understanding of Kelchtermans’ framework in light of Giddens’ (1991) “dilemmas of the self.”

Implicated in this research is the development and implementation of school improvement products and professional development activities. Said developers, alongside school leaders who adopt such programs, will want to consider the social dynamics of teacher self-definition with the same care as they do knowledge and skill acquisition. It may be that school change work proves more sustainable when teachers’ career stories inform the direction of programming and evaluation.

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Chapter One

“You know, I have spent the past five years thinking that what I was doing was teaching. I mean, I am an ELL teacher. I figured I was doing what I was supposed to do. But in the past year, since I started co-teaching in the classroom, I realize that this is really teaching. I don’t even know what to call what I did before.”

Rachel, teacher for English Language Learners, Perkins Elementary

“So what I am being asked to do is not at all what I signed up for. You’re saying that I am supposed to stand up in front of a classroom full of kids and teach them? With their teacher looking on? That’s just going to make her feel threatened or demeaned. Besides, if I wanted to teach, I wouldn’t have become a school psychologist—I’d be a teacher.”

Roberto, school psychologist, Barlow Consolidated Schools

“My job is to make sure that my students stay on track. If I am stuck in the classroom all day long helping the general educators, how am I supposed to keep tabs on them? They will fall behind, not get their work turned in, and miss out on their accommodations. That takes most of my time.”

Lorna, special education teacher, Mill Run High School

Uncharted Waters in the Teaching Profession

One can find it in almost any school. It will be on the walls of the teachers’ lounge, or in the front office. Some teachers may have it framed on their desks. I once saw it as a poster in a faculty restroom. In most cases, it isn’t even quoted properly, and is almost never attributed. It’s the last stanza of a poem by Forest E. Witcraft, a Boy Scout leader, who wrote, in 1950, “A hundred years from now it will not matter what my bank account was, the sort of house I lived in, or the kind of car I drove. But the world may be different because I was important in the life of a youth.” The ubiquity of Witcraft’s verse in schools speaks to the ways in which teachers come to view their work: It is

more than just a job for them. It links, in meaningful ways, to what for some teachers is a core need to see the work they do in the classroom as having permanence, impact, and import.

Heartening verse extolling the effects of teachers' work makes for charming bric-a-brac available from gift shops, but a different type of examination of the impact of education looms in America's schools. Public school teachers find themselves subjected to greater scrutiny than ever. The enactment of the No Child Left Behind legislation (No Child Left Behind [NCLB], 2002) in 2002 unmistakably altered the landscape of education. Schools would be held to account for student performance; more and more students would be expected to meet high standards in language arts and mathematics, or their schools would face increasing sanctions and punishments. But, while NCLB included provisions to ensure that individual teachers rate as "highly qualified," they have been enforced only sporadically since the law's passage, and states have shown a great deal of variability in policies in this regard (Birman et al., 2007). For the most part, individual teachers could avoid the steady gaze of NCLB-directed accountability measures. The primary yardsticks existed at the school and district level, not in the classroom.

The accountability focus shifted however, upon the inauguration of Barack Obama as president. His administration's "Race to the Top" grant competition put a heavy emphasis on the performance of individual teachers. Specifically, the Executive Summary of Race to the Top indicated that states awarded grants would be those that "Design and implement rigorous,

transparent, and fair evaluation systems for teachers and principals that ...take into account data on student growth” (*Race to the top program executive summary*, 2009). Race to the Top [RTT] suggested that such evaluation systems be used to drive decisions about how to “compensate, promote, and retain” tenured and untenured teachers. Teachers, long an afterthought in the accountability era, moved rapidly moving to the forefront.

While some researchers have demonstrated means through which objective measures of student performance may reflect the “value-addedness” of teacher activity academic outcomes (Hanushek, 2003; Sanders, 1998; Wright, Horn, & Sanders, 1997), others offer approaches that are more qualitative, derived from robust observations and portfolio review (Danielson, 1996). In some places, systems such as the System for Teacher and Student Advancement/TAP (Daley & Kim, 2010), Peer Assisted Review (“A user's guide to peer assistance and review,” 2011), or the Evanston Model (Murphy, 2011) purport to assess teacher quality using multiple measures that include student academic outcomes (i.e. standardized test scores) as well as teacher involvement in mentoring, leadership, or other collaborative activities. In some districts and states, teachers’ performance within these systems may relate directly to their retention, promotion, or pay scale (“State of the states: Trends and early lessons on teacher evaluation and effectiveness policies,” 2011).

New Practices and Definitions

As seen above, teaching as a profession appears to be entering a period of change and uncertainty. To be sure, merit pay, tiered salary schedules, and

the potential for performance-based dismissals are new elements for most individuals who currently populate school faculties across the country. By themselves, policy changes such as these represent considerable uncertainty for teachers. Yet, other sands are shifting for educators. In particular, the advent of Response to Intervention (RTI), contained in the 2004 re-authorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (Individuals with Disabilities Education [IDEA], 2004) significantly altered the way in which teachers go about the work of supporting struggling learners.

For years, even preceding the enactment of special education laws (Sleeter, 2010), debate has roiled concerning the proper definition of “learning disability” and best educational practices for students identified as such. The passage of Public Law 94-142 (which became IDEIA through ensuing reauthorizations) in 1975 marked the entry of the federal government into the discussion, but the first true policy guidelines for identification of students with learning disabilities didn’t arrive from the U.S. Office of Education until 1977. These formally indicated the discrepancy model (that is, a learning disability presents as a discrepancy between a student’s performance and her intellectual capacity, provided the latter falls in the “normal” range) as the means of eligibility determination (Kavale, 2008). In the ensuing years, most states adopted some form of the discrepancy definition for SLD, but as Reschly (2004) states, “the regulations require(d) severe discrepancy between intellectual ability and achievement in one of seven areas of achievement, not due to other disabilities or conditions” even though “specific measures and cut-

off scores (were) not provided” (p. 198). This lack of specificity led to a patchwork of definitions and standards across the country. Reschly explains that even within states, guidelines provided to local education agencies tended to be more descriptive than prescriptive.

A number of difficulties arise from an inconsistent definition of SLD and/or identification processes. First, there is the impact of such ambiguities on individual children. IDEIA mandates an entitlement for extra instructional support for students with disabilities to ensure they receive a “free, appropriate public education” (FAPE). In effect, a state or district could mathematically adjust its SLD prevalence rates by merely tweaking the formula it uses to determine eligibility. Second, prevalence rates themselves are problematic for states and LEAs. As Kavale (2008) indicates, the SLD population nationwide has increased by 200 percent since 1975. The impact of such high incidence rates on special education costs and program efficiency is profound. Lastly, concern has begun to arise at the federal and state level regarding the overrepresentation of students from minority backgrounds in special education (National Joint Committee on Learning Disabilities, 2005). For example, a district with an African-American enrollment of ten percent should not display special education rates of twenty percent African-American students. By the time IDEIA was being readied for re-authorization in 2004, these inconsistencies and their effects had fully entered the policy debate.

In the years immediately preceding the reauthorization of IDEA, the administration of President George W. Bush convened the President’s

Commission on Excellence in Special Education. Tasked with identifying “reforms to improve America’s special education system and move it from a culture of compliance to a culture of accountability for results” (President’s Commission on Excellence in Special Education, 2002, p. 4), the commission examined a wide array of issues and concerns across the special education landscape. Among the issues addressed was the matter of identification of students with SLD. “Experts were not able to identify reliable methods for distinguishing children with the label of SLD from children who were not mentally deficient, but with low achievement,” (President’s Commission, p. 25) states the report, referring to the use of IQ tests as “arbitrary,” and ultimately calling for “eliminating IQ tests from the identification process.” Furthermore, the commission made it clear that the focus of the process should shift to the instructional side of the equation, and consider how students respond to strategies. The presence of RTI language in IDEIA two years later seems hardly surprising.

Despite the fact that RTI occupies little more than two sentences in the 2004 law, its impact on schools cannot be overstated, and offers a perspective on the capacity for a somewhat technical policy change (Scribner & Layton, 1995; Wirt & Kirst, 2005) to affect practice in schools nationwide. As seen, RTI was conceived as a means through which the definition of Specific Learning Disability could become more standardized and consistent. (Reschly, & Hosp, 2004; Vaughn, Linan-Thompson, & Hickman, 2003; Zirkel, 2006). States and districts had a host of means to determine if students met the old

“discrepancy” standard, resulting in an uneven playing field from district to district and state to state (Zirkel & Krohn, 2008; Zirkel & Thomas, 2010). The question, at the beginning, was one of labels and categories—how do we identify the right students for the right kinds of services? Special education has always, at its core, been an entitlement program that grants protections in the form of extra resources to students who would otherwise be disadvantaged. Many of RTI’s advocates saw it as a means to ensure that those protections and resources came to those who truly deserved them (Batsche, Kavale, & Kovaeski, 2006).

RTI was passed during a time of change in schools, when, as the name of the No Child Left Behind law indicates, the education system began being examined for how it supports all learners. Traditional liberal views on inclusivity and access merged with conservative values around efficiency and accountability, positing that schools should be able to educate every student to a high level of achievement. Thus, while RTI did suggest different ways to determine eligibility for special education services, it simultaneously presented reformers with an opportunity to reconsider how resources may be allocated in schools. A central focus of most RTI models involves considering how a student “responds to interventions” in the general classroom setting. As a result, resources (i.e. special education teachers and associated paraeducators, but also ESL teachers, Title I reading teachers, among others) begin to focus their time and energies on the activities in that arena, finding themselves in new

roles and relationships in the development of curriculum and instruction for all students.

Teacher Identity in Practice

What remains to be seen, however, is how these changes will coalesce in the lived experiences of teachers. Fullan (1996) describes school change as requiring shifts in beliefs, practice, and systems. He describes some mechanisms by which any of those dimensions may change (Fullan, 2001), and any effective program of reform needs leadership that effectively guides the process (Elmore, 2004; Starratt, 2004). What is not clear, however, is how these shifts in teacher roles and teacher accountability systems currently under consideration will affect how teachers view their professional work, or how the extant professional identities that they bring to the table will interact with such reforms. As Nias (1989) and Zembylas (2003) described, teachers employ various means of resistance when faced with educational reforms that push against their notions of self-as-teacher.

An example may help ensure a shared picture of the general concern at hand, and point toward the direction of the proposed study. A few years back, I had the opportunity to provide professional development and training for special and general educators who would be co-teaching together. By the end of a session, we had offered a host of skills and strategies designed to promote effective collaboration and shared teaching. We acknowledged, in cursory fashion, that moving into the general education setting was something of a shift for special educators. At one point, however, while sitting with a small

group in a break-out discussion, I noted that one special educator seemed to be crying. I turned to her, and after a question or two, she said, through her tears, “I guess I feel like I have wasted my career. I mean, I thought I was doing the right thing—helping these kids in my resource room. Now I feel like I have been wasting their time. And mine.”

This teacher had been in schools for close to twenty-five years. Somewhere along the line, and probably over and over again, she had developed notions of what it meant to be a “good” or “effective” special educator. And maybe she believed until that day with me that she had met those standards. Maybe she never had. In all likelihood, those notions had shifted throughout her career. But on that day, those beliefs were undermined, forcing her into a position of uncertainty and crisis. The changes in role and responsibility we were promoting in our work with her conflicted with her present sense of herself as a professional teacher, and she apparently despaired at this disconnect.

Accounts of teachers like this are the jumping-off point for this study. Change is a constant in schools (Fullan, 2001), and teachers will, as shown, soon face ever-increasing levels of accountability, along with shifting roles and responsibilities. Many times, these changes will occur in the context of formal professional development sessions. But what such professional activities purport to deliver may not be adequate in terms of teachers’ selves. Much of what goes on in teacher development work relates to the acquisition of technical skills and strategies (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Day, 1999; Smyth,

1995). Hargreaves (1995) concedes the need for effective technical training for teachers, and that such training have a basis in moral principles and develops teachers' political competence. But he also advocates for professional development that attends to teachers' selves, writing that, "...problem solving, reflection, and rational discussion are not hierarchically or developmentally superior or preferable to care, connection, and emotional engagement" (p. 23).

Here, then, lies the crux of this study. The professional terms under which teachers live and work are changing. Teachers will be asked—many for the umpteenth time—to undertake new roles and responsibilities, and to undergo professional development and training to meet these expectations. Whether expressly considered or not by the school leaders who mandate such activities, or by the folks who design and deliver the training, teachers' identities are involved. If that is the case, how might we explore how teachers' identities interact and change during professional development activities? When asked to build new skills and assume new roles, how do teachers deal with the uncertainty and potential crises of self that may arise? When or how do they resist such efforts? Do school leaders and professional developers even attend to the question of teacher role and identity when initiating school reform activities, and, if so, how? These questions describe the general contours of the work ahead.

The Study of Self

According to Jurgen Habermas (1981) identity is not a stable, static entity that resides within a person. Nor is it irreparably unstable. It is regularly

and constantly rebuilt and recast as people engage in communicative interactions tethered to their life contexts and histories in rational ways. In other words, how a person talks about his or her particular “me” and the “I” are necessarily social. In fact, Habermas seems to posit that, in line with Mead’s (Mead, 1934) thinking, a person’s “I” (i.e. superego) is pre-cognitive; it represents the subjectivity one holds which cannot be accessed directly by external observers. That being the case, however, the “I” does not really come into form until it is bounded by socially constructed, linguistically grounded norms. In other words, as soon as one begins to talk about his or her “I”—the moment claims about one’s identity are even considered, the linguistic form of those claims immediately push such utterances into the social realm of the lifeworld. I can no more talk about my “I” as a separate thing than I can see my brain with my eyes. What I am really talking about, then, is the “me”—a social creature bounded by norms and expectations of my conversation community. When I make claims about who I am, I am stating that “this is me” in language and terms that I expect others to understand. Even if I am simply “talking to myself” in my head, I cannot divorce the language and terms with which I self-conceive from my social milieu.

Ernst Tugendhat (Tugendhat, 1986) attempts to be more specific in addressing how it is one comes to know the self. His initial project is to clear away any notion that one’s self (the “I”) can be perceived by oneself directly. Self-reflection, as such, implies a private language that Tugendhat rejects. As a result, it’s not truly possible for the self to become an “object of itself,” and

Tugendhat formulates such thought instead as the “relation of oneself to oneself”:

“...it is clear that self-consciousness cannot be understood in such a way that something is simply related to itself, that the subject itself becomes the object. In contrast, we are now dealing with a self-relation that is not a consciousness of an object but a relation of oneself to one’s own to-be” (p. 28-29).

Moving further, what is argued is that this relationship, such that it is rendered linguistically, must then traffic in the terms of Mead’s symbolic interactionism. Any claim I make about myself—even if it is only *to myself*, still only carries meaning insofar as I can take the position of and expect the response of the other to that claim. Again, Tugendhat explains: “...the sentence ‘I ø,’ if uttered by me, is true if and only if the sentence ‘he ø’ is true if uttered by someone who by *he* refers to me” (p. 75). In sum, any discussion of the self takes place within a social context.

A person’s lived experiences (the lifeworld) do not wholly constitute the full terms of existence for Habermas. He argues that, as people become more and more rational (and, as the processes required to meet the needs and obligations of people in the lifeworld become specialized and differentiated), negotiations are no longer necessary for many of the experiences we encounter. Certain exchanges have become so rationalized by people—there is so much tacit consensus—that we don’t have to explicate our meaning any longer. A teacher walks into a room on the first day of class, and students all have a

fairly limited range of expectations for him. They know that he will probably introduce himself and call roll, and perhaps begin a lecture or other learning activity. They also expect that he is unlikely to perform an interpretive dance or sit down to work on his tax return documents. These shared assumptions are tacit, and they represent the system in Habermasian terms. Systems allow us to engage fluidly with people within our culture without having to rework every role and position every time someone new arrives. Schools, as systems, are rife with norms and standards of behavior and expectation tied to roles and position.

Hargreaves (1995) discusses at length how changes within the systems of schools and schooling affect the lived experiences of teachers. While he explores broad topics such as teachers' time, intensification, and guilt, his exploration of questions of individualism, individuality, collaboration, and contrived collegiality are particularly salient to the proposed study. In Hargreaves' assessment, schools' attempts to create collaborative work habits among teachers are admirable, but such efforts often run aground as teachers tend to push back against what they perceive as threats against their autonomy and notions of professionalism. This occurs, suggests Hargreaves, because school leaders ignore the micropolitical perspective on facets endemic in such efforts:

“In the more dominant *cultural perspective*, collaborative cultures express and emerge from a process of consensus building that is facilitated by a largely benevolent and skilled educational management. In the

micropolitical perspective, collaboration and collegiality result from the exercise of organizational power by control-conscious administrators” (Hargreaves, p. 190).

Hargreaves asserts that teachers have a vested and legitimate interest in protecting their individuality, which he cites Lukes as connoting “personal independence and self-realization.” True collaborative cultures preserve this for teachers while seeking to erode individualism, which represents “anarchy and atomization” (Hargreaves, citing Lukes, p. 178). Habermas, too, as will be shown, argues that communicative action necessarily requires the individual’s right to self-realization to be retained, even as she must engage in a fully cohesive social milieu.

The Writer’s Stance in the Study

I spent my years in the classroom as a high school special educator. The school in which I taught was a fairly traditional comprehensive high school in a small Midwestern city. The majority of my teaching assignments centered on the general education setting, where I co-taught English alongside a number of tremendously talented and dedicated professionals. The level of true collaboration (Fullan, 1996) that I shared with my colleagues was invigorating, and in nearly every partnership I was deeply involved in all aspects of curriculum, instruction, and assessment. In this setting, I was able to see first-hand how effective instruction in the general education classroom was the Holy Grail of education. I had little patience for resource or pull-out settings; it made little sense to spend my precious planning time reworking existing

materials from content-areas teachers to meet the needs of students with special needs—why re-do someone else’s work? Yet, if we could work together, ahead of the game, so to speak, my colleagues and I were often able to design lessons and activities in such a way that they needed little or no “modification” in the special education sense; the core of the learning activities were designed with the range of our students’ capacities in mind to begin with.

However, many folks in my school, including many in my department, did not share the enthusiasm for general education-oriented activities for students with special needs with my co-teachers and me. To be fair, a great number of such students spent a majority of their time in the general setting, but nearly all still retained at least one period a day in which they received smaller group support from a special education teacher in a traditional Resource class. Moreover, there was a persistent sentiment in the school regarding ultimate responsibility for certain categories of students. Many days after the final bell, I would hear my name called by a teacher as I walked down the hall. This fellow, a social studies teacher, would be waiting near his door, with a sheaf of papers. “Is this kid one of yours, James?” was the question, since the student had an IEP. “Well, yes,” I would respond, “but he’s also one of yours.” It was a small joke, but it speaks volumes in terms of the custodial relationship that was presumed between special educators and students identified for their services. Special educators contributed to this arrangement, as well—many of my departmental colleagues fought hard to maintain resource or self-contained special education settings for “their” kids. In the extreme, my

departmental colleagues would start conversations about students by checking to see if they were “speds”—a derogatory short-hand which struck my ears like so many fingernails on blackboards.

As time moved along and I began pursuing my Ed.D., I assumed a position as a graduate assistant and, eventually, Research Associate at the Center on Education and Lifelong Learning at the Indiana Institute on Disability and Community and Indiana University Bloomington. We do professional development work in areas related to special education, such as co-teaching and differentiated instruction, albeit cast in the context of education for all learners. This means we typically encounter the full range of educational professionals in our work—general and special education teachers, school psychologists, reading specialists, social workers, behavioral specialists, teachers for English Language Learners, etc. In nearly every setting, I find teachers who appear desperate to find new strategies and new skills to bring back to their students. At the same time, I routinely uncover a roiling sense of unease and discontent about the expectations these folks feel to change their practice and the ways in which they are held to account. These shifting sands relate to ways in which teachers view themselves as professional educators—and perhaps as workers in general, and I began to wonder how the current landscape of educational change, especially the implications of No Child Left Behind, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act, and Response to Intervention, might be effecting the inner lives of teachers in and out of the classroom.

The Research Setting

Instructional Consultation Teams is a problem-solving process that has its origins in work done by Ed Gickling, Sylvia Rosenfield, and Todd Gravois at the University of Maryland in the 1990s. Its primary stated goals are “to enhance and improve teacher and student performance.” The basic delivery model for IC Teams (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011a; Gravois, Vail, & Rosenfield, 2011) is a standing team of roughly 8-10 teachers (ideally, half of whom are culled from general education) which provides one-to-one consultation with a teacher who requests support for a student or group of students (or even an entire class) who is struggling with a specific area (e.g. reading, writing, behavior, etc.). Using a generic problem-solving sequence, the case manager uses trained reflective communication skills and curriculum-based assessment procedures to help the classroom teacher achieve greater clarity regarding the true nature of the student concern and eventually design and implement a classroom-based intervention to meet the student needs. IC Teams focus heavily on the problem identification component of the process, on the assumption that teachers rarely have opportunities to fully explore this dimension of the instructional experience. Ideally, it is hoped that teachers who access IC Teams develop their own skills in problem identification, enhancing their capacity to bring those skills to bear in their classrooms with other students and challenges.

A school’s IC Team is headed by a facilitator, who, with a “buddy,” receives at least three days of training a month for two years. This training

model, based upon Joyce and Showers' (1980, 1996) work around effective professional development, seeks to move the facilitator and buddy from levels of "awareness" and "understanding" to "skill acquisition" and "skill application." In addition to skill sets around case management (i.e. reflective communication and CBA practices), the facilitators are trained as team leaders. In this role, facilitators are tasked with the primary training of their team in the problem-solving process. At the same time, facilitators are expected to take on the role of "change agents" in their respective schools. Recognizing that IC Teams represent a shift in how resources are organized for the delivery of student supports, the training regimen attempts to utilize the facilitator position to manage the elements of change within their schools, attending to matters of resistance, administrative consultation, and long-term sustainability.

In essence, IC Teams facilitators are tasked with a host of new responsibilities. Facilitators come to their positions from any of several traditional school roles; it is not uncommon for facilitators to have been (or continue to be) general or special educators, school psychologists, reading specialists, etc. These folks' titular roles are associated with normative expectations about what it means to be a special educator, a classroom teacher, a school psychologist, etc., and these individuals have gone through training and years of enculturation regarding what range of actions and claims those expectations denote. In other words, the professional identity claims teachers make are in part associated with the traditional roles they occupy in

schools. IC Teams (and other models related to Response to Intervention) disrupts these traditional roles, especially in terms of tasking teachers with leadership and school change activities. In this study, I explore what sorts of professional and personal identity claims teachers in schools implementing IC Teams make, and how the model represents a change for them. In part I uncover whether these teachers find themselves redefining what it means to be a teacher, what it means to be part of a collaborative culture with their peers, and how the trappings of leadership play a role in fostering these attitudes.

During the time of the study, I was part of a three-member team responsible for the initiation and completion of the IC Teams training for at least nine schools in a district in the north-central part of the state. This district has come to work with our center as the result of a grant through the state Department of Education, and all the schools will be participating in the work. While conducting the training alongside my partners, four of the educators assigned to facilitate teams in their schools agreed to participate in the study. With their consent, I conducted observations of certain training sessions, case management sessions, and team meetings. I also engaged them in a series of extensive interviews. The specific methods of data collection are detailed in the methodology section, in chapter three.

Statement of the Questions

The aim of research is to answer questions (Delamont, 2002). The goal of critical ethnography is to answer questions in such a manner as to promote debate, trouble dominant paradigms, and to offer avenues through which folks

on the margins might uncover and flex their agency as human actors in the lifeworld (Carspecken, 1996). I grant that the vernacular of critique—terms such as “oppression,” “power,” or “emancipation”—might seem a bit overwrought. The suggestion here is not that teachers who experience change as a result of school reform and professional development are set-upon, downtrodden folks at the mercy of the whims of dehumanizing school systems. To be fair, most American teachers tend to be white middle-class professionals with graduate-level degrees (Aud et al., 2010). They tend to resemble the empowered classes in the United States more than many of their students, to be sure. Teachers tend to be respected and valued, especially in their home schools and districts.

Nonetheless, teaching as a profession has come under fire in recent years. The accountability and teacher quality measures described above arose from a hostile political environment where teachers in several states found their rights to collectively bargain threatened. Indeed, these rights were all but eliminated in Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and in Indiana, the location for the study. Further, in Indiana, the licensing process for teachers has been amended to reduce the weight given to courses in education theory and practice required for pre-service teachers, while reducing the barriers for non-teachers from other professions to become licensed (Senate Enrolled Act 001, 2011). The very notion of teaching as a “profession” seems to be in question.

So, in the lives of teachers, what do these kinds of changes really mean, especially in terms of the identities that they have constructed within the schools and systems in which they work? Habermas' theory of communicative action (1981) offers a means through which we can think about culture, society, and person are reproduced through forces of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization. He describes significant "manifestations of crisis" when such processes are not maintained. This study considers those processes and uses Habermas' formulation to describe how teachers' identity formation and stabilization are either supported or disturbed by the external forces that bring about changes in role and function. The tools of critical ethnography will permit me to explore the following questions within the context of an Instructional Consultation Teams training cycle:

- How do teachers describe their personal and professional identities?
- In what ways do new roles and responsibilities support or disrupt teachers' identity formulation and stabilization?
- In what ways does the IC Teams' training cycle inform our knowledge of teachers' ongoing professional development, particularly in terms of what Kelchtermans (1993) refers to as the teacher's "personal interpretive framework"?
- In what ways might Habermas' theory of communicative action work together with Giddens' "dilemmas of the self" to inform our understanding of teacher identity?

Potential Impact of the Study

First and foremost—and if only one outcome can be secured—I hope that Kurt, Katya, Jean, and Carol—the four educators who joined me in this exploration, found it enlightening. If these folks developed new ways of thinking about themselves in their work, and perhaps found new voices to describe who their identities and roles in schools are, and how they are a fundamental component of that work, then I feel no small amount of satisfaction. Going further, it is my hope that the findings from this study will provide more information on what actually occurs during professional development activities for teachers. Kelchtermanns (1993) is clear that professional development is not a single event or series of events, but instead a biographical narrative that continually defines and refines one’s “personal interpretive framework.” An activity such as IC Teams training, given its length, depth, and breadth, necessarily plays a meaningful role in shaping that narrative, and this study seeks to investigate how one might use Kelchtermans’ approach to describe that work. Lastly, Habermas does not present an identity theory *per se*. However, his overarching theory of communicative action is grounded in the intersubjective nature of truth claims, including those regarding one’s identity. In overly simple terms, Habermas tries to show how *communicative* actions (i.e. those intended to foster understanding as opposed to those designed to meet specified ends, which he calls *instrumental* or *strategic* actions) are critical in preserving the agency of individual selves in a socialized world. By using methodologies derived from his theory to study teacher identity in the lived

context of professional development activities, I hope to also demonstrate how communicative action may move from the theoretical to the practical and empirical realms (and, perhaps, back again).

At its core however, what this study describes is far closer than theory, unabashedly tied to the smallest of conversations that take place within schools among educators. That these conversations might have profound effects on the outcomes for students seems likely, and that they indicate how teachers regularly seek new ways of thinking about how the most marginalized children can access school is hoped for. But what this project really seeks out is that intersection between the personal and the professional. If we accept Habermas' premise that identity construction is social and ongoing, and fully intertwined with both the lifeworld and the system, we gain the chance to engage educational professionals in a different sort of dialogue. This dialogue seeks to understand how the education system, as it creates new expectations and mandates, requires teachers to take on new roles. Within these roles, teachers might begin to make new identity claims, claims which themselves may, in small but important ways begin to construct new definitions of teachers altogether.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Beginning a study of this sort, even on as small a scale, requires a good sense of the literature that describes the salient domains as they are currently known. As indicated, the three main domains of the proposed study are teacher role and identity, professional development of teachers, and school change initiatives, particularly RTI and its specific iterations. The Instructional Consultation Teams model will be considered heavily here. In the following sections, I present my findings of the research in each of these domains. While every effort has been made to ensure that this review of the literature is both comprehensive and contemporary, the fluid nature of the domains guarantees that some stones will, sadly, be left unturned.

Response to Intervention

While this study does not propose to examine Response to Intervention in a direct sense, it provides the macro-political context in which an exploration of teacher identity may be conducted. To that end, we should orient ourselves to how Response to Intervention came to be, as well as its current iterations. Until the recent regulations and mandates concerning teacher effectiveness began to dominate the dialogue in education, it was difficult to identify a change in school law—other than No Child Left Behind, perhaps—that has caused the sort of deep ripples in the waters of education as has the provisions for Response to Intervention (RTI) contained in the Individuals with Disabilities Education and Improvement Act of 2004 (IDEIA). The short span of years since enactment of the law has seen a rush of policy mandates at the

state and local level regarding what RTI actually looks like in practice (Berkeley, S., Bender, Peaster, & Saunders, 2009; Harr-Robins, Shambaugh, & Parrish, 2009; Zirkel & Krohn, 2008). However, if states and districts have jumped into the gap to offer guidance around RTI, there is a decided lack of coherence and consistency from state-to-state and district-to-district when it comes to key decisions around RTI, which include:

- Is RTI the sole eligibility determination for learning disability, or will it be used in tandem with traditional discrepancy model procedures? Or, will RTI not be related to identification at all?
- What model of RTI—standard protocol or problem-solving—are states or districts adopting?
- Do RTI initiatives originate from and are held accountable by general or special education, or a partnership of the two?

Part of the difficulty in finding consensus around these questions lies in the lack of agreement about what RTI actually *is*, and whether or not the structures and procedures of various RTI approaches have shown any promise in improving outcomes for struggling students.

History and Background of RTI. Since the passage of the Education for all Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA; also referred to as Public Law 94-142) in 1975, schools have been required to provide a “free, appropriate, public education,” to all students, regardless of any disability they may present. The law includes a range of disability categories, including what are known as

specific learning disabilities (LD). It is this category which has proved particularly vexing over the years, as definitions and identification criteria never escaped the early ambiguity of the law's first iteration. The basic premise of the 1975 law establishes eligibility if "a child has a severe discrepancy between achievement and intellectual ability." The term "severe discrepancy" was left to the states to define, resulting in a patchwork of criteria and definitions. In other words, a student could qualify as having a learning disability in one state, but lose eligibility upon moving to another. This led to several attempts to update and clarify the law, and with the 2004 reauthorization of what is now termed the Individuals with Disabilities Education and Improvement Act (IDEIA, 2004), states are no longer required to use the discrepancy standard for identifying students with LD.

Perhaps most compelling in the law is the suggestive leeway provided to states in the identification process. Cognizant of the fast-paced growth in the numbers of students receiving services for learning disabilities, the law's framers instruct states to allow local education agencies (LEAs) to ascertain "if the child responds to scientific, research-based intervention as a part of the evaluation procedures . . ." (PL 108-446 §614 (b)(6)(B)). Here we find the foundation for schools' examination of a student's "response to intervention." In the legislation, this reference to RTI is a brief handful of lines, and merely an option at that, but if interpreted to its fullest extent represents an entirely new means of classifying students for LD. Essentially, rather than placing the notion of disability as internal to the student and his functioning as an

individual, learning disability under RTI references his performance compared to his peers. To be more precise, RTI relocates learning disability in the nexus between the student and the instruction he receives. In some ways one may see RTI as merging with NCLB in its emphasis on quality instruction, which now stands at the front of the eligibility process; if school districts choose, they can require teachers and principals to exhaust specific, research-based instructional options before referring a student for testing. Conceivably, this could result in both fewer referrals and higher “hit” rates; that is, more students referred actually qualifying for special education services (Vaughn, Linan-Thompson, and Hickman, 2003).

RTI Principles and Components. Quality instruction does not simply manifest as a result of schools’ commitment to improving student learning— or from legislation encouraging it. Schools must develop better systems for determining how well students are performing, where their specific problems lie, and how to best address them. Response to Intervention attempts to provide this means using five nearly ubiquitous components (Batsche, et al. 2007; Martínez, Nellis, & Prendergast 2006):

- Universal screening tools, which are administered to every student a set number of times per year. These screenings are used to identify, in broad terms, students who might be at risk for failure in general content areas.
- Progress monitoring, which provides continuous data on performance of students in areas identified for concern.

- Tiered service delivery, in which interventions for struggling students are implemented in levels of increasing intensity and/or smaller groupings.
- Research-based interventions, which stem either from generalized strategies for all students who struggle in a given area, or from student-based strategies developed in consultation settings.
- Fidelity of implementation, which assesses the degree to which the intervention design was adhered before evaluating its effectiveness.

RTI is based largely on the premise that curriculum-based assessment [CBA] (as well as curriculum-based measurement [CBM]) constitutes a sensitive, efficient, teacher-friendly means of assessment of student performance on tasks that are relevant to state standards and development of instructional strategies (Batsche, et al. 2007). As described by Deno (2003) CBM utilizes assessment “materials drawn directly from the assessment materials used by teachers in their classrooms (p. 184).” Deno tends to be specific in his use of the term “CBM,” viewing it as more “specific set of standard procedures” than the general, “informal” nature of CBA. In any case, schools implementing RTI typically use some form of curriculum-based toolset. That said, while noting the failure of norm-referenced assessments to reflect curriculum content, Ysseldyke (2005) notes the accompanying concern that “most curricula are so ill defined and ill structured that they defy analysis—they cannot meet the curriculum-based criterion” (p. 127). RTI offers a balance, then, in using universal screening and progress monitoring measures, such as

Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) at the primary level (Kaminski & Good, 1996), or the Northwest Evaluation Association (NWEA) assessment battery for intermediate and secondary students.

Tiered instructional supports for struggling students are categorized by the setting of their delivery—the general setting (Tier 1), small group (Tier 2), or intense individualized instruction (Tier 3) (Martínez, Nellis, & Prendergast, 2006). Tier 3 is often viewed as special education, but some models use four tiers, with Tier 4 serving as special education (Fuchs & Fuchs, 2006). But since students who begin to fall behind can receive supports in any setting, regardless of the model, such distinctions are not always informative. Similarly, some RTI models provide services to students even after they are identified for special education (Batsche, et al. 2007, Rosenfield & Gravois, 1996).

As Berkeley, Bender, Peaster, and Saunders (2009) showed, states have authorized or supported two primary RTI models—the *standard protocol* model and the *problem-solving* approach. What is of importance here is not necessarily how either model structures the five main elements of RTI indicated above; both tend to feature these in some form or another. The key difference tends to lie in the selection of instructional interventions. As their name implies, standard protocol models offer teachers a standard menu of strategies that can be applied to any student who struggles in one skill area or another, as identified through universal screening tools or CBA/M efforts. As we have seen in our work with Indiana schools in the past few years, many schools or

districts have set aside “intervention time,” during which students go to a room to receive standardized instruction in math, reading, writing, etc.

In the problem-solving approach (Batsche, et al. 2007), a group of educators works to define the learning breakdown, analyze its causes, design and implement an intervention, and monitor the student’s progress to see if he or she responds to it. The key difference here lies in the specificity of the intervention to the student and her teacher. The problem-solving method has been used since the 1970s (Kratchowill, Bergan, Sheridan, & Elliott, 1998), mostly for behavioral intervention design. In its application for academic support for struggling learners, debate exists, and questions abound regarding outcomes for at-risk populations (Fuchs & Fuchs, 2006). Still, findings from a study on disproportional representation of minorities in special education (Gravois & Rosenfield, 2006) found that Instructional Consultation Teams, a type of problem-solving model, decreased by half the referral placement of minorities into special education services.

As indicated by Fuchs (2007), the efficacy of the problem-solving model lies in the fidelity of implementation. Kovalski and Glew (2005) detailed the implementation of problem-solving models in Pennsylvania in the early 1990s showed that “students served by ISTs (a problem-solving variant) had increased levels of academic performance only when their schools implemented the IST process to a high degree... (and) provided large-scale documentation of the importance of establishing treatment integrity in the delivery of academic interventions.” Telzrow, McNamara, and Hollinger (2001) concur, stating that

“the evolution of problem-solving has now progressed to a point at which our current focus should be on increasing fidelity of implementation in applied settings.”

RTI and Policy Considerations. Perhaps the central policy question surrounding RTI has to do with what Shinn (2007) refers to as the “big/little” RTI conundrum. In essence, regardless of the RTI approach under consideration (i.e. problem-solving or standard protocol), RTI is going to be used either to determine LD eligibility (“big” RTI), improve student performance (“little” RTI), or some combination of the two. As described by Shinn, a merged approach to RTI involves three components:

Use of a three-tier heuristic to design multiple levels of interventions with attention to evidence-based practices, and the creation of highly effective remedial interventions (e.g., Tier 2) to support the needs of at-risk students.

1. Universal screening process to promote early identification and intervention and to reduce the need for individual student referrals.
2. Use of scientifically based progress monitoring to assess RTI for all students

(Shinn, p. 610-11)

This hybrid framework, or “third way” tends to be the most often implemented (Berkeley, Bender, Peaster & Saunders, 2009) across the states. In fact, it represents the political minefield faced when attempting to affect a significant change in policy such as RTI. In the five years since RTI was permitted through

federal legislation, a strong debate has emerged among those who favor one of these three positions.

Griffiths, Parson, Burns, VanDerHeyden, and Tilly (2007) are among those who support RTI in its most robust iterations. For them, the intrusion into the general education setting is a positive opportunity to drive toward an overall improvement in program quality. They strongly criticize the “wait-to-fail” basis of the discrepancy model, and fret about the lack of consistency in identification procedures. And, whereas they view “little” RTI as a means through which the promise of inclusive practices may be further realized, they nonetheless advocate for “big” RTI implementation to determine student placement options. Kavale and Spaulding (2008) represent the views of researchers and policy experts who are concerned with RTI in any form. Expressing apprehension about the accuracy and research basis for RTI, they would prefer to see the discrepancy model retained as the final arbiter of SLD eligibility. In any case, Kavale and his adherents come out in favor of a “small” RTI approach, on the assumption that it would be a pre-referral strategy only.

RTI as a Replacement for the Discrepancy Model. Batsche (2006) argues that “primary outcome of assessment should be the development, implementation, and evaluation of interventions that affect student performance in a positive way. The current controversy regarding which approach is best appears to focus on how to best ‘diagnose’ accurately, rather than on the implementation of interventions that facilitate student attainment of academic benchmarks” (p. 7). He continues, stating that “traditional models

are invalid, delay interventions, and are easily manipulated to ensure placement [of students in special education]” (p. 7). On this same entry-level question, Kavale (2006) responds that concerns about the discrepancy model are overstated, and, more to the point, are confounded by inappropriate application of discrepancy testing. Specifically, Kavale suggests that discrepancy was never intended to be the “sole criterion” for LD. Used as such, discrepancy only ascertains underachievement without examining other factors—leading to Kavale’s assertion that LD can become conflated with simple, slow learning. It is the idea that some students are simply low achievers that vexes Kavale in terms of RTI. While he recognizes the need for such students to receive appropriate instruction and early intervention when possible, he does not feel that those children deserve the entitlement to a free, appropriate public education [FAPE] as guaranteed under IDEIA for students who truly manifest specific learning disabilities.

Defining Specific Learning Disability. One key issue (and, some would argue, *the* key issue) in this discussion is how LD is defined. Certainly, the determination criteria and processes have the function as gatekeepers to an entitlement under IDEIA, but the result of any process also carries with it implications around educational outcomes and opportunities, as well as socialization and identity questions. Since the definition of LD is highly wrapped up in how it is assessed, RTI/discrepancy models can greatly affect how the disability is characterized. Interestingly, both Kavale and Batsche (2006) share a concern over the effects of an increasingly elusive definition.

According to Batsche, “the definition of learning disabilities in IDEIA has not changed, just the procedures that can be used to determine eligibility” (p. 8), indicating a desire to use RTI as a way to develop greater consistency in delivering services. His contention focuses on what he finds as an irrevocably frayed set of discrepancy models. Rather than trying to compel states to adhere to an outmoded framework, Batsche suggests locating the process in the general instructional setting as the best route to clarity. He posits that such re-orienting will take into account a wider range of explaining “unexpected” underachievement.

Meanwhile, Kavale contends that RTI further erodes the consensus definition of LD. He points out that the “major difficulty with RTI is the great conceptual leap necessary for nonresponsiveness to be transformed into LD. As a student proceeds through the RTI process, what is it—beyond the fact that the student has not responded to what is probably very good instruction—that warrants a diagnosis of LD?” (p. 9) Kavale notes the heavy reliance on the etiology of reading difficulties in the current approaches to RTI, and sees this overlap threatening to imply a tacit parallel between such challenges and LD.

Reynolds and Shaywitz (2009) echo Kavale’s concerns, going so far as to counter that RTI does not offer an alternative to the discrepancy model:

“RTI, in fact, is another form of discrepancy analysis, here between the response of an individual student and his or her class or some other designated comparison group (that will also vary across jurisdictions). The issues in determining gain scores under RTI models are many and potentially

even more complex than the issues surrounding IQ-achievement discrepancy models, and many variations of how to approach such comparisons will be proffered with varying levels of mathematical sophistication—but, one can be quite certain there will be numerous applications that produce different results and identify different children under the different nonconsensual models that will be in use” (Reynolds & Shaywitz, p. 134-135).

So, rather than unifying the definition of LD from state to state, the authors argue, we find ourselves even less certain about the eligibility criteria. Salient questions abound about whether LD will be applied to students who are merely low achievers, or regarding students with high intelligence, but whom perform at average levels. Will RTI procedures note that these students are thus underperforming, possibly due to a legitimate learning disability? Finally, they argue that we have no consistent agreement about what it could mean for a student to “respond” to interventions: “The use of arbitrary metrics in research in response to any intervention in any setting often leads to inappropriate conclusions of progress” (p. 135). Lastly, Reynolds and Shaywitz assert that, while instruction in the general education setting is critical, “focusing on potential failures of the child-school interaction and seeking remedies other than special education is entirely appropriate, the latter is not a disability as traditionally understood but more accurately reflects a failure of general education to accommodate normal variations in learning, and while we strongly support correcting such failures, we also disagree that they represent a disability (p. 138).

Problem-solving Models in Application. Windram, et al. (as cited in Burns, 2008), “found a 66% proficiency rate on a group-administered accountability test among the 18 high school students who were considered at risk for failing the tests and who participated in the pilot RTI project,” and, further, noted growth rates of three to six times the national average on achievement tests for eighth and ninth grade students who had participated in RTI-based models. Iowa has long used an RTI-based program in its schools, with success at the secondary level evident. In its 2004 annual progress report, the Iowa-based Heartland Area Education Agency 11 showed a reduction in dropout rates across demographic groups, and an overall decline in rates from 1.85% to 1.67% over two years while using RTI. In any event, that rate is lower than the national average (Burns, 2008).

Tindal, Parker, and Germann (1990) followed a mainstream consultation model at the secondary level, which, while not truly a form of RTI, contained elements of problem-solving models. While students in the study were found to improve in regards to earned course grades, overall grade point averages showed inconsistent results. The authors suggest that continuous progress monitoring accompany such consultation approaches. Windram, Scierka, and Silberglitt (2007) examined problem-solving models in place in rural Minnesota which served students in their freshman year. One focused on students entering the ninth grade whose performance data indicated a need for reading and writing remediation. It’s notable that the district did not employ universal screening; instead, placement in the “RTI section derived from a

“comprehensive look at the child’s overall academic performance and school engagement indicators such as attendance” (p. 3). The study indicates use of Minnesota’s MAP test, as well as NWEA scores in these determinations. Once placed in the program, students were subjected to specific interventions delivered by two general educators (one of whom was a reading specialist), and data were tracked with the assistance of school psychologists and guidance counselors. Students in the program showed an average one-year increase in Rasch units (or RIT scores—the equal interval scores used by NWEA to measure progress) of 4.9 points. Nationally, average ninth grade one-year progress is indicated as 1.6 points.

Not every recent study has found such optimism in the problem-solving approach. Carney and Stiefel (2008), for example highlight the “the ambiguity that exists for teachers attempting to implement RTI interventions without policy dictating appropriate measures for students who are experiencing failure in general education classrooms, but who are not responsive at Tier II and who do not qualify for Tier III special education services” (p. 73). Fuchs, Mock, Morgan, and Young (2003), meanwhile, note that problem-solving models “...generally failed to produce persuasive evidence that classroom-based interventions (1) are implemented with fidelity and (2) strengthen students’ academic achievement or improve classroom behavior” (p.163).

RTI & Instructional Consultation Teams. Harr-Robins, Shambaugh, & Parrish, 2009; Berkeley, S., Bender, Peaster, & Saunders, 2009; Zirkel & Krohn, 2008 show that RTI has been implemented across the country using an

array of models, with *standard protocol* and *problem-solving* (or a hybrid of the two) by far the most common. Regardless of the model, however, RTI in its most robust iterations represents in some ways a major shift in the roles of educational professionals in and out of the classroom. Traditionally, general educators are responsible for the daily work of the bulk of students in the typical classroom. When students struggle, teachers refer them to special education professionals or school psychologists for evaluation. If they qualify, students thus labeled may nonetheless receive services in the general classroom setting. Yet responsibility and accountability for these students' ultimate outcomes shifts to the parallel special education system. With RTI, the primary activities of the eligibility process and the intervention delivery remain in the general setting, under the auspices of the general educator.

Those familiar with school change and professional development among educators recognize that implementing programs like RTI requires a great deal of planning and forethought. Fullan (2001) indicates that successful change requires the alteration of beliefs, teaching materials and resources, and pedagogical approaches. In terms of pedagogical approaches, Joyce and Showers (1980, 1996) have done extensive work detailing the kind of professional development activities that translate into applied performance of newly-acquired teacher skills and knowledge, and effective RTI initiatives often integrate these into their training regimen. Troublingly, the materials and models of RTI themselves have posited results that are occluded, at best (Kovaleski & Glew 2005; Telzrow, McNamara, & Hollinger 2001; Burns, 2008;

Tindal, Parker, & Germann 1990). Yet it is the dimension of beliefs that seems most unexplored in terms of the folks tasked with actually implementing the work of RTI models.

While not explicitly presented as an RTI model, Instructional Consultation Teams (Gravois, Gickling, et al., 2011a; Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011b; Gravois, Vail, et al., 2011) nestles comfortably within its basic schema. Its primary service delivery component is case management, in which a trained coach consults with a teacher who has submitted a request for support with a struggling student, group of students, or an entire class concern. Using reflective communication skills and focusing the conversation on finding an “instructional match” between the student, the task, and the instruction, the case manager supports the teacher as she develops greater clarity around her work. While the interventions that stem from instructional consultation are intended to improve the student’s performance (and data is collected to determine this), the IC Teams system is equally concerned with providing classroom teachers the opportunity to achieve the “certainty” that Rosenholtz (1989) indicates is critical to fostering “learning-enriched” schools.

A key assumption in IC Teams is that teachers must be effectively trained in order to do the work of instructional consultation. The training model for IC Teams is heavily informed by the work of Showers and Joyce (1996), who indicate that “as few as 10 percent of participants (in staff development) implemented what they had learned.” The Instructional Consultation Teams model uses their work as a springboard for developing

problem solving skills (Gravois, et al, 2002), with participants moving through stages Joyce and Showers (1980) describe as “awareness,” “understanding,” “skill acquisition,” and “skill application.” This training model, then, results in the formation of a school-based team comprised of educators from (ideally) every part of the faculty (i.e. general education, special education, reading specialists, school psychologists, administrators, etc.). This team receives requests for support from colleagues, who may be supported by any member of the team, given the ubiquity of the training and problem-solving process.

Gravois, Knotek, and Babinski (2002) describe a further goal of the model: “The IC-Team serves to directly confront the existing culture of the school organization and support the application of consultation services by practitioners” (p. 118). In line with the general education locality of RTI writ large, IC Teams seeks to address the “silo” nature of services for students. Rather than moving students throughout the school to different support professionals with specific kinds of expertise, IC Teams offers a way through which “mainstream general education could be strengthened sufficiently to provide support for the growth and development of every student” (Rosenfield & Gravois, 1996, p. 4). Part of this process, they assert, involves recognizing that “schools are not able to adapt to student needs at the classroom level because of the way schools are organized. One critical regularity involves how teachers consider their role” (p. 5). Costas, Rosenfield, and Gravois (2001) noted that teachers involved in instructional consultation described changes in

professional beliefs about student learning, and observed changes in school culture.

In effect, RTI, with its focus on the quality dimension of educational service delivery ala NCLB, offers a path through which the myriad parallel systems (special education, ENL, Title I reading, etc.) might re-integrate with general education. The promise of past efforts toward system unity like General Education Initiative and inclusion may not have lived up to their potential. RTI—especially in its IC Teams iteration—starts and ends in the general education classroom. It could be that shifting the focus for all learners to improvement of services in that setting could help bind the fractured systems Slavin, Madden, and Karweit (1989) bemoaned twenty ago.

If that promise is to be realized, though, reformers and advocates of RTI must recognize that schools' front-line resource—teachers—cannot simply change behavior by fiat. Fullan (2001) was clear that initiatives succeed and sustain only through alteration of materials, alteration of teaching approaches, and core belief systems. The IC Teams training sequence attempts to provide practitioners with the knowledge, skills, and understandings to carry out such a change in their schools. The studies examined here indicate that teachers who have gone through the training or accessed the IC Teams problem-solving process have found it valuable and sustainable. Further study is needed, though, to dig underneath this satisfaction. In schools where IC Teams has been implemented at “high levels” (according to data collection the online ICAT Tools program), how do case managers, team members, and consulting

teachers consider their roles? Are there perceptible shifts in how they are viewed by colleagues? In what ways do such shifts, if they are occurring, contribute to identity construction for these teachers, and do the initiation, implementation, and institutionalization processes of IC Teams ultimately prepare teachers to accept any such changes as stable, autonomous actors engaging freely within their school community?

Foundations of Role and Identity

The process by which an individual conceives of herself is complex and fraught with uncertainty. George Herbert Mead offers a starting point of sorts. In *Mind, Self, and Society* (1962), he posits that the self is an inherently social construction. He begins with what he calls the “significant symbol”—the basis for what becomes fully rationalized communication systems among humans. Mead argues that members of all species emit all sorts of utterances, some of which are clearly meant to communicate (e.g. danger, food, water, etc.). But only when a person *takes the position of the other* do such utterances or actions take on the character of significant symbols. Consider, for example, the handshake as used in many Western cultures. When one extends his hand, he takes the position of the other; he expects the other to see the hand as a message of goodwill, friendship, equity, etc. Without the capacity to view the act from the other’s point of view, one is simply putting his hand into space. The fact that handshakes carry meaning and are *not* simply creatures thrusting their hands about in the air is central to Mead’s premise:

This threefold or triadic relation between gesture, adjustive response, and resultant of the social act which the gesture initiates is the basis of meaning; for the existence of meaning depends on the fact that the adjustive response of the second organism is directed toward the resultant of the given social act as initiated and indicated by the gesture of the first organism. The basis of meaning is thus objectively there in social conduct, or in nature in its relations to such conduct” (p. 80).

If the basis of meaning is rooted in social interaction between organisms, that still implies that either actor is capable not only of taking the position of the other, but that either actor can conceive of herself as an actor in the first place. This leads us to Mead’s discussion of the self.

For Mead, “the self has a character which is different from that of the physiological organism proper. The self is something that has a development; it is not initially there, at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity” (Mead, 1962, p. 135). Mead is going to suggest a distinction within the self between “I”—the subject self, and “me”—the object self. How this distinction comes into being is not clear, however. Mead states the self “which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure, and it arises in social experience” (p. 140). This, then, is the “me,” the part of the self that one can name, and identify. It follows that the “me” is necessarily bound by the communication structures of its social milieu. In other words, however I might describe myself or my actions or who I am—whenever I talk about the “me,” Mead would contend that those utterances—even when they are part of an internal monologue in my own mind about me—are reflective of my position-taking of the other. When I talk about my arm, or my hair color, those words and the ideas associated with them are only meaningful in a social structure.

This social self/“me” develops, according to Mead, through the activities of “play” and “game.” In “play,” a child acts as if she is a teacher, a princess, a hunter, etc., by approximating the actions that one who “actually” occupies those roles would engage in. So, while the child is not truly a teacher, hunter, etc., she must nonetheless take the position of the imagined other. The play-acted activities would carry no meaning otherwise. What does *not* occur during play stage is the organization of roles with other actors, as it does in Mead’s “game” stage. During play, other actors’ actions or even presence are unnecessary. However, as children begin to engage in games, they begin to demonstrate direct engagement with the other; games have rules, and multiple actors may occupy different roles. It is here where one begins to recognize the need for social cohesion—success in a game, unlike play, requires that all participants effectively perform their roles. In essence, what we see in this organized game is the base structure of societies: “The self-conscious human individual, then, takes or assumes the organized social attitudes of the given social group or community...and as an individual participant in the social projects or co-operative enterprises, he governs his own conduct accordingly” (p. 156).

This, then, connotes the foundations of society at large. We will examine how the structures of so-called communities are reproduced, or upended later in this chapter, but for now it is helpful to consider just how substantive a function the subjective self (“me”) plays in Mead’s conception of a social lifeworld. Boiled down, what we find are actors who create meaning by

referencing the expected action orientations of the others, and adjusting their action/utterances accordingly. When these are coordinated across time and space, cultures arise, delimiting the boundaries of rational communicative acts from which actors may choose. Put one last way: I look at myself (my “me”), and say, “Will this (action, statement, etc.) make sense to the folks around me?” My evaluation of whether that will make sense is based on the social borders of my culture.

It is all well and good to facilitate the discussion of the “me” and how it may be seen as the object of coordinated social interactions within bounded cultures, but one is led to wonder *for whom* is the “me” an object? Who is the subject checking the reasonableness of the “me’s” action/utterances? Mead ultimately refers to this aspect of self as the “I.” He equivocates to some degree about the nature of this internalized self. At one point, he seems to imply that the “I” can, in some manner, exist independently of social contexts. For example, Mead describes how some folks are able to disassociate themselves from experiences of pain, such that they transcend the self’s engagement with the lifeworld and thereby cease to suffer. One might see certain kinds of spiritual experiences as offering a similar route to cognitive disassociation that casts the self into a non-social realm. But, for the better part, Mead maintains the pre-eminence of the social in his construction of the self. To do this, he will have to develop a nuanced description of the “I.” An example will help us work through this, and will lead back toward the questions wrapped up within RTI implementation and teacher roles.

Suppose that Hank is a reading specialist at an elementary school. He has been asked to do an evaluation of a first-grade student to see if she qualifies for Title I reading support. In Mead's thinking, the "me" of Hank's self is given a range of possible appropriate actions when faced with this request—conducting the school's basic testing battery is the most common, and the "me" that responds in coordination with social norms would likely follow along. But Hank's self is not a slave to his community, and he may act differently. He may, for example, remember that the student's teacher refers a disproportionate number of kids for testing, and offer a set of interim strategies for her to try out. Furthermore, he could talk to the building administrator about this perceived concern. In any case, the "me" has no idea what course will be taken; it simply goes along with the action orientations available (and of which, Mead would contend, Hank's alternate choices are likely within the bounded field of options). The part of the self that ultimately makes this choice is the "I," which acts a sort of arbiter, responding to the social situation:

It (the "I") is the answer which the individual makes to the attitude which others take toward him when he assumes an attitude toward them. Now, the attitudes he is taking toward them are present in his own experience, but his response to them will contain a novel element. The "I" gives the sense of freedom, of initiative" (Mead, 1934, p. 177).

As Habermas (1981) describes it, the "I" is the "generalized capacity to find creative solutions to situations in which something like the self-realization of the person is at stake" (Habermas, p. 41). Delving further into Habermas' formulation, we begin to see how the interplay between "I" and "me" really indicates the perpetual resolution of argumentation between the self and other:

Taking the attitude of alter, so as to make the latter's expectations his own, does not exempt ego from the role of first person; it is *he* who, in the role of ego, has to satisfy the behavior patterns he first took over from alter and internalized" (p. 59).

Here, then, is the crux of how role comes to be viewed as *dramaturgical* performances (Goffman, 1959) of the self. When faced with situations in the lifeworld, an individual performs actions in accordance with prescribed roles within the horizon of the community. The "me" is the part of the self which enacts such roles, reflects the taken-for-granted assumptions that such roles embody, and expects the other to respond in a reasonable fashion. The "I" assesses the performance of the "me," but also critiques the validity of the role and situation itself; it may come to be that the "I" begins to question the assumed social norms that the "me" enacts.

This capacity to ask the question, to interrogate not only the communication community but also, ultimately, the self (or at least the "me") indicates that the "I" projects itself into the future. Mead suggests that the "I" cannot do this, as the I-as-object is always responding to the "me"—therefore the content of its responses has already occurred in the lifeworld. Yet, both Mead and Habermas reference another aspect of self—*identity*—which permits an idealized, forward-thinking consideration of the self and the lifeworld. One constructs a dynamic identity that really serves as the locus of autonomy for an individual. Habermas explicates:

The identity of the ego can then be stabilized only through the abstract ability to satisfy the requirements of consistency, and thereby the conditions of recognition, in the face of incompatible role expectations and in passing through a succession of contradictory role systems. The ego-identity of the adult proves its worth in the ability to build up new

identities from shattered or superseded identities, and to integrate them with old identities in such a way that the fabric of one's interactions is organized into the unity of a life history that is both unmistakable and accountable. An ego-identity of this kind simultaneously makes possible self-determination *and* self-realization, to moments that are already at work in the tension between "I" and "me" at the stage where identity is tied to social roles" (Habermas, 1981, p. 98).

Habermas and Mead have here posited that the individual self is formed by two aspects—the "me" which responds to the question, "What are the possible action orientations for my communication community?"; and the "I," which responds to the response of the "me" by either confirming, correcting, or troubling it (i.e. critiquing it). At the same time, there is a forward-looking, autonomous identity that asks the question, "Who do I wish to be?" This ego-identity critiques not only the "me" and the horizon of the lifeworld, but also interrogates the "I" in its capacity as judge.

This, then, is the crux of our exploration in the coming pages. As we glimpsed in our example with Hank, the reading specialist, the range of possible action/utterances for a given educator in a school is bounded by the norms of the school communication community. Hank's responses are a manifestation of the "me," who answers the question, "What does a reading specialist do in this situation?"—with some kind of action. This action constitutes the performance of a role. It is important to note that "role" and "job title" are different here, albeit closely connected. But for now, Hank may be enacting the role of a "responsible colleague," or a "rebellious reformer." The "responsible colleague," for example might quickly complete the assessment and provide feedback to the classroom teacher. In any event, his response, the

“me’s” response, is attended to by the “I”—which will decide whether that response fits with the store of knowledge about the way things work in schools. At the same time, Hank has an autonomous identity which may look at what has transpired, and say, “I am not satisfied with this role.” Or, “This role does little to address my deeper concerns about justice. I want to be the kind of teacher who makes a real difference in the lives of kids.”

Habermas’ Contributions to the Self. Habermas expanded Mead’s basic project and advocated that merely taking account of the meaningfulness of action/utterances in social encounters is insufficient if one is interested in how folks are either empowered or oppressed by the other. For Habermas, the interaction between “I,” “me,” and identity has a historical nature, one that extends to new questions: “Is it reasonable that I should act this way? Should there be other options for me or others within our culture? How did these options even come about?” For Habermas, then, what the self brings to an encounter is that capacity for creativity, to imagine beyond history to a future in which conditions might be different (i.e. more just) for the actors involved. Specifically, he posits the hypothetical “ideal speech situation” in which conflicts and disagreements about the norms and values of a community are resolved based upon the quality and rationality of argumentation, not as a function of power or coercion.

For Habermas, the rational, autonomous actor distinguishes between functional, *strategic* action/utterances, which are oriented around the successful attainment of a goal, and *communicative* action, which has as its

object the critical task of furthering understanding. In what Habermas calls “communication communities,” actors work together within mutually agreed upon roles to bridge disagreement. One examining the work of teachers in collaborative settings might see parallels here in the “strategic” work of attending to lessons and testing, as opposed to the perhaps “communicative” work of creating safe and open paths for discourse.

It would be an error to take leave of Habermas without noting his contributions to how we might understand the ways in which individuals’ identities (and options for role selection) are both stabilized and bounded by forces of reproduction in the lifeworld. He offers that the lifeworld operates within arenas of culture (the stock of “valid knowledge” in the lifeworld), society (“legitimately ordered social relations”), and personality (identity—as enacted through roles and role sets). These arenas are maintained through the forces of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization, respectively. For our purposes, the force of socialization reproduces and stabilizes personal identity across time; “it secures for succeeding generations the acquisition of generalized competencies for action and sees to it that individual life histories are in harmony with collective forms of life. Interactive capacities and styles are measured by the responsibility of persons” (Habermas, 1981, p. 140). As will be seen, such structures may not necessarily be viewed as stabilizing so much as oppressive. For Habermas, though, rationality will prevail over the excesses of power in such situations.

Ideals and hypothetical scenarios aside, the work of social living takes place in day-to-day encounters. Both Habermas and Mead describe individuals as taking “roles” within such encounters, which really amount to what Carspecken (1996) refers to as “role sets.” Goffman (1959) did early work on the premise that individuals in social encounters put forth roles that are not unlike the performances one sees from actors in a stage play, or a film. Such dramaturgical realizations are not described so much by character names or titles as by a statement of what the role is meant to communicate. In other words, one might enact the role of “the engaged graduate student” during a class session. The indicators of this role might include such actions as taking notes, offering comments, *not* sending text messages to friends, etc. Similarly, a person might enact the role of “the caring friend,” by listening intently to the other’s concerns, offering support or advice, etc. Central to Goffman’s setup is the assumption that all actors in a situation share a common “definition” of it, such that coherence and social integration are maintained.

Identity Theory. Burke and Stets (2009) offer a complex approach to identity, based in large part on Powers’ perceptual control model (Powers, 1973). This all bears consideration, and we will start with Burke and Stets’ definition of identity: “An identity is a set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person” (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 3). They take pains to distinguish between “role,” “person,” and “identity,” in which the two former terms refer to

concepts that may be abstracted from an individual. In other words, I am a person, who plays a role as a father, yet there are other generic persons who may play a similarly generic role. When considering specific individuals, we refer to how one with agency responds to and acts upon meanings specific to his or her concept of a given identity. Burke and Stets' theory, then, attempts to determine what precisely those meanings might be.

Burke and Stets agree with other researchers (Cooley, 1902; Erikson, 1950; Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Mead, 1934; Stryker, 1968) who have posited that an individual does not have a single, all-encompassing identity. Instead, a person may be said to carry several identities around with her as she moves through different social encounters. Following McCall and Simmons (1978), Burke and Stets lay out a hierarchy of identities based on two primary axes of importance. On one hand, some identities have *prominence* over others—folks are more invested in them, they tend to be supported by others' responses, and they tend to reflect the aspirational nature of a person's ideal self. At the same time, specific situations may warrant that a given identity is more likely to be enacted effectively. These "situational" identities have what McCall and Simmons term *salience*.

All of this fits into Burke and Stets' control model, which is illustrated in Figure 1:

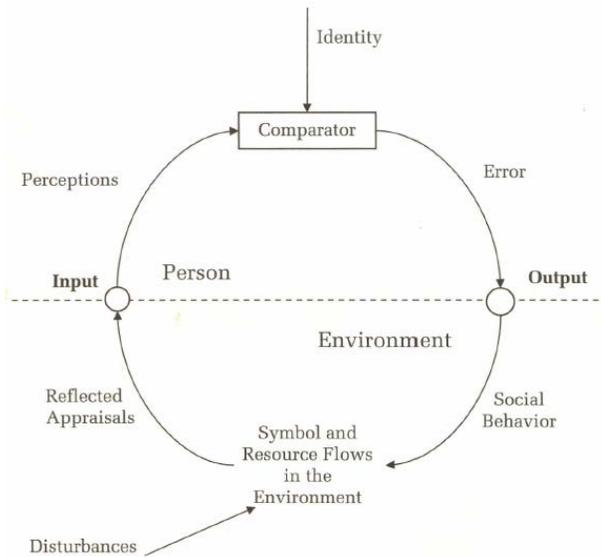


Figure 1: Identity Model (Burke & Stets 2009, p. 62)

In essence, each identity that a person can enact at a given time is describable as a set of meanings termed the *identity standard*. “Father” could mean all sorts of things—that one plays with his children, helps with diaper changes, or teaches them certain skills. Each individual has his own set of meanings for “father,” but they are bound by the limits of his communication culture. In any case, when he enacts the “father” role-identity (due to either its prominence or salience, or both), he checks that particular identity standard against the *inputs* he receives in a given interaction. These inputs may come from external sources; his son may laugh and giggle during playtime, other parents may look on disapprovingly as he checks his phone at the playground, or he may view images of fathers in various media. Alternatively, inputs may derive from his own reactions; he may find an activity fun, or he may sense pride at watching his son climb stairs for the first time. In any event, an individual checks his identity standard against the inputs (using what Burke and Stets call the

“comparator”); a discrepancy leads to a response, typically toward acting more in line with one’s identity standard.

Teacher Role and Identity. Beijard, D., P. Meijer, et al. (Beijard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004) compiled a meta-analysis of the field of teacher identity research, finding a heavy emphasis on the “personal” side of identity, with a lack of emphasis on what indicates a “professional” identity in schooling, as well as how educational theory influences the teacher’s identity landscape. They argue for broader sociological analysis and participant observation. Similarly, Coldron and Smith (1999) exhibit similar concerns about the technical nature of professional development for teachers in the United Kingdom. Such a technocratic approach ignores the professional component of teacher identity, presented as four teaching “traditions”—*craft, moral, artistic, and scientific*—which provide lenses or frameworks upon which more comprehensive examinations of teacher growth may be accomplished.

While their work did not apparently satisfy Beijard and his colleagues, Clandinin and Connelly (1996) did make some inroads in understanding the associations between teachers’ identities and the routes they take toward explicating professional knowledge. Their work amounts to a response to Fernstermacher (as cited in Clandinin & Connelly, 1996), who produced a set of questions pertaining to teacher knowledge, to which Clandinin and Connelly add a critical component, asking, “How is teacher knowledge shaped by the professional knowledge context in which teachers work?” For them, professional knowledge is contingent upon the interplay between what they call

sacred stories—the institutionally-supported notions of what effective teachers look like, and *secret stories*—those enacted by teachers when at work in their classrooms free from scrutiny. In the middle are *cover stories*—the accommodations and compromises teachers publicly make to ensure that they stay out of trouble with the keepers of the sacred stories (who may be administrators, policy-makers, or even other teachers).

Several writers (Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006; Giroux, 2005; Hargreaves, 1994; Watson, 2006; Zembylas, 2003) have explored ways in which teachers form personal and professional identities through their roles as teachers. Kelchtermans (1996) examined notions of teacher vulnerability, noting its association with lack of certainty in the face of mandates that lack clear normative grounding. Kelchtermans considers that such vulnerability “not only has moral roots, but also political consequences. The threat or actual loss of valued workplace conditions engages teachers in struggles for their maintenance (re)establishment” (Kelchtermans, 1996). Watson (2006) suggests a connection between “professional identity and professional action” that is revealed through narrative discourses about their work; identity is not fixed here in a pure sense—“people construct narratives and narratives construct people, and out identities emerge through these processes” (p. 10).

Teachers in Development. As suggested in chapter one, a major school reform effort such as RTI implies significant structural changes to the working lives of the educational professionals in schools. With these changes, reformers need to understand the degree to which teachers will implement or resist given

reforms or professional development goals. Rosenholtz (1985, 1989) described the notion of “teacher certainty” which she ascribed to a reform initiative’s capacity to align shared school goals with teacher learning, collaboration, and commitment. Joyce and Showers have pursued the topic of teacher development rigorously over the past three decades. According to their findings (1980), teachers typically emerge from most professional development activities only to implement ten percent of what they learned. The authors determined that the methods of professional development were tied to outcomes. In brief, Joyce and Showers (1996) found that in order to actually apply new skills and practices, teachers needed development opportunities that included chances for feedback and coaching in “real-life” situations. Most professional development, they argue, consists of mere didactic presentations of concepts and theories and thus procures only “awareness” or “understanding” for participants.

However, this study is concerned with more than questions of whether or not reform schemes are implemented. As seen, the roles that teachers enact and which reflect the conceptualization of their personal and professional identities impact the effectiveness of reforms. Zembylas (2005) considers teacher identity through a postmodern lens, focusing on the emotional dimension of the teacher’s experience. In his formulation, identity is a performed, dynamic, enactment: “subjects *do* their emotions; emotions do not happen to them” (Zembylas, p. 31). Nonetheless, as teachers operate within school cultures in which certain “appropriate” responses are sanctioned while

those deemed subversive go punished, they become members of what Zembylas terms “emotional regimes.” Enacted roles therein display the means through which “identities (and the emotional discourses and performances that constitute them) are produced by, and in turn produce, teachers, and tend to do so in ways that subvert the normalizing assumptions that underlie the notion of a common ‘teacher identity’” (p. 37). The function of emotion as a social construct in terms of teacher performance has been noted in recent studies. Day, Kington, Stobart, and Sammons (2005) observed the interrelated effects of teachers’ working lives and the elements of their non-work settings, highlighting the potentially deleterious consequences for instability in either locale on teacher retention.

Kelchtermans (1996) picks up this thread of teacher emotion, exploring what he considers to be teacher “vulnerability”—“feelings of powerlessness, frustration, disappointment, disillusion, guilt, and even anger and fear” that ultimately impact teachers’ capacity to act as autonomous actors within the micropolitical dimensions of schools. Wirt and Kirst (2005) and Scribner and Layton (1995) have studied the ways in which teachers exercise political power within their school cultures; effective schools tend to be those in which teachers view themselves as co-equal members of the political culture. Conversely, when faced with uncertainty around their roles and identity, teachers begin to respond through alternate means of resistance in order to stake out their own territory (Kelchtermans, 2005).

Illustrating the potential political responses of teachers whose emotional terrain has been trampled is Hargreaves (1995). He denotes five conditions that threaten the emotional stability of teachers:

1. Imposition of reform without input
2. Reform in a “context of multiple, contradictory, and overwhelming innovations”
3. Exclusion from the design process
4. Development that occurs off-site or for short duration
5. Development that discourages collegiality

Hargreaves pursues this further, noting that most teacher development is based upon the mechanics and functional aspects of the work. However, he argues, “problem solving, reflection, and rational discussion are not hierarchically or developmentally superior or preferable to care, connection, and emotional engagement” (Hargreaves, 1995, p. 23).

The Critical Identity. Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998) argue that power and privilege affect the relational dimensions of role-identities, and that the real challenge of the self is to find the space to “author” oneself within restrictive social contexts. The authors refer to these contexts as *figured worlds*—“socially and culturally constructed realm(s) of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others” (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 52). The figured world of “school,” then, describes

such taken-for-granted elements as “teachers, students, principals, tests, hallways, computers, etc.” It also refers to the routines and typified engagements enacted by people in such a culture. A person identifying herself as part of a figured world enacts a claim to possess the right and capacity to use the scripts and resources of that community. However, as Holland, et al (1998) emphasize:

In encounters, these generic (i.e. figured) worlds may be evoked through gestures, words, phrases, looks, and movements, and the relative positions of the parties to the encounter are constructed and counter-constructed. Yet, in practice, these worlds are not everywhere the same and their instantiations are not automatic. Rather, the evocation is potentiated and differentiated by, first, the positional markers that constrain people’s ‘fitness’ for certain claims and rights of use, and, second, by evocations of other figured worlds, other ways to define the situation (1998, p. 147).

While the figured world lays out the contours of generically acceptable narratives in a given culture, it also describes *positional* identities—those enacted to highlight and reify “relations of hierarchy, distance, or perhaps affiliation” (1998, p. 128).

Zembylas (2003, 2005) approaches the question of teacher identity from a postmodernist perspective. In general, he carries along with the notion of “unfixed” identities among professionals. His conception of the self reflects Foucault’s primacy of historically-constituted subjectivities:

The concept of subjectivity implies that self-identity, like society and culture, is fractured, multiple, contradictory, contextual, and regulated by social norms. Subjectivity is produced, negotiated, and reshaped by discursive practices. As such, the self is continuously constituted, never

completed, never fully coherent, never completely centered securely in experience (2003, p. 113).

From this point, Zembylas contends that any authentic self-formation for teachers stems from resistance to the power structures inherent in schools, and through performance of emotional discourses intended to re-assert the self in the face of “taken-for-granted machinations of emotions, beliefs, and rules” (2003, p. 127). In order for this to occur, he suggests, two streams of thought need to be present in the lives of working teachers. For one, there needs to be the recognition and exploration of the function of power relationships in establishing norms of emotion within school contexts. Then one may embark on an examination of how teachers may become empowered through development and pedagogy.

For Zembylas, the locus of this examination is the primacy of emotions, and their function in the narrative structure of identity. Specifically, he worries that schools connote “emotional regimes” in which teachers are entitled to only feel certain, acceptable emotions, while others are communicated as being out of bounds. He describes a process of *informalization*, whereby institutions like schools appear to permit great latitude to workers as far as their emotional expressions are concerned. However, this freedom is a specter, obfuscating the underlying message: Monitor yourself, or face the consequences. Zembylas links the tension in such systems to feelings of burnout and poor teacher retention. At the same time, given that emotion is for him a performative act, it is in the enactment of teacher emotion that we can observe the “creation of

strategies of resistance and self-formation through reformulating emotion discourses and performances” (2005).

Nias (1989) conducted a years-long study of primary teachers in the United Kingdom. Central to her findings was what she termed “commitment,” used here to “describe the amount and quality of thought and energy with which individuals address their work” (Nias, p. 30). It also refers to teachers who “care,” who see themselves as “real teachers” as opposed to those who might look beyond schooling for potential work. Nias describes teachers in her study as having “teaching selves” that are variously either idealist, conscientious, tenacious, self-actualizing, or grounded in one’s personal history. The degree to which some teachers were willing to identify themselves as “teacher” did not always coincide with personal or external measures of their teaching effectiveness. To elaborate further, Nias found that:

- One’s identification as “teacher” did not always correlate with success as teacher.
- This substantial ID as “teacher” did not always come a priori to taking a teaching job; for some it took several years of service.
- Personal values and belief systems were contained in teachers’ conceptualization of the work.
- Two kinds of value sets were seen: “education as the translation of social, moral, or religious ideals into action (read “caring”)” or “standards to which individuals try to carry out the job itself” (p. 41).

- Some teachers identified themselves as such due to the convergence of the work with their own perceived set of skills, talents, dispositions.
- Teaching could promote “inclusion,” that is, the bleeding of the teacher identity to other parts of one’s life. Conversely, non-“inclusion” seemed to be either resisted or embraced.

Nias also examined the ways in which teachers responded to (and sometimes resisted) forces within and external to the school context when trying to maintain their substantial teacher selves. The folks that Nias ultimately refers to as “teachers” are those professionals who have found the balance that allows for those first factors to persevere in an atmosphere of challenge and uncertainty. This is where “craftsmanship” and “artistry” appear in teaching:

“Now, what is truly remarkable about experienced primary teachers’ pedagogic ‘balancing’ is not so much that they achieve it, but that they do so in the face of unremitting pressures towards disequilibrium. The craft of such teachers is epitomized in the capacity to bring their own emotions and the social systems within which they work into harmony and then to refuse to be disrupted, unbalanced, torn asunder, blown off course, or put out of step...by the historical, social, emotional, philosophical, or practical tensions which form the context and backdrop of their work” (p. 199).

Lifeworld, System, and a Return to Identity. In his *Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas (1981) posits a less arbitrary formation of identity, and pushes back against the centrality of power structures found in Foucauldian formulations advanced by Zembylas (2003, 2005) and others. For Habermas (1981), the linkage and interplay between actor and other, and between what he calls system and lifeworld, do not represent an intractable power dynamic. Instead, communicative action theory allows for the possibility that rational actors can come to reasonable consensus and deal with social crises without coercion. Such coercion- and power-free argumentation is what Habermas calls the “ideal speech situation,” one in which, while power and inequality may be actual conditions of oppression, they may nonetheless be trumped by appeals to reason.

Habermas associates identity stabilization with the processes of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization. He suggests that actors in a community come to consensus (either implicitly or explicitly) around objective, subjective, and normative-evaluative truth claims, which are perpetuated through that process. For example, the normative-evaluative claim, “good teachers make sure struggling students are referred to special education,” is evidenced in the communicative engagements of those involved in the processes iterated in pre-service teaching, the role-specific nature of hiring practices, and the procedures used in schools for special education and other support services. Teachers begin to construct identities around these

reproduced truth claims, which are reinforced in their interactions with other actors and by the system itself.

RTI, and IC Teams specifically, disrupts this reproduction by suggesting, for example, that “good teachers collaborate with other professionals to support students in the general setting,” or, further, “special education services ultimately do little to support the vast number of students who struggle.” Competing claims like this have the potential to threaten the identity stabilization of professionals in schools, from a Habermasian perspective, at least. However, Habermas does not directly offer a model through which this may be explored (Giddens, 1991).

Identity and Reproductive Forces—A Proposed Model

Kelchtermans (1993) presents, in his “personal interpretive framework,” a model of teacher identity that attempts to bridge both pedagogy and the professional self--a link often missed in studies of teacher identity (Beijard, et al., 2004). Habermas suggests that when the structures of the lifeworld no longer appear valid, cultural meaning dissipates, and anomie and psychopathologies manifest as individuals struggle to connect to the Other. For Kelchtermans (2005), vulnerability is also a structural condition, a result of a disconnect between a teacher’s personal interpretive framework and the “fundamental ethical character” of the work of education.

How, then, does the agentic teacher perform a meaningful role in repairing, or at least responding to, structural fissures yet still remain intact both interpersonally and personally regarding her identity? Kelchtermans’

personal interpretive framework isolates specific components (the professional self and the subjective educational theory) that may, through narration of the career story, describe routes to resistance. I would like to propose a connective theoretical arc, through Giddens (1991), which might associate personal identity at the structural level, where Habermas' forces of cultural reproduction fend off looming manifestation of crisis in the lifeworld, with Giddens' "dilemmas of the self." If successful, I should then prime a canvas on which the contours of Kelchtermans' personal interpretive framework can be fleshed out with the narratives of teachers' experiences.

In short, Habermas suggests that effectively maintained lifeworld structures (culture, society, and person) reproduce through specific processes (cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization,) corresponding effects in the lifeworld (valid knowledge, legitimately ordered relations, and capably interactive personal identities). As stated previously, when these processes are disrupted, loss of meaning, anomie, and psychopathologies may result. Giddens views the work of identity as one fraught with the tension between, on one hand, being hemmed in by the structural forces that makes society possible, and, on the other, spiraling into a netherworld of disassociation and meaninglessness. These dilemmas of the self appear below (Giddens, 1991, p. 201):

Table 1: Dilemmas of the Self (Giddens, 1991, p. 201)	
Unification versus fragmentation	The reflexive project of the self incorporates numerous contextual happenings and forms of mediated experience, through which a course must be charted.
Powerlessness versus appropriation	The lifestyle options made available by modernity offer many opportunities for appropriation, but also generate feelings of powerlessness.
Authority versus uncertainty	In circumstances in which there are no final authorities, the reflexive project of the self must steer a way between commitment and uncertainty
Personalized versus commodified experience	The narrative of the self must be constructed in circumstances in which personal appropriation is influenced by standardized influences on consumption.

In the ideal speech situation, these dilemmas fall away, as the reproductive processes maintain a lifeworld structure unmediated by power or corruption. But absent Habermas' hypothetical, Giddens seems to serve up an existence in which stabilizing identities is a project of uncertainty and danger. Indeed, he frets that modernity has rendered the self disconnected from time, place, kinship and tradition, and which is now structured around "open experience thresholds"—whereby every phase of transition is marked by an identity crisis.

Giddens' process of identity construction and stabilization does not mandate isolation and fear, however. From infancy, he proposes, individuals

build up a sense of “ontological trust” that facilitates that filtering out of perceived threats to the self’s integrity. Rather than drifting in a dark sea without a sextant, the self uses these trust relationships to build meaning contextually in a world that appears to be meaningless:

“...the self establishes a trajectory which can only become coherent through the reflexive use of the broader social environment. The impetus towards control, geared toward reflexivity, thrusts the self into the outer world in ways which have no clear parallel in previous times. The disembedding mechanisms intrude into the heart of self-identity; but they do not ‘empty out’ the self any more than they simply remove prior supports on which self-identity was based. Rather, they allow the self (in principle) to achieve much greater mastery over social relations and social contexts reflexively incorporated into the forging of self-identity than was previously possible” (Giddens, 1991, p. 148-49).

Resolving the dilemmas of the self now appears to be a social project, one that is permitted and supported through the establishment and re-establishment of ontological trust with persons throughout one’s life. This recursive process of identity stabilization offers, I believe, a way to observe Habermas’ reproductive processes in action, as it locates his “Personality” component of structure in the dialogic work of communication and trust.

If Giddens and Habermas can work together thusly, to show how agents may mitigate identic threats in the lifeworld, we may have a backdrop against which Kelchtermans’ (1993) personal interpretive framework can be

rendered. Figure 2 (below) lays out the framework, with its constituent components. Of note is that all of these components arise intersubjectively, and as such face constant reinforcement or assault in the lifeworld. For Kelchtermans, herein lies the source of teacher vulnerability, as the “lack of a firm ground to justify one’s practice and the moral decisions in it, are part of the vulnerability as the fundamental condition of the teaching job” (Kelchtermans, 2005, p. 1001).

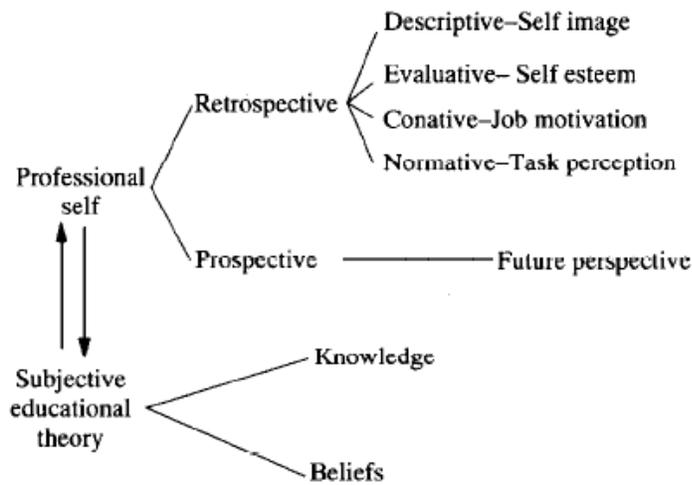


Figure 2. Components of the Personal Interpretive Framework (Kelchtermans, 1993)

Both Giddens and Kelchtermans posit that personal narrative obtains as the clearest path to describe these components and the dilemmas that plague them. The study at hand seeks to honor their research and explore teachers’ personal narrative histories to better understand the associations, if any among these three (including Habermas) models of identity.

Chapter Three--Methodology

Introduction

The blood pumping through the heart of this study is the voices of teachers, telling stories of their careers, their beliefs, their successes, their challenges, their aspirations and their fears. These stories reflect, in Kelchtermans's (1993) terms, the "personal interpretive framework" through which teachers come to understand and talk about their professional lives. This is, then, a qualitative enterprise; no set numbers or formulae provide access to verify the claims that teachers make about their lived experiences, or the conclusions I draw from them in later chapters following analysis of the textual data.

Setting

The setting of this study was described to an extent in chapter one. The Flatlands Consolidated School Corporation (FCSC) enrolls around 6500 students in a Midwestern industrial community of nearly 50,000 residents. In the most recent year for which there is data (Indiana Department of Education, 2012), 58.5% of the district's students passed both the Math and English components of the statewide testing program, and the district reported an 88.2% graduation rate. 70.5% of the students are White, 15.3% are Black, with remainder representing Hispanic, Multi-racial, Asian or Pacific Islander, or American Indian ethnicities. Sixty-four percent of the district's students receive free or reduced lunches. Twenty-two percent of the students receive special education services, and 1.3% of the students have specific services for English Language Learners. While FCSC as a whole made Adequate Yearly Progress

(AYP) under the No Child Left Behind law for the three years preceding the study, nearly three-fourths of the schools within the district did not make AYP for the year immediately before my work with them began in earnest.

In the early part of 2011, the Center on Education and Lifelong Learning at the Indiana Institute on Disability and Community at Indiana University Bloomington, where I am employed as a Research Associate, agreed to a relationship with the Flatlands district that initiated Instructional Consultation Teams training, to begin in Summer of 2011, and continuing at least through Spring of 2013. As part of a three-person team, I would be responsible for delivering training and technical assistance to IC Teams facilitators, buddies, and school principals in ten schools across the district. As a training team, we met with district administrators and principals through the spring of 2011 for “readiness” activities based around planning, selecting facilitators and buddies, and setting up a training calendar. In June of 2011, a two-hour awareness session was offered to any administrator or teacher in the district, and in August 2011, the training cycle began in earnest. In a typical month, trainees engage in three days of training, in addition to online coaching activities (see below).

The IC Teams training model bases its scope and sequence on the work of Joyce and Showers (1980, 1996), who found that only around ten percent of teachers who engage in professional development activities actually applied the skills and knowledge they acquired upon returning to the classroom setting. They examined the typical formats and approaches utilized in teacher

development workshops, noting that most were short in duration (< one day), and provided teachers with didactic discussions of new concepts or demonstrations and models of strategies and practices. Joyce and Showers went on to show that, when given longer exposure to the professional development milieu, and when engaged in activities such as practice with feedback and coaching in the actual classroom setting, teachers tended to acquire and apply new skill and strategies independently.

The IC Teams training sequence attempts to provide participants with all four “levels of impact:”

- Awareness of the innovation—through didactic presentations
- Understanding of the model and its rationale—through models and demonstrations.
- Acquisition of skills—through on-site, guided practice with teachers and students.
- Application of skills—through coaching and feedback in completing a full IC Teams case.

The two-year training cycle is based up Fullan’s (Fullan, 2001) premise that effective change runs through periods of *initiation, implementation, and institutionalization*. In the first phase with IC Teams, district leaders identify schools that will participate and select three professionals to occupy specific roles on the team. These roles and their responsibility for managing the innovation as it moves through to institutionalization stem from Hall and Hord’s (1987) work on change facilitation. To that end, IC training at the

building level begins with the principal, who is considered the “first change facilitator.” This person carries formal authority for allocating resources in the school, and, while fully immersed in all aspects of the work, has enough skill and knowledge to be able to provide deliberate support to the team. The “second change facilitator” in IC Teams is filled by the “facilitator” role. This individual has as much as half of his or her professional time devoted to working on IC Teams, and is considered the main expert in the details of the program. Lastly, the “buddy” represents what Hall and Hord call the “third change facilitator. This role requires less time than the facilitator, but carries the burden of connecting back to building colleagues and sharing the purpose and content of the work with them.

In a typical IC Teams training regimen, principals, facilitators, and buddies from each participating school attend the following kinds of training activities (Knotek, Rosenfield, Gravois, & Babinski, 2003; Rosenfield, 2002):

- *Introductory, Facilitator, and Team Training.* Here, they are oriented to the work of IC Teams and its foundations, develop skills around team facilitation, and begin building a team for their respective schools. These are two- or three-day sessions.
- *Skill Sessions.* In these sessions, principals, facilitators, and buddies learn the key skills of IC case management for reading, writing, mathematics, behavior, and class-wide concerns. These are two-day sessions.
- *Technical Support.* Facilitators receive opportunities to practice skills and receive feedback from trainers.

- *Online Coaching and Webinars.* Facilitators receive some of the ancillary IC Teams content (e.g., using the computer-based case tracking system) through live, online webinars hosted by trainers from ICAT Resources out of Maryland. They also participate in “Online Coaching.” This process (Gravois, Nelson, & Kaiser, 2011) supports the application of Facilitators’ case management skills as they complete a practice case with a teacher colleague with a reading concern involving a student. The Facilitator submits recordings of various phases of the problem-solving process to an online coach (not one of their site-based trainers), who provides feedback and coaching.

Research Design

The tools and approaches implicated in this research plan are based on the work of Phil Carspecken (1996) as laid out in his *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research*, as well as the contributions of Spradley (Spradley, 1979). Critical ethnography seeks to answer questions by exploring the lived experiences of the folks engaged in it. Further, even in a small part, the goal for a study such as this is to find out how the implementation of RTI/IC Teams empowers or disempowers educators, provides them avenues of legitimacy and increased participation, or instead blocks their capacity to engage in meaningful work with their students, families, and colleagues. In essence, it is in the understanding of these dimensions that we find the “critical” aspect of the research, where we hope to perhaps provide school leaders and even policy makers the perspectives to guide their school improvement work more

equitably, not just more efficiently. As Carspecken suggests, “Much of our research attempts to clarify how and where oppression works. This is not a straight-forward matter, since the identities, forms of thinking, and the beliefs of people are all ensnared within oppressive relations” (Carspecken, p. 8).

The next section (below) provides a list of the different data sources examined in the course of the study using a digital audio recorder and a notebook to compile what is known as a *thick record*. This record first describes the physical features of the space in which study participants interact. For example, for the weekly meeting, one might describe the room, what other functions it serves (e.g. is it someone’s classroom?), how the chairs are arranged, if refreshments are made available, etc. Once the sessions began, I allowed the recording device to capture the text of the participants, making sure there is a time index. The time index is critical in allowing one to associate any observed physical actions or non-verbal data with the audio record. Such notes would include elements such as a person leaving the room, a person looking at her watch or sending text messages, or a person rolling his eyes at another’s comment. The point in the thick description was not to attempt to reconstruct the meaning behind the dialogue and actions; rather, the goal was to gather as plain and neutral account of the events as possible. In some cases, of course, an observer might note the character of certain actions to help with later recall. For example, one might indicate that a participant’s pencil tapping appeared “as if” to show emphasis, as opposed to boredom or impatience.

These were labeled as observer comments in the thick record, and were used sparingly at this stage.

Once an observation ended, the entire thick description was transcribed into text form for the purposes of initial analysis. I completed all the transcriptions myself, which permitted an initial scan of the textual data. At point, I was ready for the jumping off point known as *meaning field reconstruction*. Examining the text, I highlighted as many key statements or actions as possible, and listed all the possible interpretations one might reasonably infer. This created a field of possible meanings (hence the term). For instance, when reading a text of a IC Team Facilitator saying to the entire team, “Ok, guys—let’s get back to the agenda,” while a pair of team members has a side conversation, a meaning field could include the following:

“I am ready to move to the next agenda item”

“I want you all to come back together”

“I wish you weren’t having a side conversation”

“I am in charge here”

“I don’t want to confront you two directly, so I will address the whole team”

It should be noted that “and” and “or” connectors could be used with any of these interpretations, and, as can be seen, some interpretations are more inferential than others. But this stage merely represented attempts to capture the range of possible interpretations that is as full and rich as possible, much like a brainstorming session.

Once I collected a thick record and constructed meaning fields, I utilized a host of tools and approaches. First, let me be clear that at this point the work ceased to be linear; I frequently returned to record new thick descriptions, revise his meaning fields, etc., as the data collection moved forward. Concurrently, I began to consider the text in terms of a *reconstructive horizon analysis (RHA)*. In essence, here I applied theory to methodology. In the RHA, I attempted to locate the main types of claims (objective, subjective, normative-evaluative, and identity claims) within the horizon of the setting. By horizon here, I am employing a visual analogy—are the claims a participant makes upfront and in the foreground, or are they hidden, backgrounded--requiring more inferential work on the researcher's part? Of course, some claims are somewhere in the middle. In any event, the goal of an RHA is to look for specific moments in the text that might illuminate the focus of the study. In the present case, I looked for claims that related to teachers' sense of their identities and roles (and, specifically, which point toward their personal interpretive framework).

Continuing on with a quick overview of the tools that allow one to drill down to questions of role-identities is the use of *interactive sequence analysis*. Here, the researcher attempts to identify in a temporal sense how action/utterances come into being:

“All acts of meaning are contextual: the meaning fields associated with them will be constituted by an interactive syntax of a past action in relation to the expectations of what will come next. The meaning of any

particular act will depend in part on its location within a stream of interaction: thus a syntax.” (Carpecken, p. 106)

As indicated earlier, an actor has a certain range of options when responding to the other, based upon the norms of their communication community; analyzing the sequence and syntax of interactions permits the researcher to ascertain what those norms might be, and how participants confirm, refute, or question them. In a typical interactive sequence analysis, one examines the text of the thick record, inserting points when a participant makes a “bid” to move to a new topic, or “accepts” a bid to switch activities. Such accessions or rejections build up a case for the viability of the normative structures of a community.

Data Sources & Analysis Techniques

The study identifies four IC Teams Facilitators who were beginning the two-year training in the IC problem-solving process. They represent the primary participants for the research project. As will be seen in Chapter Four, these four facilitators were selected by their building and district leaders to lead the IC Teams initiative in their schools. In addition, Flatlands employed two other facilitators, one who covered two elementary schools, and another assigned to the district early childhood program. I sent letters inviting all district facilitators to participate in the study, and four responded affirmatively. All the facilitators were White, and all but one were female, leading to a regrettably homogeneous sample of experiences for the study.

In the course of the training cycle, I led training sessions, as well as attended sessions in a support role. During times I was leading training

activities, I did not collect formal research data. However, during sessions when I played a support role, I was able to collect some of the observational data indicated above. Furthermore, I scheduled multiple observations of the participating facilitators' team meetings and their problem-solving case management sessions with teachers requesting IC Teams support for student concerns. In addition, I conducted one-on-one interviews with each of the facilitator participants, and attended a number of meetings with groups of facilitators and their colleagues and/or supervisors. The table below describes the data sources, along with the analysis methods and validity tests employed with them. A discussion of validity requirements appears in the next section.

Data Source	Data Analysis Techniques	Validity Measures		
		Objective	Subjective	Normative/Evaluative
Observation of IC Team meetings (1-2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick record • Meaning Field Construction • Reconstructive Horizon Analysis • Interactive Sequence Analysis • Role and Power Analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electronic recording device • Long engagement/Multiple observations • Member checks • Triangulation of sources (see below) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing
Observation of Case Manager/Facilitator Problem-solving sessions (3-6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning Field Construction • Reconstructive Horizon Analysis • Interactive Sequence Analysis • Role and Power Analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electronic recording device • Member checks • Long engagement/Multiple observations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing • Strip analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing • Strip analysis

<p>Interviews with Case Managers/Facilitators (4-6)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning Field Construction • Reconstructive Horizon Analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electronic recording device • Member checks • Long engagement/Multiple observations • Clearly defined interview protocols 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing • Clearly defined interview protocols 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Peer debriefing • Clearly defined interview protocols
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Validity in Theory and Practice

Habermas (1981) lays out a case for a sort of rational pragmatism based on the notion that autonomous actors, using the tools of rational communication, are able to come to consensus on certain types of “truth claims” that facilitate the social work of cultures and communities. In what he terms the “ideal speech situation,” Habermas’ competing claims are resolved in a context free of coercion or unequal power; the prevailing argument is that which carries the soundest reasoning. In particular, Habermas posits that actors make claims of three basic types: *objective, subjective, and normative-evaluative*. An objective claim is one that an actor expects the other (or others) to confirm or refute independent of her own claim. I might, for example, state that “my wife is pregnant.” It is unnecessary for you to know much about me (or anything, for that matter) to verify this—you can simply take a look at my wife, and you would concur that, yes, she is quite pregnant. However, I might go further and say, “I already love my son.” In this case, I am making a subjective claim whose validity you cannot access directly. In other words, you can only make inferences regarding my sincerity or honesty. These inferences

are more or less rational based upon your experiences with me, but in any event, I have privileged access to the validity of my subjective claims.

It is the third category of claims—normative-evaluative claims—which pose the most difficulty in determining validity. Part of the challenge stems from the range of possible normative-evaluative claims one might make. One claim I might make has to do with aesthetic merit. For example, I could say that the film *Avatar*, while visually stunning, features a poorly-derived story trafficking in tired colonial motifs. The validity of such a claim really amounts to a value judgment (in this case, about the quality of an artwork); argumentation around such a claim is heavily contingent upon the culture in which the claim is made—it is, then, “located within the horizon of the lifeworld of a specific group or culture” (Habermas, p.42). The other form of normative-evaluative claims has to do with “ought” statements. I might say, for instance, that “all men should become fathers,” or that “expecting fathers should rub their pregnant wives’ ankles at night.” These types of claims carry a sort of imperative, a claim that, “in our culture, this is what we do.” In either case, norms and values intersect with meaning, so person “B” who hears my claims about *Avatar* or fatherhood has to consider a host of possibilities in determining the validity of them (and thus select a response):

Was I sincere when uttering any of these statements? It is possible, given the norms of our culture that I am joking about every man being a father, or the need for ankle-rubbing? If so, these might not be “ought” statements at all. I might then be making claims about the kinds of jokes we can share

together—still a normative claim. Do these statements reflect the norms of our culture? Is person “B” able to locate the grounding of these claims within the norms and values we tacitly consent to? Even so, can all or part of these claims be critiqued or argued? Is it reasonable that all men should become fathers, even if that is the norm? Are there other interpretations of a film that should be considered? As indicated, the normative-evaluative realms present considerable challenge to a researcher when constructing a plausible account of folks’ experiences in the lifeworld.

Identity claims are clearly not objective claims, readily apparent to any observer who may come along. Yet, as Tugendhat (1986) reminds us, identity does not merely exist within oneself, waiting to be uncovered through self-reflection. Identity is an intersubjective phenomenon, and the data I mean to collect regarding participants’ identity claims are necessarily intersubjective and dialogic, as are the means through which I establish that they represent what I ultimately purport them to represent. A long time in the field with participants is the key consideration, which reduces the likelihood that random occurrences, encounters, or dialogue found in the data are treated as typical. Participants will have frequent opportunities to check thick records, transcripts, and other documents through member checks to ensure that what has been recorded accurately represents the events in which they were present. The multiple data sources, and repeated return to participants to collect data in different formats also provides opportunities for them to clarify, revise, and refine the record. Blended with peer debriefing of (anonymous) data and

analysis, strip analysis, and final participant review of findings, I hope to ensure a fair degree of validity of my eventual findings.

Limitations

Studies of a quantitative nature face limitations stemming from the premise of such research—that bias-free and value-neutral truth claims can explain the characteristics of phenomena in such a manner that generalizable and predictive conclusions are at least possible. Steps are taken to mitigate bias and preserve "objectivity" through sampling methods, study size, selection of statistical models, etc. This study harbors no such illusions about the capacity of the researcher--me--to divest myself of the values and interests that lead me to explore teacher identity. As stated earlier in this chapter, Carspecken (1996) tells us how critical ethnography is designed to interrogate existing practices, beliefs, and systems; my goal is describe, not necessarily explain, the ways in which teachers in the proposed setting create, re-create, and stabilize their professional identities as the systems in which the work changes. The obvious limit of the study lies at the boundaries of the participating teachers' experiences.

All the same, it is reasonable and prudent that I lay out, in short order at least, my tendencies and preconceptions. Perhaps the most important consideration is my status (at the time of data collection and analysis) as an ICAT Level 5 trainer, for the teachers and schools involved. I grant here that I have a great deal of passion and conviction that the IC Teams delivery model and training sequence can be a valuable route to "increase, improve, and

enhance student and teacher performance" (Gickling, Gravois, & Rosenfield, 2003). That belief certainly influenced my work with the participants both in and outside of the study. My trainer role, however, not only rendered me an advocate for the work of IC Teams and the facilitators in the Flatlands district, it also indicated a potential power relationship between me and the study participants. As their trainer, I served as a de facto gatekeeper to their completion of various stages and levels of training and certification in the IC Teams process. Furthermore, facilitators were aware of my regular formal and informal communication with building and district leaders over the course of the project. Such interactions featured both advocacy for program (i.e. facilitator) needs, as well as discussion of program status and outcomes. Therefore, I owned a degree of power in terms of how I characterized the work the facilitators were doing in their schools. While the actual contents of study data were confidential, it is reasonable to imagine that study participants recognized my privileged access to information about their work and to their supervisors.

Finally, I have chosen to apprehend the study of teacher identity through a specific theoretical perspective, that, while incorporating a range of views from the field of identity theory, is nonetheless best represented by a line running from Kelchtermans (1993, 1994, 2005) and his focus on career stories, through Giddens (1991), and ultimately validated by Habermas' (1981) system, as has been shown. As indicated in my literature review, others may and should approach teacher identity from other angles, including those referenced

herein. Kelchtermans (XXXX), as has been shown, relies heavily on the emotional dimensions of identity, and this study does not stray far from that territory. While that choice permits a thorough investigation of the emotional regimes in which the facilitators' stories are told, it does explore the ways in which race, gender, culture, and socio-economic status inform one's identities.

Chapter Four: Findings

In a cramped training room in the basement of Flatlands school district's central office building, a group of nearly forty educators and school administrators squeezed into several rows of chairs and tables. The air conditioners beneath the windows fought valiantly against the early August heat outside. Summer vacation hadn't officially ended—it would be another week before students arrived—but like most teachers and principals across the country, the educators gathered here had long ago put away the beach wear and summer novels. In their heads at least, they had been thinking about the new school year and its coming challenges for weeks. What would my workload look like? Are my students going to be ready after two months off? What new things are they going to throw at us this year?

That last question would be answered, in part, in this room where they were sipping coffee and munching on bagels. They were there for the first day of training in Instructional Consultation Teams—a new program Flatlands was initiating that year, in conjunction with a state university and with the help of federal and state funding. For a number of years, the school corporation had been using a traditional “Response to Intervention” program to support students who struggled academically and behaviorally and who might be likely to be identified in the future for special education services. Many of the personnel in the training room that day had played roles in the RTI program—administering assessments, examining student data, leading problem-solving teams, and conducting intervention groups with students. All that work

notwithstanding, Flatlands still had an overly high percentage of students receiving IEP services, so something new had to be tried. That something new was IC Teams.

In that first training session, the trainers—two from the university and another from ICAT Resources (the developers of IC Teams) would describe a program which shared the goals of a traditional RTI system, but differed in its focus and intensity. While both RTI and IC Teams strive to improve outcomes for struggling students and function as part of the special service identification process sessions (Berkeley, Bender, Peaster, & Saunders, 2009; Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011), what the Flatlands teachers heard that day carried an element of novelty: IC Teams would direct its resources primarily at general education teachers. At the core of the work was a one-to-one problem solving process in which a teacher at a loss for how to help a child would get assistance from a member of the school's IC Team. The team member would work "shoulder-to-shoulder" with the teacher for as much as ten weeks to identify a specific problem and draft an intervention plan to be implemented by the teacher in their classroom.

This was something of a departure from the existing student support system, which featured a teacher submitting work samples, assessment results and other forms to the RTI team before meeting with them as an entire group. Those sessions generally resulted in a few recommendations for classroom actions, along with placement of students into small intervention groups for

intensive remediation. In the end, while students were able to access greater supports and new approaches, their experiences in the general classroom didn't change in a significant manner; many still ended up being tested for and receiving services through special education. IC Teams offered a more classroom-based, teacher-focused approach.

But focusing resources on teacher needs represents a major cultural shift in schools. It certainly means changing the way resources are allocated. For decades, laws such as Title I and the Individuals with Disabilities Educational Improvement Act have directed school resources toward students based upon their level of need (Individuals with Disabilities Education, 2004). A struggling student would be evaluated to determine how far from "typical" they were; if the discrepancy was great enough, if they were "broken" enough, they would qualify for services. These services took the form of specialist personnel, whose job it was to oversee students' educational plans (IEPs, ILPs, 504 plans, etc.), and coordinate the instruction and assessment for those kids.

Four of the educators in the training room at Flatlands that day were these kinds of specialist teachers. "Katya" was in her tenth year as special education teacher at Spruce Elementary. A white, female educator in her early thirties, Katya carried out a number of tasks in her position, but much of what she did could be seen as traditional special education teacher activity. A good deal of her time involved managing the IEPs for students for whom she was Teacher of Record—conducting conferences and case reviews, monitoring

progress toward academic and behavioral goals, and communicating with parents and teachers. Katya also served on the Spruce Elementary RTI team, often in a leadership capacity. But large portions of her day were spent in classrooms, as Katya co-taught with many teachers over the course of her career, working side-by-side with colleagues to design and deliver instruction. Katya was highly respected at Spruce, and was viewed as a teacher leader and “go-to” expert for many of her colleagues. Katya would be assigned to Spruce and Earl Howard Elementary Schools for the duration of the IC Teams project, and would have a third school, Westchester Elementary, added to her Instructional Consultation load in the second year.

“Jean” was a white, female middle school special educator nearing retirement as she became involved in IC Teams. At both Morning Glen and Old North middle schools, Jean’s day-to-day primarily provided consultation services for teachers with students who presented challenging behaviors. This generally involved a combination of teacher conferencing, student observation, in-classroom support, and small group behavioral instruction for students. Jean also carried a caseload of students for whom she was Teacher of Record. For the IC Teams project, Jean would be assigned to her two middle schools.

“Kurt” was a white male special educator in his mid-thirties. He taught at Flatlands High School as IC Teams got started, having been in that position for about seven years. His caseload was fairly high (by his estimates), numbering as many as forty-five students in a given year, for whom he had to monitor

progress and maintain programming. He also taught a full load of classes—some in collaboration with general education colleagues, some small “self-contained,” remedial classes for identified students, and some special education “resource” classes, in which students received extra time and support on their academic work from other courses. He would continue as a special educator at the high school as he assumed IC responsibilities in that same building.

“Carol”—had served as a diagnostician for the district for two years before joining IC Teams at Beau Trace and Graymalkin elementary schools. In this capacity, Carol, a white female in her late twenties, worked under the district’s school psychologists to conduct evaluations for students to determine eligibility for special services. While performing these tasks, Carol visited nearly every school in the Flatlands district, but she indicated that she would rarely interact with staff and other personnel at those sites. Carol also served on the district-wide Response to Intervention team, which IC Teams was intended to replace.

These four educators, then, sat in a room and listened to how their professional lives might change. For the most part, their time as facilitators would not involve any direct instruction of students (with Jean’s and Kurt’s ongoing behavior and classroom responsibilities providing the exception). Rather, the bulk of their work would involve teacher consultation. While parts of the process would entail conducting instructional assessments and modeling

instructional strategies with students, they would no longer have regular assignments to classrooms or student caseloads. Moreover, they would be charged with building and leading a team of consultants in each school—Katya and Carol at two elementary schools each, Jean at the two middle schools, and Kurt at the high school).

That first, hot August day grew into three, as the presenters (including me) offered up what might be considered “typical” professional development (Hill, Beisiegel, & Jacob, 2013; Guskey, 2003) standing in the front of the room with a slide show, describing various aspects of the IC Teams program while the participants thumbed through the just-unboxed manuals in front of them. These first days featured a great deal of “sit and get” training—it was mostly presenters talking and the participants listening. There were some initial activities to introduce different skill sets, to be sure: they began to work on the communication skills and elements of the problem-solving process that would become the bread and butter of their work. But for the larger part of these three days, they mostly listened and wondered.

As the introductory session drew to a close on the third day, the rough structure of the program was made clear. The facilitators would train alongside a “buddy”—another educator from each of their assigned schools who would attend all the sessions and eventually carry out a few administrative responsibilities for the team. In addition, the building principal would attend one of the three monthly training days. At the beginning of the second

semester, each school would bring on a team of colleagues who would be trained by the facilitator (and buddy) with support from the IC Teams training staff. Taken together the trainers described an extensive commitment of time, effort, and resources (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011). Indeed, at the end of the introductory session, the participants were directly asked by the trainers to make a personal commitment to participate. “You may not have all the say in this decision,” said Laura, one of the trainers. “Your building and district leaders—and they’re sitting right next to you—might make that call for you. Maybe they already have. But we at least want you all to think about what you’re getting into, and to go into it with eyes wide open.”

In later conversations, none of the facilitators reported that they actually felt that they could have opted out at that point in the process. “I was basically assigned to do this,” said Carol, “I mean, they were breaking up the special education co-op, so if I wanted a job, this was what it was going to be.” Kurt talked about being the “last resort”:

I kind of found that out afterwards. But, um, one of the administrators came up to me and was, and threw out the idea of it, and, um, told me some information. Didn't tell me a lot of information. And, so, apparently, I was--the first couple people they asked, they said no. And then they came to me, and they kind of pictured, painted a picture of what it would like. You know, I'd only have classes a half day....

I spent two years working with these facilitators, watching them work with others, and engaging in ongoing conversations with them. In essence, I intend to describe how four educators found themselves facing a multi-faceted

task: They had to develop and apply a complex set of knowledge and skill in the IC Teams problem-solving process, create and manage teams, and align the work with building- and district-level priorities. They had to do this with colleagues who had varying levels of interest and commitment to the work, and who were often resistant and downright hostile to the work. And they had to deal with ever-changing expectations from building and district administration. The manner in which the facilitators managed those tasks and the uncertainty that came with them—and how they ultimately mastered their roles—will, I believe help us better understand how teachers experience change and new positions within their schools.

In examining the data from those two years using the somewhat mechanical coding processes described in Chapter 3, a number of themes began to emerge, and coalesced around a the facilitators' shared trajectory toward completion of the training and the institutionalization of IC Teams in their schools. I began to imagine the facilitators and their colleagues as a band of travelers—variously merry and eager, dour and recalcitrant—undertaking a winding journey or sorts (see Figure 1). The quest's goal lay at what could be called the “Halls of Mastery,” a place where facilitators and their colleagues teach and work with greater certainty, and engage one another with more authenticity and agency.

Reaching the Halls of Mastery, however, involved an arduous trek through a “Path of Relational Struggle”—a road abounding with sources of

“Uncertainty.” In many cases, doubt arose from facilitators’ burgeoning-but-as-yet-realized skill and knowledge in the process and tasks of IC Teams. At other times, hesitation sprang from the demands of facilitators’ superiors and the mandates of the school systems in which they work. Lastly, the relationships with colleagues themselves—their very partners on this quest—were fraught with distrust, resistance, and recrimination. Still, the facilitators all, in their own ways, managed to navigate this path, and found ways to express mastery for themselves and their peers. It my hope that this fanciful rendering of these professionals’ work in IC Teams helps gives color and life to their story.

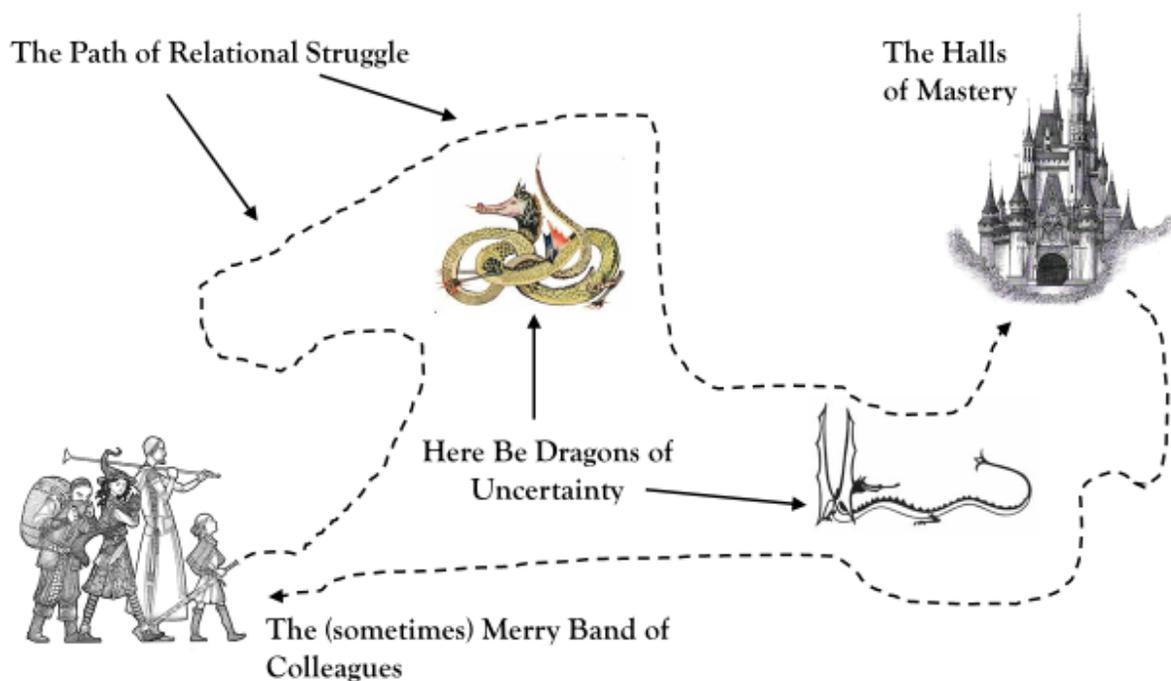


Figure 1: Professional development as a quest motif.

First Term

With the conclusion of introductory session, training for the facilitators began in earnest in September, with school underway across Flatlands. As can be seen in the training schedule (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011; see also Appendix III) each month featured a two-day skill development session and a one-day “tech support” experience. These events rotated from school to school across the district, as non-IC teachers and students in those schools would be called upon to help trainers demonstrate parts of the process and facilitators and buddies practice their skills in simulated settings. Facilitators and buddies seemed to revel in hosting training dates in their schools. On most occasions, they would provide large spreads of food and drink (in one case, a chocolate fountain provided the centerpiece for an array of snacks and assorted treats). The facilitators recognized that hosting these sessions was one way to signal to their colleagues the nature of the work that was going on and thus combat the early “invisibility” of IC Teams.

The skill sessions featured a blend of presentation and demonstration by the trainers alongside practice for the facilitators. In the first three months, they focused on honing their communication skills, mastering the problem-solving process, and learning how to conduct instructional assessments in reading. The trainers took the facilitators and buddies through a recursive pattern of “describe-demonstrate-practice” in each session. After detailing and explaining skills and processes, a teacher from the building would join the group. One of the trainers would demonstrate the communication skills as

used in the first stages of the problem-solving process. Participants would then debrief what they saw, ask questions, and resolve issues. The teacher would return with a student, who would undergo an instructional assessment in reading as the facilitators and buddies looked on. As before, the teacher and student would leave so the participants could debrief the demonstration.

Following these opportunities to observe models of the various skills and procedures, groups of students arrived. Facilitators and buddies worked in pairs with these children to practice the assessment steps and receive feedback from their partners and trainers. On many occasions, participants balked at these practice drills, desiring to see more demonstrations. It became necessary for trainers to “push them out of the nest” and force them into practice scenarios with students. For the technical support sessions, trainers and participants spent a day in a school engaging almost entirely in practice opportunities with students and colleagues.

As the first semester of the training sequence unfolded, facilitators had a great deal of time back in their schools without a formal schedule to follow. Carol and Katya spent half of each week at either of their assigned schools, but lacked any dedicated responsibilities beyond IC Teams. From time to time, their principals or colleagues called upon them for bus, recess, or lunch duty, or to sit in on conferences regarding students who were struggling. Jean had no formal schedule at her two middle schools, but still made herself available to support teachers struggling with student behavior concerns. Kurt

maintained a full caseload as teacher-of-record for students with IEPs, and taught special education resources classes for half the day. Otherwise, he too, had a far freer schedule than his did colleagues at the high school.

All these “extra” hours filled quickly, though. The facilitators first had the responsibility of practicing the IC Teams skills they had learned in the training sessions. Primarily, they participated in the IC Teams Online Coaching program (Gravois, et al, 2002). As the on-site training sessions carried on, out-of-state coaches from ICAT resources provided written feedback to the facilitators based on recorded case management sessions. On the ground, this required the facilitators to find colleagues in their schools willing to engage in a practice case with them. While the work of the practice cases could and did result in benefits for the teachers and students involved, all four facilitators indicated difficulty finding ready partners—most suggested they couldn’t allot the time necessary (around 30-45 minutes a week).

Beyond the formal online coaching, facilitators devoted much of their time in their schools to informal skills practice. They pulled students when they could to conduct instructional assessments, or would meet teachers in prep periods to try out their communication skills. All the same, they found it difficult to conduct the number of practice activities recommended by the IC Teams trainers. Kurt, in particular, regularly grinned and apologized at training sessions that he “just couldn’t get those done.”

This period of training and practice activity left the facilitators feeling stressed and uncertain in their own skills. Carol noted how the IC process differed from her experience as a diagnostician, in that its somewhat open-ended nature forced her to make more decisions.

Carol: This has kind of got me a little bit out of the box to an extent.

Me: Because--?

Carol: Because it's not as clear cut as I want it to be.

Me: Mm-hmm.

Carol: But now I'm more comfortable with it. I guess I should say from the learning aspect on the forefront. But now that I'm more comfortable with it, I feel like I'm able to be more—

Me: Methodical.

Carol: Yeah. And the flexibility, I'm fine with that, just cause I understand more what I'm doing now. Versus trying to understand that and have it kind of be, it can go this way or that way.

Me: Right right right.

Carol: Cause I was very used to a structured step by step.

Me: Right. The, the special ed evaluation follows a very routine process. This—

Carol: You have a chart. If they rank here, they're this. If they rank there, they're that.

And here, you're like, kind of more open-ended, I guess. As to which way you go next.

Me: Right. And we're not looking for a label.

Carol: And we're not looking for a label

Katya, on the other hand, saw both challenge and opportunity in the space between her previous experience as a special educator and the new context as

an IC facilitator. Here, she talks about how her limited experience (supporting teachers in the general education classroom) forced her to rely heavily on the IC Teams skills and process instead of bringing in prior assumptions and knowledge to the concern.

Well, it was kind of a challenge at first for me. Um, because I have a, I feel much more comfortable in just a regular classroom because that's my background knowledge. And so, for instance, going into an art classroom, I don't really have as much understanding. And so it really caused me--and now I know what it's like to my team members, that, you know, some of them, like social workers, don't have that understanding maybe as much on the reading and math and stuff--so it caused me to really have to clarify and really have to communicate well. Um, but I found that the process fits in with any concern. And I didn't really see that as much. I mean, I knew it, but I didn't really--hadn't really seen in action...I think I'm able to get to a place with teachers, that, um maybe I couldn't have without having some previous experience. I will say that I do rely some of my own experiences. Um, but at the same time, that can be a little bit of, in situations, a little bit of a hindrance, because, um, if I bring my own bias into, that's the one area, you know I, assume certain things because I have taught kids and I do think about, um, those reading dimensions, and a lot of times I want to pick out what I think. So that is something that I have to be very, um, careful with, and really intentional about. You know, regardless of what I think. It's not about what I think.

The communication skills, which arise from Rosenfield's (2002, 2004) work with school counselors, initially presents as stunted and rigid, as Jean's description of struggling to make them her own shows:

Me: Talk a little bit more. You said, you know, that reflective communication was probably one of the bigger challenge areas for you. So, tell--

Jean: Well, I have to really think when I'm doing my reflective communication, you know. 'Well, tell me about this.' 'Can you tell me anymore?' 'What I'm hearing you say is this.' And then, you know, thinking all the time how--cause it's not a natural form of communication for me. It was interesting.

They also began to feel heat from their colleagues. No matter how many hours they dedicated to IC Teams task, they frequently found themselves confronted by other teachers who did not appear to understand what Katya, Kurt, Jean, and Carol were supposed to be doing with their time. To some extent, their peers merely wanted to know more about IC Teams. Or, once they had a sense of what the program offered, expressed anticipation about when they would be “open for business.” In the training sequence, ICAT suggests that teams do not accept general teacher “requests for support” until the beginning of the second term of the program. Indeed, even at that point, only requests for support with reading concerns could be handled, and only by the facilitator and buddy (training in case management for math, writing, behavior, and group/whole class concerns occurred in the second semester, and the team would not start training at all until then, as well).

In this context, the facilitators described fending off questions about their usefulness. More supportive coworkers might simply press for when they might get to access this work themselves. Others, though, talked openly about how it “didn’t seem like she does anything.” Or “I wish I could work in an office all day.” The facilitators stated that school colleagues had difficulty accepting the notion of their peers as learners, that there was something unfair about the facilitators having been granted time during the school day to learn new skills. Undergirding this tension was the sense that “face time” with students should

account for the bulk of any teacher's workday. Katya described how a scene in a teacher's lounge in which

...there was another teacher that was really, um, bashing--really being negative and just saying that this was a waste of time. And that we need to have, pretty much anyone who's not in the classroom, like--and she gave the example of literacy coaches, or facilitators who are a waste--because we need to take that money and get more paras or we need more people working with kids in the classroom.

Carol, especially, felt this heat acutely, as she had few professional or social connections with other adults in her schools. People asked her directly why she was there, why she was not available to help them with students. In response, Carol took to generating content to share with other teachers about the concepts behind IC Teams. She would hand out information about the "instructional match" and how reading success related to, say, working memory. She also posted materials on the windows of her office, and began to document her daily activities in a notebook:

"Well, I just, I felt like I was constantly having to prove that I was, and that I was trying to do a good job. But I think it was just a lack of understanding of why I was there. Or what I was doing there.... Just because it was the first time in my career that I felt like I was kind of being, you know, second-guessed or, you know, not, not, not fully trusted to be doing what I was supposed to be doing. You know what I mean? You know I was, I felt like they didn't see, or understand. Because they didn't understand, you know, why isn't she coming to this? Why isn't she coming? We need her here. We need her there."

Kurt and Jean encountered some of these questions, as well, but as Kurt had other formal responsibilities as a special education teacher, and as Jean could

and did continue to support colleagues' student behavior concerns, they did not express as much uncertainty regarding such pressure.

Second Term

Team Training and Maintenance. Winter break loomed with colder air and crows roosting on the trees and signposts of downtown Flatlands, and the facilitators, buddies, and (most of) the building principals reconvened back in the district office for two days of training in team facilitation. In this session, the trainers detailed the "team" element of IC Teams with greater specificity (Gravois, Vail, & Rosenfield, 2011). Part of the content delved into conceptual notions of school change and ways to support peers as they embrace or resist innovations in their schools. In terms of skills and processes, however, the IC personnel for each school considered how to populate the remainder of their team (e.g. IC recommends a blend of general educators, special education teachers, and other resource personnel, like occupational therapists or speech-language pathologists). They also participated in models of the team meetings they would soon be conducting with their new team members in the second term.

Without question, though, the facilitators expressed the greatest unease regarding the instruction around team training. For the first time they truly appreciated something they had always known (or at least suspected): they would be responsible for training their teams in the IC case management skills. In other words, all of the skills they had learned and practiced in nearly 72 hours of formal training, 20 or more hours of online coaching, and countless

more hours of informal practice—and about which they still expressed uncertainty—now fell to them to share with a team.

In January, the advance teams (facilitators, buddies, and principals) welcomed their newly-minted teams at a two-day session held by the IC trainers. The content largely mirrored that of the introductory session from the beginning of the program, with the facilitators taking the lead on a number of table activities designed to introduce the various skill sets to the new team members.

After that session, though, all team training fell to the facilitators, with assistance from their buddies in each school. In weekly meetings, team members would see demonstrations of communication skills, instructional assessments, and work through the problem-solving stages. Just like their team leaders, team members' training required them to practice these skills informally outside of IC Team meetings, and eventually take on formal practice cases (which facilitators observed or reviewed recordings after the fact).

For the facilitators, providing training and feedback promoted uncertainty from a number of sources. First, they noted that serving as a “teacher” to their adult colleagues was at times uncomfortable, as it tended to invert a sense of equity and camaraderie. Kurt, in particular, found it difficult to lead his peers in this way:

Me: Ok. And, um, so you talked about, you know, ok, kind of the surprise, "Guess what? You're gonna train a team!" You know, one of the things that I've observed a couple different times was you training your

team, so, um, what's that like for you? You know, cause you said, you know, you learn differently in order to get ready, and you had to kind of reconfigure that, but, um, what is it like to train adults, or teach adults?

Kurt: I'm very nervous at it.

Me: You are? Ok.

Kurt: Yes, I am. It's--it's always funny. I always look back on myself, cause I can stand up in front of a room full of kids--

Me: Uh-huh.

Kurt:--or anybody younger than I am, and I'll be fine with it. But once I get to that age, where I'm at, where they're older, like with adults, I get nervous.

Me: Well, how does that nervousn--what does that nervousness look like or feel like?

Kurt: It's--insecurity.

Me: Is it, like what does it make you do? Like--

Kurt: Sweat. [laughs] And--it's one of those--it's a nervous reaction up there.

Me: Uh-huh.

Kurt: But, it makes me question myself a lot. Because I kind of feel, when I'm with adults or people older than me, that they know the topic more than I do. Or they know that, so it makes me insecure.

And in his response to a team member during a team training session that he conducted, he seems to transfer some of that uncertainty to his team, as if to say “Look, it’s ok if you aren’t the expert—you aren’t supposed to come in and change people.”

All right, um. Any other questions about the process for training? Anybody would like to share something that you've learned from the two days of training? I think the big...one of the biggest things that I got from those two trainings from everybody else that's just starting is the triangle. And everybody is just like, "Wow." You know. And I think that's, as long as those teachers, everybody that's coming in on all the teams

throughout the district, as long as they understand the triangle...um, the biggest fear that we've had, is trying to pull everything away from the student center, and center on that task and instruction. We don't want the teachers to think that we're coming down on them, and trying to change them so much. We're just trying to change how, you know, we're just trying to find that match for that student. And I think that's the biggest fear, I know I always have, is like, I don't want to go in and work with a teacher and think that I'm coming in there just to change them. Coz everybody has their own style of teaching. So, I think if everybody can understand the triangle the most, it'll help some ease, so I thought, just seeing everybody, in the room there, then, that was it. Anybody else want to share something?

Carol's intersection with this part of the work showed through, as well, compounded further by her lack of connectivity to the staff at her schools:

Carol: Well, I kind of walked into it not real sure what to expect.

Me: Uh-huh?

Carol: Um, I, I had, an overview, but, uh, I wasn't quite for the, me being a trainer, necessarily. I knew that I'd be working with teachers and kind of consulting, but--um--

Me: So, you knew that, so the part where you'd be supporting was familiar, it seemed like, in some ways, what you used to do.

Carol: Right.

Me: So you could kind of, at least, imagine what that would look like.

Carol: Right.

Me: But you weren't--you weren't even--you had no knowledge about the fact that you would be responsible for building a team necessarily.

Carol: I knew that there was gonna be a team, but I wasn't sure, I didn't, I wasn't real clear that I would so quickly be taking over that team and taking the lead on it. [laughs] Well, it was definitely intimidating. Um, because it was completely out of the comfort zone for me. That was something I'd never done before. I mean, I'd helped in presentations. Very few and far between, and, you know then case conferences, um, but to be training some, to be training something that I was still learning was a little intimidating.

Me: Mm-hmm.

Carol: But um, I think, and just making myself feel prepared to get in front of people and intelligently talk about--

Me: Because it was something you were just--

Carol: --something I was just learning.

Me: --you're still learning.

Carol: --simultaneously kind of.

Just as the facilitators had been reluctant at times to engage in practice during training sessions (asking repeatedly to observe more demonstrations), their team members, too, needed urging to take risks. Katya found herself having to be quite directive with the team members, telling them

...I think you've seen them modeled quite a few times, um, and I think that you guys probably know more than you think, just after going through the Contracting so I'd like you guys to practice, if you need me to model next week--I don't mind modeling. I just think that it helps for you guys to practice, um, and have that, cause that way, you can, cause I can model like ten times, and you'll still probably say I'd like to see it one more time [laughs].

Team members had difficulty finding time to schedule formal and informal practice opportunities outside of weekly IC Team meetings. For one, team members were full-time staff with no dedicated time allotted for IC activities outside of the meetings. Similarly, any teachers with whom they might practice had limited time. These time constraints would eventually obtain as a barrier to team members taking “official” IC Teams cases (as well as teachers wanting to access the program’s services). In Carol’s words:

The time factor is the big buzz with this program. It just takes so long. It's a long process. That's where I'm struggling. My concern is that I'm having to seek out cases right now, because people are so stressed out. They're not coming--I think people still think it's an indication of a weakness or I need to go seek help. And I am trying to figure out creative ways to help them see its usefulness.

Katya seemed especially perceptive to her team members' needs, and spent time and energy trying to ascertain the underlying causes of their uncertainty, even as she navigated her own learning curve:

I would say some--depending on where my teams are at with their, you know, frustration, depending on what their practice cases, I will say if they're at a place where they're very frustrated, I have to figure out, you know, why. Is their case? Are they not finding time? Or are they--they don't understand this certain. So I think sometimes I do take a little bit of time to get them to a place where they're not so overwhelmed so we can move on to the next thing. Because if they're, they're overwhelmed, they're frustrated, then they're not gonna move on to the next step. They're not even gonna be able to receive any information from me.

Central to the support that Katya provided her team members was regular and specific feedback and encouragement. She appeared to acknowledge that the work her colleagues undertook was equally difficult, and seemed ready to help them see how it might eventually pay off.

And you guys are really helping to change the culture in this building, um, and I know that you guys have felt like there's a lot going on. You guys are kind of like, the leaders that are really, you know, doing a lot, and I appreciate that, and I want you guys to know that, I mean, I'm supporting you, um, in any way possible, but I just, I want you guys to know that, that really you're the leaders in changing this. And meeting with these teachers and helping them reflect on their instruction and their task, and supporting them, I think, is gonna make a very big difference. And sometimes it's hard to see that because there's so much going on, but I think that you guys are really making a big impact, and

these practice cases are gonna make an impact, by really showing that collaboration, and, and really modelling that, so--and I know it's not easy.

Ongoing Training—Pushing Outward. Alongside prepping their teams to take on cases and begin to function as a service to teachers throughout their schools, the facilitators spent the second half of the first year of IC Teams training engaged in two primary activities. On one hand, they continued to build their own skills in case management. Where the first set of training sessions highlighted the use of communication and assessment skills in the problem-solving process for reading concerns, now they looked to transfer these skills into cases involving writing and math, as well as how to support teachers struggling with student behavior issues. More publicly, the second term featured more opportunities to share the work in the broader context of the school.

Still, the facilitators expressed uncertainty and resistance as they went through each of these sessions. At times, they worried that their colleagues would simply question the point of accessing the IC Teams process for help with struggling students—why go through a case for as much as ten weeks if the person supporting me does not know anything about my content? In addition, the perceived ambiguity in the assessment procedures for writing, math, and behavior cases proved vexing at times.

When conducting instructional assessments for a reading concern, Gickling's process (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011) is explicit and, in a

sense, static. This stems from the “received” nature of the texts used to conduct the assessment. In order to determine which reading dimension (language/prior knowledge, responding, fluency, word study, word recognition—see Figure 2)

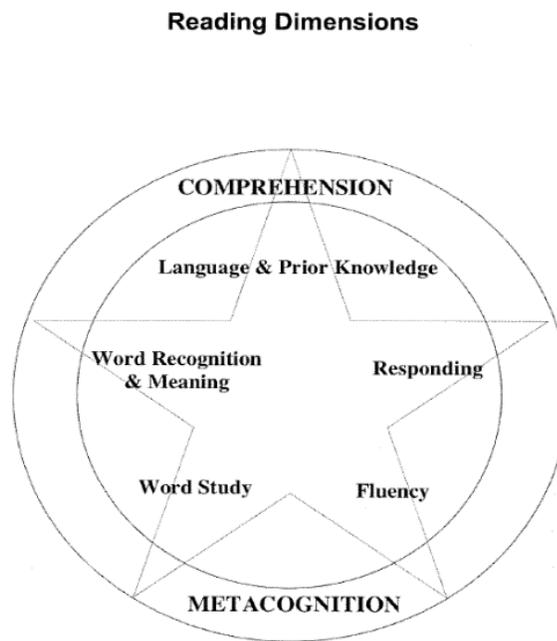


Figure 2: IC Teams reading dimensions (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011)

a teacher should prioritize with a struggling reader, the main task lies in ascertaining whether the texts the student encounters are instructionally matched—is the ratio of known to unknown words and concepts too high, too low, or “just right?” If not, case managers apply quick strategies during the assessment to establish a match so that the teacher can observe how the student demonstrates skills in the different dimensions (or not). In other words, if the text presents a mismatch, there is no way to know what skill or skills the

student needs to improve. The text—the static “task” element of the instructional match—drives the assessment process. A

In writing, however, the task element of the instructional match originates as a blank page, contingent upon the expressed standards salient to the assignment at hand. IC Teams organizes writing skills into dimensions (use/mechanics, genre, structure, expression, penmanship)

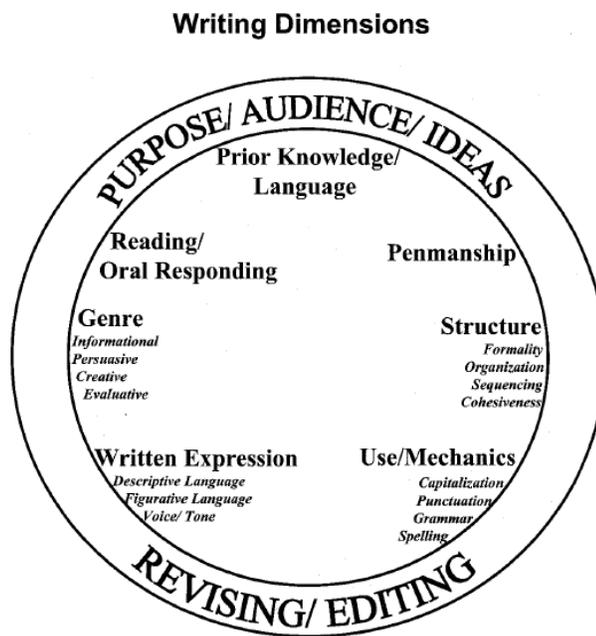


Figure 3: IC Teams writing dimensions (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011)

in a similar fashion to reading (see Figure 3), but where a reader simultaneously orchestrates all five reading skills as they work through a text, a writing task may focus more or less on a given dimension, based on the teacher’s expectations and content standards. A teacher may focus only on figurative language in one assignment, or on informational writing, while

essentially ignoring the other areas. Further, the notion that reading skill is, in itself, a foundational writing dimension only adds to the challenge in ascertaining whether instructionally matched conditions exist for a student pursuing a writing task. These task variabilities require case managers to work closely with teachers to examine multiple writing samples (with and without the student present) and conduct reading assessments to glean answers to the following questions:

- What does the student know?
- What can the student do?
- How does the student think?
- What does the student do when unsure?

After several passes over samples and assessments, case managers and teachers settle on the dimension of writing that appears to require the most support—the dimension which, if improved will most likely improve the students all-around writing performance.

IC Teams case managers might be similarly flummoxed in ferreting out the instructional match for math concerns. Again, IC Teams uses dimensions to organize math proficiencies (Figure 4):

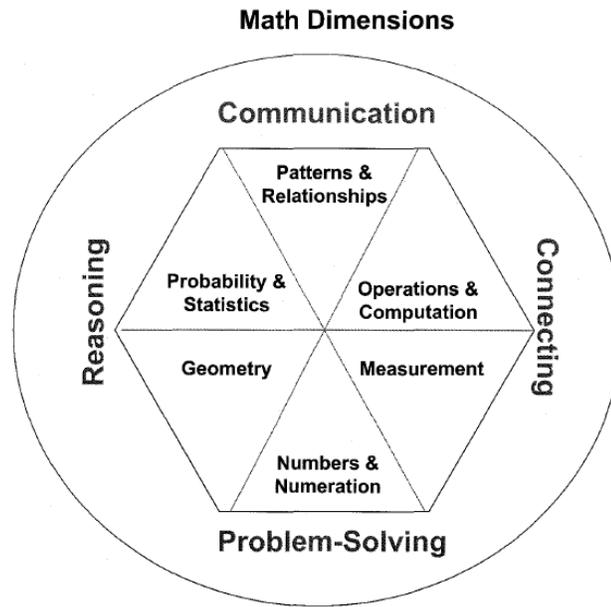


Figure 4: IC Teams math dimensions (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011)

The math dimensions function discretely at times, like the writing skills: for some tasks, students may only engage with probability and statistics or measurement problems. At other times, however (and especially in higher grades), all of the dimensions need to work in concert as they do in reading. In addition, math tasks nearly always require students to manage the “outer” dimensions of communication, connection, problem-solving, and reasoning. The assessment procedures to determine the presence of instructionally matched conditions, therefore, require far more decisions by a case manager than do the comparatively straightforward steps of the instructional assessment in reading (Gravois, et al, 2002).

As special educators, Katya, Kurt, and Jean all had previous experience in helping teachers develop plans to address a student’s persistent behavior

problems. Jean, particularly, was formally identified as the behavior consultant in her two middle schools. Carol, on the other hand, had not had any recent experience dealing with behavior issues—at least not since she had served as a diagnostician in the Flatlands district. In any case, some elements of the IC Teams problem solving process for behavior cases were familiar to all of the facilitators, conceptually or in practice:

- Problem behaviors would be identified but then “flipped” to describe the desired behavior that a teacher wanted to see from the student.
- Behaviors manifest as “functions” designed to meet basic human needs, such as love/belonging, power, freedom, or survival.
- When developing interventions to increase the occurrence of desired behaviors, teachers and case managers should address antecedents and consequences, as well as the behavioral incidents themselves.

While these considerations aligned with the facilitators’ previous experience and understanding about behavior concerns, the IC Team process calls for, early on, an instructional assessment in the academic area in which the behavior happens most frequently. One of the IC Teams developers, Ed Gickling (Gickling & Armstrong, 1978; Gickling, Gravois, & Angell, 2016), demonstrated the link between instructional mismatches and on-task behavior:

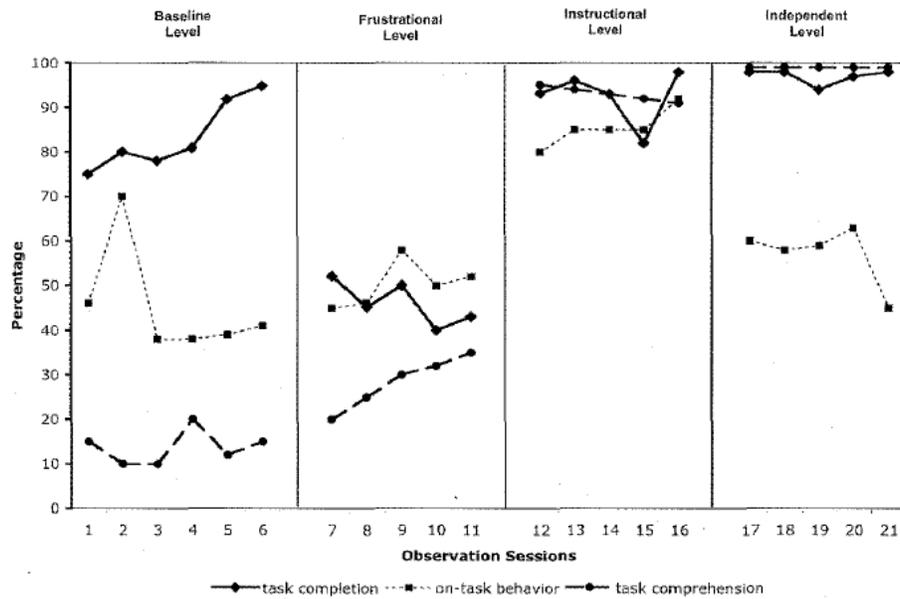


Figure 5: Levels of instructional difficulty as related to on-task behavior, task completion, and comprehension (Gickling & Armstrong, 1978)

Academic struggle as a context for difficulty with behavior is not the sole purview of IC Teams (Osher, Bear, Sprague, & Doyle, 2010), but the facilitators expressed some concern that teachers looking for support with such students might resist taking a “detour” into academic concerns when their immediate need is regaining discipline in the classroom.

The final case management process for the facilitators involved the application of the previous problem-solving procedures in reading, writing, math, or behavior to small group or class-wide concerns that a teacher might have. In a sense, all IC Teams cases have the potential to affect students beyond the individual student the teacher is concerned about when requesting support. Indeed, both the contracting and strategy design stages of the process

direct teachers and case managers to consider how the identified concerns and resulting strategies may be applied to other students. Program evaluation data from IC Teams (Ansaldo & Robinson, 2011) at the district and state level show that 64 percent of teachers accessing IC Teams for support used the interventions with other students.

Not all small-group or class-wide cases must begin as individual concerns, however. At times, teachers submit requests for support with a group or entire class from the outset. Regardless, the problem-solving process retains a focus on creating and maintaining instructionally matched conditions in the setting. After using their reflective communication skills to discuss the academic dimensions of concerns with the teacher, the case manager uses “strategies as assessment” with the group or class. Essentially, this involves teaching a mini-lesson using a strategy related to the academic dimension. As the strategy is applied, the teacher and case manager pay attention and later discuss the degree to which the students’ response to the strategy helped:

- clarify the concern (which dimension *really* merits attentions)
- specify the concern (how does the concern manifest within the dimension)
- differentiate the concern for different students

Kurt and Katya had spent years teaching lessons and applying techniques in group or class settings prior to their IC Teams experience, while Jean and Carol found the experience unsettling for a number of reasons. Mainly, they

described feeling quite “exposed” while leading an entire class of students with whom they had yet to establish relationships and rapport. Jean: “I mean, if I can’t manage the class myself, what is the teacher going to think about my ability to help her?” The other difficulty (and one that appeared in single-student cases at times) lay in the propensity for teachers to see a strategy being used in the context of assessment and want to go ahead and apply it as an intervention, even though the process makes clear that such use is not appropriate.

Each of the new case management training sets presented new challenges for Katya, Kurt, Jean, and Carol. An IC Teams case manager is not expected to be an expert in the content area at hand. Indeed, case managers find themselves taking requests from teachers across content and grade levels. An elementary school IC case manager may one day support a first grade teacher’s reading concern with, for instance, a student experiencing difficulty with sound-symbol relationships. The next day, the same case manager finds himself helping his sixth grade colleague work through a student’s labored composition efforts. In secondary schools, content complexity becomes ever more diverse and dizzying, as IC Teams might field requests from areas as seemingly removed as family/consumer sciences and trigonometry. The IC Teams case manager does not shoulder the burden of course content; their expertise lies in the problem-solving process and its communication and assessment protocols. The assumption is that application of case management skill with fidelity will support teachers to identify approaches and interventions

that will cleave more closely to the ecology of their classrooms (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011). The following case management session features the loose footing that Katya experienced with Allison, a 2nd grade teacher who had requested support with a student's reading needs.

Allison: I was hoping you'd come up with some ideas [laughs]

Katya: [laugh/sigh] A lot to...any advice? [looks at me] Um, well, I guess my thinking is to go over them, and have him share with me what that really looks like when he does that, uh, when he does a reading group, how does he really use those questions, what does that really look like in his reading group, is that something that he does, you know, I guess, I-I, cos I know what I think I would do, but I'm trying to still get that shared picture coz first of all I'm not even sure exactly what that reading group looks like, you know

Allison: I mean, I have an idea, but, um, I guess, I would need more specifics about when he would use, use, those questions, um, if that would be, uh, you know, before the reading, during, you know, at the end, um, that type of thing. Is he just asking one question, and you know, um, so, and, and I guess my question for you, is, is, is it appropriate to keep those three things, or should when we meet again, should I really look at, maybe, um, just focusing on two, or just--I guess I'm kind of wrestling with, um, is this, I don't want this to be overwhelming for Terry.

Allison: I mean, we don't...I just

Katya: Well we can, we can, we can, we can look at, um, I mean, we can, now each week your pattern changes, right? So sometimes it's short "u"--

Allison: Yeah.

Katya: And sometimes it's

Allison: So they'll be new words each week.

Katya: Ok. Um--

Allison: Is that bad? Cause it needs be consistent--like a consistent amount?

Katya: Well to get our baseline we're gonna start with, um, a group of words. So it doesn't necessarily...I would say to first start out with, um,

what you're gonna be expecting, what they, what your expectation is for them.

[Katya looks to me]

Katya: Maybe help me out a little bit with this. Um--

Me: You're doing fine so far—

Trying to help a struggling teacher identify a student concern in more specific and observable terms is the primary goal of a session like this—Katya had to wade through a great deal of ambiguity.

Outside of their own training and the ongoing matter of team building, the facilitators began to expand the presence of the IC program in their schools during the second term of the first year. This higher profile grew out of a range of activities. First, the facilitators themselves continued to take on practice cases. Their formal coaching cases in reading concerns concluded in the early part of the second term, and now they turned their practice time toward the new procedures around writing, math, and behavior cases. Visibility for IC Teams in the schools also raised as facilitators' team members began to practice their new skills (in reading cases) with colleagues. Lastly, facilitators themselves began to communicate more formally with their faculties about the status and direction of IC Teams in each school.

For starters, by the second term, each team could declare itself “open for business.” To be sure, most of the casework done at that time involved practice cases, meaning that the case manager was still learning the skills and that the teacher should temper her expectations for the outcomes of the case (even

though the interventions still might prove effective). But for the facilitators who had completed training on the problem-solving process for reading concerns, teachers could request and receive “real” support. This was important to the facilitators in terms of presenting both a functioning program that would and could actually provide a service to their colleagues, as well as to demonstrate how the time and resources allocated to them as facilitators was bearing fruit.

Despite the increase in activity in each school’s team, the facilitators still faced struggles to enact the work. More than any other factor, time constraints proved to be a barrier. Team members did not complete practice assignments in a timely fashion, citing their own classroom responsibilities and other duties. Few committed much time outside of team meetings to the work of Instructional Consultation, which, in turn, slowed each team’s pace toward increased capacity to handle cases (i.e. fewer team members completing practice cases in reading meant fewer team members able to take on “formal” reading cases). Across the larger faculty in each school, facilitators encountered similarly time-related barriers. Whether for themselves or their team members, teachers appeared unwilling to prioritize the six to ten weeks necessary to complete a case.

Year Two

Expansion, Struggle and Success. Returning from the summer break, the facilitators’ journey toward mastery carried on in the second year of IC Teams. They completed their skill sessions (group and class-wide trainings carried over to the fall term) and began moving toward what ICAT refers to as

“sustainability and program alignment.” This work occurred in a few main areas:

- Once the facilitators completed their formal training, they began a series of “networking” sessions. Spaced four times throughout the school year, networking amounted to one-day meet-ups with facilitators and buddies from other districts in the state where IC Teams was active. Networking offered opportunities for IC trainers to provide further training and reinforcement on the various IC Teams skills sets, as well as time for facilitators to share lessons learned from the counterparts across the state.
- The facilitators continued to build their teams and expand the work in their schools. This proved challenging, as none of the schools managed to reach “full” implementation status, even by the middle of the third year. Internal program evaluation data collected by the IC Training Center in the state put some of these programmatic shortcomings on display:
 - Only 52% of team members had taken cases (Ansaldo & Robinson, 2011). Indeed, by the end of year two, no teams had even had all members complete practice cases in reading concerns (meaning that they could not formally “open for business” at the beginning of year three.

- Four of the schools lacked a formally assigned “buddy”—which increased the workload and isolation of the facilitator in those schools.
- ICAT uses a implementation fidelity scale, which requires a combined rate of 80% (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011) to be determined a “high implementation” school. Only one of the schools in Flatlands achieved this designation by the end of year two (one of Katya’s two schools).

Kurt seemed particularly hemmed in by the lack of institutional support for his work. He maintained that, given the size of the high school, there should have been two facilitators assigned to the building to accommodate the greater numbers of teachers and students needing support. He did not appear to trust the decision making process that initiated the IC Teams work in the high school (or the district at large):

Kurt: You got that hierarchy in, and now, I've seen it a lot. You have the superintendent, and the administrators. They come up with this idea--

Me: Mm-hmm.

Kurt: They throw it down to the next level and say, "Here. We want this done."

Me: Mm-hmm.

Kurt: But then there's, that's as far as they go with it. And it's, you know, it's like, the ones making the decisions are not the ones in the battlefield.

Me: Uh-huh.

Kurt: And that's the thing. They don't--I feel don't communicate with the teachers--

Me: Right.

Kurt: --the ones that are in the battlefield. They know these kids. They just make the decisions based on grades, and, you know, stuff that really doesn't test, assess the kids.

Kurt: This is a large school to do this facilitator half time.

Me: Oh. Ok.

Kurt: That's, it's impossible to do a thorough job at it. So, either have someone else come in and, you know, have a full-time facilitator, or another facilitator that will do the other half.

Me: Mm-hmm.

Kurt: So, but, you know, you're getting that, "Oh, we don't have that. We can't do that."

Me: Cause you have, because you have, like you said, you have other responsibilities that have been, that you have to manage.

Kurt: Right.

Me: And it gets difficult to run, to get all the meetings ready, to do all the practicing, all the other stuff.

Kurt: And take on cases.

Me: Uh huh.

Kurt: And everything else with the other part.

Me: Right. And so, so it doesn't--so that would have been one way in which the support could have been different--

Kurt: Right.

Me: --would have been for that to happen.

Kurt: And it should have been really looked into, and you know, I don't know, looking at other schools, talking to, um, you know, ICAT, about facilitator-wise, you have one full-time for two schools, but they're thinking of the largest school--well, half-time. You know. Part time. Where it should have been at least a full-time here.

All the same, the program in Flatlands did show areas of growth and success.

In year two, 99 teachers requested support, and still more were involved in

practice cases. 100% of those teachers reported using the strategies arising from their cases with students other than those for whom the case pertained. Thus, while 237 students were served district-wide during the second year (and it should be noted that in 68% of those cases, students met or exceeded the stated goals), it can be extrapolated that many more students were impacted by the work of IC Teams in Flatlands (Ansaldo & Robinson, 2011).

Scrutiny and Recrimination. As the Halls of Mastery loomed ever closer, the messiness, unease, and, at times, hostility bounding the facilitators' relationships with their colleagues represented an ongoing source of contention. Kurt, Jean, Katya, and Carol occupied a space in their schools that subjected them to scrutiny from multiple sources. All of them related experiences in which colleagues questioned them directly—about the value of the program, about the use of their time, about their qualifications. Recall that Katya encountered teachers complaining about IC Teams in the teachers' lounge. One of her team members was present, and was equally concerned about what that meant for their work. Katya discussed the matter with the building principal, who decided to have a full conversation about it at the next faculty meeting.

Katya: Yeah. But it wasn't just about that. It just, they were having a faculty meeting anyways, and so the principal decided that he wanted to say some things, and he didn't really want me to say anything. He just wanted to, um, just kind of get those frustrations out in the open. And-- [laughs]--that, like, he just basically said, you know, in this, um, staff meeting, what are your frustrations, why, why are we not using IC? Um--

Me: And you're, you have to sit quietly?

Katya: I sat quietly, but I didn't sit quietly the whole time.

Me: Ok.

Katya: --because I did, cause I felt like there wasn't the whole picture, like--. He understands some of IC, but some of it wasn't completely accurate.

Me: So he's defending you and your work, but not--

Katya But not completely--[laughs]. But, I mean, he started it off, just trying to really open up that discussion. However, I felt like a lot of teachers couldn't discuss what was on their mind, cause I think that they are intimidated by the principal, so, there was a little bit deeper--

Me: So, ok. So, again, I'm gonna go back to--

Katya: I better not go into deep water here [laughs].

Me: Well, I like deep water. Again, you know as long as people go with you, it's fine.

Katya: Yeah. I felt like it was--there, there has been a lot of talk as far as, you know, just--and it wasn't even necessarily about IC. It was about, um, other resources in the building, you know, that weren't in the classroom--

Me: Right.

Katya: And so I felt like there needed to be a clarification of the building principal to really, um, explain and really share the purpose of it and that he values it, and I felt like it needed to come from, kind of that, that leadership, um, I guess he has more authority, as far as clarifying.

Me: So on one hand, it's not--it wasn't just about your work. So--

Katya: Mm-hmm.

Me: So in some ways, you couldn't necessarily be the full, the, the advocate for it. And secondly, that, if he does it, he's gonna carry a little more heft because he's the, he's the principal. And you're still a teacher.

Katya: Right Um, the, I guess my biggest frustration was for that team member because she has worked very hard, has done a lot. Um, she has taken on a practice case, plus she's going through a case with another team member. I mean, she has done a lot, and I felt like, um, that wasn't fair to her to be doing all this and then kind of getting all this negative feedback. And I know that those other teachers don't understand it and they're just going off their own--

Me: Half information, and--

Katya: Yeah. Their own opinions. Um, so I guess my frustration was probably more for her than for me, cause I--I mean, I at this point know that talk goes on, and, and, um, you know, people are always going to be, have their own opinions. Um, the fact that it was said, kind of more geared towards her, cause she was in that teachers' lounge, I guess, um, I felt like kind of a responsibility to, address--

Me: To address that.

Katya: To really address that. Um--

Me: So then you're sitting in the faculty meeting, and what's, what's the setup? I mean, just physically, what's the room, where does that take place?

Katya: It's in the, like, teacher, like the library.

Me: So everybody's at tables and stuff.

Katya: Sitting at tables.

Me: And are you in the front part of the room? Are you--?

Katya: I'm in the middle. It's not, I mean it's all kind of spread out. It's not like--

Me: Right.

Katya: It's more of like a--

Me: Are you sitting with people on your team, are you sitting with people with, are, who you would call allies, people--? What I'm getting at is, I'm trying to think of myself sitting in a room where, ok, "This guy, I've asked him to come and defend my work, and I know that there's some, this particular group of faculty doesn't necessarily support it. Some have actually said--'Take her out of the job and hire some aides.'"

Katya: Mm-hmm.

Me: Which, you know, and so--I'm just curious, what's that like to sit there in that context while--did you feel like eyes were on you? Were you?

Katya: I felt like eyes were on me, but I wasn't like--I didn't really feel intimidated because I feel like I'm confident in what I do. I know what I do works. I've see it work. Um, and I believe in it. I guess. I mean, I definitely did feel like people were, like, uh...

Me: Right, right.

Katya: Um, but I wasn't like, scared, like, feeling.

Me: But that is, yeah, that's kind of what I'm picking up is that, that part of the work doesn't phase you in any--I mean, you know?

Katya: I mean, it's definitely keeps you on your toes. But it doesn't, I mean I--I don't want to--I mean, yeah, I don't want to say, "Oh it doesn't...nothing bothers me.

Even in the one-to-one context of case management, facilitators felt the glare of scrutiny as the teachers they were supporting expected them to be all-around experts as opposed to co-investigators of academic needs. Jean and I discussed some cases she conducted for teachers with class-wide behavior concerns. As she led into the description of the cases, she revealed uncertainty about whether she knew who to conduct the assessments within those contexts.

I don't know if I'm doing it right or wrong. I just, I'm like, "Well let me see what I can look at." Like, with this whole-class. "Let me see what I can find out on differentiated instruction and how we might look at differentiating the instruction for the kids in your class." And, um, that's been. You know, then I'll present it to her to see what she thinks. Actually, there's three cases. Um, and this last time I--the first two times I did the--I developed the strategies as assessment, but this last time, I told them, I really want them to...We went back and examined the strategies, to see how they worked, if they address what they wanted to have addressed, if they helped to address what she, the concern she's having in her class, and then when we looked at what worked and what didn't work, I said, "I really want your input now. I'll carry it out, but I want to kind of help guide me on what you want to see happening in the room, and then we'll see if that works." And I don't know if that's the right way to do it or not.

As she continued to relate the progress of the cases, she admitted to feeling intimidated by the situation, particularly that she would be "on stage," in a

sense—that the teachers she was supporting (and their paraeducators in those classes, as well) would judge her skills and capabilities as she conducted the assessments. Even more, she fretted that any perceived ineffectiveness in her behavior management approaches would undermine the overall problem-solving process and give credence to the classroom teachers' belief that the student behavior in question was too challenging to resolve.

And what, when I said, "intimidating," let me clarify that a little bit, because I come in, with my behavioral background. Ok? So both of these cases came to me as behavioral issues. And I had to do the academic piece first. So, I was a little intimidated about how the kids would behave for me in the room. And if I had behavioral issues, I knew that these teachers were looking at me very, um, critically as far as, "Well, she can't handle these kids' behavior, so if she can't handle them, then how in the world can you expect me to handle them, when she's been a behavioral consultant for all these years?" You know? I mean, they still look at me in that light.

As it turned out, no behavior concerns manifested during Jean's time in the classrooms, which nonetheless did little to assuage Jean's sense of being scrutinized—and that she had no real way to succeed.

There was no behavior issues. It was actually kind of interesting, cause one of the paras said, "Well the reason they did so good for you is you just did different things with them and you're a different person." And I said, "Well, [laughs] yes." I said, "But we're not looking at how well the kids do with me or with anybody. We're looking--we're trying to look for different things today." But that thought was in the back of my mind. You know? They were looking at how well I was able to manage behavior. They probably weren't paying any attention to what, or at least that paraprofessional wasn't paying any attention...

But that just affirmed in my mind that she was looking at me, she's like, "I want these kids to act out for her. I want--I want her to see how bad these kids are in this room." And because, then, that's gonna affirm that, you know, she's having trouble.

“Um, it can kind of be lonely...”. As the expansion of IC Teams across their schools continued apace, the facilitators found themselves increasingly responsible for the program’s success or failure. IC Facilitators function as what Hall and Hord (1987) refer to as “second-level” change facilitators. As such, they lack formal authority to make decisions and allocate resources, but are nonetheless tasked with managing the day-to-day operations of the innovation as experts in its technical aspects. For Katya, Kurt, Jean, and Carol, this eventually required them to serve as advocates for IC Teams. Here’s Carol talking about the challenge of communicating the value of IC Teams:

Yeah, just cause, you know, you feel like sometimes you feel like you're the only one who, who's in the corner trying to, like, be the cheerleader for it. You know, until you have team members who start, you know--I've felt that way with my team members last year, trying to help them to buy into it. Um--so I think sometimes you feel like you're the only who sees the value in it because people are so blinded by their impression or other, you know, programs that have gone, come and gone. That, um, it's just getting through to and explaining it accurately. And I think I can do that better this year cause I feel like I have a much better understanding than I did last year. Trying to, and trying to articulate and explain something that I was still trying to learn was very challenging. But now that I feel like I have a good hold and understanding, and I see how it all goes together, I feel like I am probably more effective at being able to communicate to people what it is, in a more understandable...[laughs]...you know.

In a similar vein, Katya, described the novel experience of encountering resistance to change from the perspective of one charged with enacting it.

Um, I wasn't expecting, um, teachers having a hard time with change. I mean, I knew it, but then there's another whole level of actually dealing with, um, I guess being a part of that process in the front, of, of, attempting change and helping change in a school system. Um, you know, in our training we talked about, um, we talked about change, and

we talked about, you know really true change takes three to five years, but I think I had never really been in that position where I'm a part of that change.

Katya found herself at the head of the vanguard, ready to lead her troops into battle. Unfortunately, her erstwhile allies and peers no longer saw her as “with” them. They argued that she was no longer part of their group, and Katya had to search for new ways to understand them and connect. Indeed, those colleagues with whom she had been closest carried the most hostility toward Katya, to the point where she felt they viewed her as the “enemy.”

And, so I think a lot of times, teachers, those teachers, um, that had that resentment, I think they felt like, "Ok, well you were just a teacher with us. So you don't know anything more." I think they were thinking of just me, instead of just thinking of what I've been trained in. What, you know, I guess they, they didn't really know what IC was, so I don't think they—

Um, and really, when I say being an enemy, I would say--and this is crazy, but the more familiar I am with certain, like teachers that I've known, that I've worked with, um, that was harder because I think that they viewed me as, "You're, you're my colleague, you're my peer. And now you're placed in a different position." And I think that that switch of you're in a different role, you know, um, "I don't agree with this change," um, I mean, really frustrating. One of the schools I taught in was one of the schools that, um, I was facilitator in last year and that, when I first started, I thought that that school would be one of the easier ones to, um, be a facilitator in, but it actually was the opposite. I think that I was too familiar, um, so because of that, people didn't want to get support.

Judgment before the King. During the time of the study, Flatlands School District was in the pilot stages of its new evaluation system. This system was designed to comply with the recently passed state law mandating more rigorous and consequential teacher evaluations (Indiana Code 20-28-

11.5, 2011). The district offered the facilitators some input into how they would be evaluated in that capacity. While they reported being pleased to have a voice in the process, all of the facilitators indicated the evaluation process carried a great deal of uncertainty for them. In the main, they felt the process did not adequately capture their effectiveness, especially in terms of student performance. In addition, discussions about the evaluation system highlighted the degree to which facilitators felt principals and district leaders had a poor understanding of their work on IC Teams.

It is worth considering here that the state's law pertaining to teacher evaluation, while echoing the national trend (Darling-Hammond, 2012; Popham, 2013), as well as attempting to align with the goals of the federal Department of Education's Race to the Top program (Race to the top program executive summary, 2009), does not mandate a statewide common process. Instead, districts are encouraged to innovate and develop their own systems, while adhering to a set of guidelines established by statute and policy (Indiana Code 20-28-11.5, 2011). Consequently, districts were and continue to be in a state of flux in regards to how to measure different aspects of teachers' work (Murphy & Cole, 2017).

In one revealing session, Katya and Carol asked me to join them as they brainstormed ways in which their impact on student performance might be measured. They would then offer the results of that work to the Flatlands' district director of professional development for consideration. The

conversation below illustrates the confusion and lack of clarity such a task carried.

Carol: I-I guess my understanding was there was a district goal that everybody had that was the same that we would automatically have, and then we would just pick whatever building goals.

Katya: It has to be--all I know is that it's directly related linked to students--it has, so that it can't be off of, it's gotta be, maybe--

Me: Well, your IC, your ICAT level of implementation data will be there, your SDF reviews, all that stuff. The tracking system--all that stuff will be available to you. Um, and then just other forms and things that documents that you guys keep. Team meetings and things like that. So I think that--I think you're right. So, the question's gonna be: How do you guys get student data attached to your names?

Carol: See, well, my interpretation was that we might have a group of students that we're testing and working with.

Katya: Cause it doesn't have to be all the students that were all the cases that were going through. My understanding, what [DED] said, and classroom teachers can do this too--they can choose a subgroup. They don't have to do--

Carol: It's a little bit tricky. That's what I was getting really confused about.

Katya: So, directly servicing students impacting kids in the room. This is when that classroom [inaudible]. Academic functional, related to how IC had led to success in the district.

Carol: Yeah--classroom IC cases. You define how you will be measured. How that applies to both of you. That's what they were saying is--like when work with a classroom teacher for an IC case, we could have data from that classroom linked to us. But is that...who knows. I'm just. I'm not sure.

Katya: Well, and Emma (the district director of special education) and Ilyana (the district director of professional development) told us when we have some idea, cause I don't think that they really know either. They said for us to send the idea that we have and then they might sit down and meet with our principals and us.

Later, I had an opportunity to talk with Carol about how the lack of guidance regarding how the accountability system affected her. She had already discussed how she gathered extra materials, artifacts, and other evidence of her work in the event she would be called upon to prove her worthiness, and she reiterated that she hoped her supervisors would see that, as well. I asked Carol how she would respond if she were given a poor evaluation.

Carol: Oh, that would be devastating. Cause I think I try to do--I really try to do the best job I can. So, I mean, I would, I guess listen to why they felt that way, and do whatever I could to [laughs]...

Me: Would it be something that you would consider to be a legitimate assessment of you? I mean, would you look at that and say_-?

Carol: I wouldn't personally feel like that, no, cause I feel like I've created so much and really tried to learn this, in and out from--I feel like I've put so much time into learning. Not only for myself, but so that I'm able to teach other people.

Me: Right.

Carol: And trying to help other people see the worth in the process. I feel like I've really done all that I know how to do and provide all kinds of visuals and activities above and beyond what was available.

Me: Right. I mean, you've--

Carol: So I would be very hurt because to me, I feel like I've done--I don't know what else I could have done. I feel like some things that I'm being judged on I don't have full control over.

In a separate interview, Kurt talked about being held accountable for dual responsibilities—as a special education teacher, and as a facilitator. He reported that the assistant principal who would evaluate him presented the choice to have the process focus on one set of responsibilities or the other. His

option, described below, points to concern over how his IC Teams work may or may not reflect on his qualities as a teacher.

Kurt: Right now, it's really hard, because I'm being evaluated, you know, as a facilitator and a teacher.

Me: Oh, right. As a special ed teacher.

Kurt: So mine's different from all the other facilitators.

Me: Oh, yeah, right.

Kurt: I am being evaluated more as, um, special ed teacher. Right now.

Me: Ok.

Kurt: So, um, it was an option. I could, you know, I could have gone either way.

Me: You got to choose which role you were going to be evaluated by--

Kurt: Yeah, and I chose the special ed teacher, because I saw there were more impact on how I've changed as a teacher than I have as a facilitator. The--and the reason why is with this being new, not having a lot of cases—

Me: Right.

Kurt: --one false case could just drop me right of the radar. I have two jobs, full-time jobs. Squeezed together. I think I need to be evaluated on everything.

Me: So do you think that whatever comes out at the end of this year would be a fair accounting of how well you do this job?

Kurt: I think so.

Meanwhile, Jean, being near the end of her career, described herself as being aloof from the evaluation of her work as an IC Teams facilitator. In an interview, I asked her to talk about how the Flatlands evaluation system affected her work, and she replied that she hadn't spent much time thinking about it:

Me: You're not invested in the evaluation process.

Jean: I'm not.

Me: Ok.

Jean: Ok, because I'm not--If I was ten, fifteen years younger I probably would be. I mean it'd be very important to me.

Me: Right.

Jean: But at this stage of my career, it's not...[laughs]

Me: In terms of compensation, in terms of what it says about you as about you as a teacher...

Jean: It's not. No.

Me: That's fair.

Jean: I mean, I don't, um, I didn't--I don't particularly like the way that they're doing it, but, I'll go along with it. It's what it is.

Me: Right.

Jean: You know, but it's not gonna make up--I haven't lost any sleep over it. But because I like to do a good job at what I do. That's just me...I am not doing a half-blank job—

Me: Right.

Jean: I'm really trying to put everything I can into to have a good product. There's no way that they're gonna be able to show that I haven't met—

Me: So it's important to do it well—

Jean: Yeah, but if I don't get a pay raise, it doesn't matter to me. And honestly, with my mom just passing away, and this is, it doesn't have anything to do with ICT—

Me: So, so, what that means, then, is that, your set of standards for how well you do this job are—

Jean: Personal.

Me: More personal than they are—

Jean: Yes, they are--more personal. And to help the rest of the team. Because I really want this concept to go. I really do. I think it's a good--I think it is a good concept, I think it's really what Flatlands needs. I think

teachers need it. Um, because it has to be about them. It's not all about them, and there was a good article in the Flatlands newspaper about how, you know, you can't take, um and make a beautiful piece of silk out a rough piece of cotton.

At the Halls of Mastery. By the end of the second year of IC Teams in Flatlands, the formal training sequence drew to a close. In the ensuing two years, Flatlands would continue to partner with ICAT to engage in sustainability support for the teams in their schools. This support was far less intensive than the three-days-a-month contact with IC Teams trainers than had occurred thus far. The facilitators would meet with ICAT trainers quarterly for “networking” sessions, which often included facilitators from other districts in the state with IC Teams programs in their schools. These sessions were designed to share challenges and successes, and to offer opportunities for participants to refine and expand skills in case management and other areas.

But while the long-term prospects for Instructional Consultation in Flatlands would continue to unfold over the coming years, as the formal training ended, the facilitators began to experience the mastery that they had strived for over the last two years. Challenges continued to arise, to be sure. Each of the teams weathered the coming and going of members who joined or opted out. Katya’s responsibilities expanded as she was tasked with the creation of a third team in a small magnet school in the district. Carol’s assignments changed such that she switched schools with a fifth facilitator from a different school (who was not part of this study). Nonetheless, Kurt, Carol, Jean, and Katya all began to describe and display moments in which

certainty about their skills and management of the work—and most critically, their dealings with colleagues—carried the day.

Kurt

Kurt seemed to be especially moved in moments when individual teachers or students responded to his work. He had worked with an English teacher, “Peter,” on class-wide case in the second year who initially balked at using the IC process. Kurt described him as an “older” teacher, reluctant to try new things. As I watched Kurt engage with him early in the case, Peter stated flatly, “I’ll take your help, but only if I don’t have to change the way I teach.”

Kurt stuck with Peter and the case, and later talked about its outcomes:

Kurt: They, his, um, write-ups went from up here to [makes a sound like zipping down fast].

Me: Discipline referrals? That's huge for him.

Kurt: Yes. And he enjoys it. He knows now to step out of the box and do different things. He's comfortable enough to do that.

Kurt also talked about his satisfaction when seeing students respond positively to his skills. In a training at one of the elementary schools, Kurt had practiced doing an instructional assessment in reading with a first grade student.

Despite the gap between first grade content and Kurt’s high school background, he was able to help the student access the texts at hand. Kurt’s pleasure in that moment was palpable as he talked about it some months later:

My joy, uh, we was over at the Earl Howard training, and I had this boy that came over, it's um, in fact, it was the one that you worked with, uh, the day before, uh he came to demonstrate on how to do one of these IAs

and one of the strategies to get him in that window, and it was--he just, you know, repetition, he wrote three words on different cards, and was flashing it, and he learned those, and um, I got to work with him, uh, by myself, that little student, and to see the books that he could not read when he first came in, I mean those were pretty simple ones, almost like, here's "See Dick run, See Jane run"--he was having trouble with that kind of stuff. To see him leave and then when I looked at the book that he read to me and it was above his grade level. And it was just teaching him a few words, and it was just like, "Wow!" you know? And the kid left, and he was happy, you know?

Jean

Jean seemed to compartmentalize her assessments of her work. As shown, she was not always sure she was using the IC process correctly, and fretted that the teachers she supported wanted her to engage in the kind of assistance for behavior concerns that she had traditionally provided. At times, she felt they even wanted her to fail so as to prove the severity of the student misconduct in their rooms. Still, Jean seemed to carry her own compass in terms of what constituted good work—she certainly was not going to let the Flatlands evaluation define her, and she also looked beyond the terms Instructional Consultation to gauge her success. Near the end of year two, Jean talked about a student who had moved between her two middle schools, in part because of his inability to do well in the first school's project-based learning approach. She had started an IC Teams case with his teacher at the first school, and then tried to continue it after the transfer, but Jean was unable to complete the final stages of the problem-solving process (which meant that the case was recorded as “goal not met” in IC Teams' progress

monitoring system). Yet the student flourished in the new setting, and Jean appeared to have no qualms about chalking the case up as a success.

Jean: He had all As and two Bs at midterm. He's a completely different kid. His whole affect is changed. It's been a completely different move, so even though it goes down as the goal not met in ICT--

Me: Right.

Jean: --I feel good, and I don't care that I didn't meet that goal. I feel good that that kid is meeting with success. He's able to play baseball because that's his love. He loves baseball. His grades are up, he can play baseball. He's one of the star players. I mean, we've had a complete change in this kid.

Me: So you differentiate what success means, at least on a personal level

Jean: I do.

Katya

Katya embarked on the journey toward the Halls of Mastery with perhaps more resilience than her counterparts. Early on, she described the work as “not daunting. I mean, I'm not--it's not something that I'm afraid of doing.”

Furthermore, Katya was able to imagine what mastery of the work would look like when it was done:

I think it eventually what they'll want us to do is kind of create what's unique to IC in those different categories. Like eventually that's what it sounded like. In the years to come, like, building, district, like how do we really fit into that. Like make it our own piece.

Katya similarly articulated what she considered a call to action early on. She had spent years in classrooms with students, and had begun to feel limited, as

if going from child to child would never make a difference on a scale that met with her own ambitions:

Ultimately, the reason I moved from being a teacher to a facilitator is to make a bigger difference. I felt like if I could impact many teachers, then I would be doing more than just impacting, you know, twenty kids in one year.

So, even as Katya weathered storms of criticism, back-channel dissension, and varying levels of support, she rarely seemed to waver in where her journey would end. In part, she attributed her capacity to maneuver through rough patches to the communication skills she developed over the course of the training. Not only did those skills facilitate effective case management with teachers in the classroom, they expanded her toolbox in the broader milieu of school-wide engagement with administrators.

I feel like I've grown in, um, communicating with other teachers, communicating with administrators, um, and really being able to, um regardless of the concern, really identify, um, really what's going whether it's a case, whether it's talking about, like school-wide behavior plans, um, I think that that has really, um, changed my view of how to communicate and interact with, um, other, other teachers, other administrators. So I feel like--and I would say I feel much more confident because of that, because I know, I feel like I have a direction when I do sit and communicate and talk about whether it's, you know, any concern. So I feel like that communication has really, you know, personally and in this job, um, I've really grown a lot in giving me that confidence.

Through to the end, Katya not only observed that she was making a difference for a number of teachers, she witnessed that discovery for her team members.

She shepherded them through uncertainty to where she believed them to have recognized their broader impact on the culture of the school.

And I think also what they have gotten from it as well is that this is impacted their teaching. So it's not just, 'I'm doing this. I'm supporting other teachers. But this has made a difference.' The research behind it-- and I think, um, starting in November, things just started to click for my teams, where for the most of, most them, where they're starting to see-- and this is kind of cool, um--the further that they've moved, my team members have moved through their practice cases, and they start having these aha moments. And I've had a couple team members, like, 'Ok. I finally get this.'

Carol

More than any of the study participants, Carol struggled along her journey. She had few natural allies in any of the schools in which she worked, had been removed from the day-to-day work of classrooms for several years (and had never directly served in Flatlands classrooms), and often found herself wondering if the efforts she put forth would be enough. Further, unlike Kurt, Jean, and Katya, Carol found it more difficult to differentiate between her own assessment of professional mastery and those of her colleagues and superiors. The Halls loomed ahead, the great doors opened before her, yet she seemed reluctant to enter unless the gatekeepers viewed her trophies and deemed them sufficient. In the end, when Carol was able to identify success, it came in brief moments when her team members or teachers involved in IC cases expressed their own satisfaction with the work. Their triumphs, however small, were also Carol's triumphs.

One of the teachers that I'm going through a case with, who's very respected at the school, um, said she's like, 'Well, I don't have a question,'--I think I emailed you--she's like, 'I've got, you know, a comment--I just think this is fabulous, and other kids in my class have benefited through from this.' And really, so afterward, I asked her to, um, if she would be willing to share this with the entire staff cause the next week, we were doing a staff meeting as kind of a wrap-up.

Those moments slowly began to stack up, and Carol was eventually able to talk with clarity about her work and what it was, and share that with others.

Carol: Right. Well, I think I'm able to--I feel more comfortable communicating and really, from the beginning of the year, making sure, ok this is what I'm, what my role is, and what you know I'm working on here. And, and having that--I feel like I can articulate that better than I could at the beginning of last year.

In the end, Carol saw that more people were accessing the services of her teams in both schools. This mattered, but she still clearly fretted over colleagues who would not submit requests for support, who refused the help that she and her team offered.

It makes me feel good when I get them, because I feel like, Ok, they're willing to give this a try, or maybe they've heard from someone else that it was worth the time, or--Yeah, I mean, I guess, that's been a little more fulfilling this year, cause it was so hard last year to find people to actually...So when people come to me or fill out one of those papers it does feel good that they are open to trying the process. But there's also some people who don't want to try it yet, you know, that are, not be buying into it or, that I It makes me feel good when I get them, because I feel like, Ok, they're willing to give this a try, or maybe they've heard from someone else that it was worth the time, or--Yeah, I mean, I guess, that's been a little more fulfilling this year, cause it was so hard last year to find people to actually...So when people come to me or fill out one of those papers it does feel good that they are open to trying the process. But there's also some people who don't want to try it yet, you know, that are, not be buying into it or, that I tried to, you know--tried to, you know...

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, I offer a discussion of the findings presented in Chapter Four. I will focus on a short review of the data from a broader, “top-down” vantage point, highlighting the themes that emerged through the coding process and subsequent analysis. At this point, we can return to the theoretical framework established in Chapter Three. In that chapter, I suggested that Kelchtermans’ (1993) “personal interpretive framework” might be a useful structure for considering how the facilitators’ sense of role and identity manifested over the course of the IC Teams training cycle. That supposition will be tested, and I will then propose how the facilitators’ enactment of personal interpretive frameworks were bounded and limited by forces indicated by Giddens’ (1991) “dilemmas of self” and Habermas’ (1981) tension between System and Lifeworld. Assuming a satisfactory completion of the theoretical exercise, I will revisit the research questions in light of the completed study. While acknowledging some of the limits the contours of this study places on certain conclusions and generalizations, I then offer some implications for how the experiences of Kurt, Katya, Carol, and Jean might inform decision-making and the school and district level, as well as how professional development activities writ large might consider teachers’ interpretive frameworks as part of the design and implementation process. Lastly, I present some possible directions for future research relative to teacher identity within the current context of schools, school policies, and school politics.

Summary of the Data

This study followed four teachers across two years of intensive work as they took on new positions in their schools for a wholly new initiative undertaken by their district. Two special educators, one behavior specialist, and one special education diagnostician adopted new roles, learned new skills, assumed new responsibilities, gained new colleagues, and faced scrutiny from an array of sources. In the first months, they spent the vast bulk of their time removed from the daily life of their schools and their colleagues, working in relative isolation as they attended training sessions and conducted one-to-one practice cases with a few teachers in each school. By the second term, teams were constituted, raising the profile of the program in the schools while tasking the facilitators with the training of their colleagues and leadership of a major innovation. During the second year, facilitators endured the pressures of program expansion and stabilization, alongside the glare of rigorous evaluation in accordance with the new state law. Still, as the training drew to close at the end of year two, Katya, Carol, Kurt, and Jean all could identify elements of the work where confidence and success outweighed uncertainty.

In examining the data, and in relating it through the quest motif, I attempted to highlight the three main themes that emerged time and again. First and foremost, the context of the facilitators' experience was a social one, and a theme designated "How I Relate to Others" captured a preponderance of the texts—much of the work of IC facilitation involved what I coded in terms such as "Getting Them to Be Part of IC Teams," "I Am a Supporter of Teachers,"

“What Are You Doing Here, Anyway?” and “That’s Not Very Nice,” to name a few. Put simply, creating and maintaining a professional identity is a social enterprise (Burke & Stets, 2009; Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Mead 1962), and the facilitators’ realization of their own personal interpretive frameworks was necessarily bounded and informed by their peers and superiors.

Closely associated to the facilitators’ relationships with others were their ongoing struggles for certainty. Some irony abounds here, as one of the goals of IC Teams lies in Rosenholtz’ notion of teacher certainty (1985, 1989). Even as Jean, Carol, Kurt, and Katya strove to implement a program designed to support their colleagues’ instructional certainty, they themselves roiled in a space marked by constant internal questions about their skills and capacities to lead IC Teams. This baseline uncertainty was exacerbated in the social context (“How I Relate To Others”) by questions of legitimacy posed by other faculty members, and the strenuous, yet still ambiguous, demands of the evaluation system.

All the same, I found evidence time and again of what I termed “Expressions of Mastery.” In these cases, the facilitators described situations in which they felt the support they gave to colleagues was both effective and well received, that their use of the IC Teams skill sets gave them a sense that they could “run the show,” and that they could find satisfaction in the work. This sense of self-efficacy (Tschannen-Moran, Hoy, & Hoy, 1998) seemed crucial to the facilitators’ ability to see how the work might continue past the time of the study.

Toward a Theory of Professionally-Developed Selves

In the literature review, I presented Kelchtermans' personal interpretive framework as a platform on which the study participants' description of their journey through the IC Teams training sequence might be considered. While the framework obtains in greater detail in the previous chapter, a short review might be in order. Kelchtermans' starts with the supposition that the personal narrative represents an instrumental manner through which teachers render the self. In the words of Polkinghorne (1988, p. 150), ". . . we achieve our personal identities and self-concept through the use of the narrative configuration, and make our existence into a whole by understanding it as an expression of a single unfolding and developing story." These narratives result in a description of both a professional self and a subjective educational theory (Kelchthermans, 1993)



Figure 1: Components of the Personal Interpretive Framework (Kelchtermans, 1993)

that permits us to visualize (see Figure 1) the ways participants experienced the professional development arc. It highlights both the stability and vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 2005) of their identities as they carried on their work over the two years of the project.

Considering the data through this model, it became possible to infer potential responses the facilitators might offer to each of the elements of the personal interpretive framework. This required revisiting the data as rendered through my coding structure (see Appendix II) and comparing it to the narrative account from Chapter Four. What emerged were a set of projected subjective claims representing a sort of “mini-career story” told by each participant. Table 1 (below) illustrates how the stories of Kurt, Carol, Jean, and Katya come together in fairly coherent, yet dynamic identities. In this light, we see Carol as “the Hesitant Convert,” Jean as “the Skeptical Veteran,” Kurt as “the Reluctant Soldier,” and Katya as “the Confident Master.”

Personal Interpretive Framework: Participant Sketches		
Carol— <i>“The Hesitant Convert”</i>	Descriptive	“I’m the doer of the things that show that I do things”
	Evaluative	“I never feel like I’ve done enough”
	Conative	“I enjoy this work”
	Normative	“I don’t always know what the job is asking me”
	Prospective	“Not sure how long I can do this”
	Knowledge	“I know the technical steps of this work”
	Beliefs	“I believe this work will help students and teachers”

Table 1: Personal Interpretive Framework: Participant Sketches

Personal Interpretive Framework: Participant Sketches, continued

Jean— <i>“The Skeptical Veteran”</i>	Descriptive	“I’m the old hat who has seen it all before”
	Evaluative	“I know I’m effective, so it doesn’t matter what anyone else thinks”
	Conative	“This work is as good as anything else I’ve done”
	Normative	“I am not sure if this is the only way I am supposed to support teachers and students”
	Prospective	“I am looking forward to retirement.”
	Knowledge	“If we stuck to the behavior parts, I would know it all”
	Beliefs	“I believe in this program, but I could be ok doing something else”
Kurt— <i>“The Reluctant Soldier”</i>	Descriptive	“I am a special educator before I am a facilitator”
	Evaluative	“I am better when working with students as opposed to teachers”
	Conative	“I would be happier just managing my classes and caseload”
	Normative	“I don’t know that the expectations are clear for IC in the high school”
	Prospective	“I’ll do whatever they tell me next year”
	Knowledge	“If we stick to the stuff with kids, I’m good”
	Beliefs	“I just don’t know if this is the best thing for high school”
Katya— <i>“The Confident Master”</i>	Descriptive	“I’m a supporter of teachers and students—no question”
	Evaluative	“It’s taken some work, but I think I’ve got this”
	Conative	“I am glad to be having more of an impact”
	Normative	“I have a pretty good handle on what I am supposed to do”
	Prospective	“I could see myself doing this for a while—but I can do anything”

	Knowledge	“I feel pretty confident in all the skill sets for IC”
	Beliefs	“I really think this a great program for teachers and kids”

Moving outward from the four participants in this study, it is possible to see how the components of the personal interpretive framework are infiltrated by the dilemmas of the self as described by Giddens (1991). Remember that these dilemmas represent the tension the self experiences in modernity, as traditional sources of meaning erode, supplanted by emergent forms of communication, association, and engagement. The conflict demarked by the dilemmas stems from the sense that the self is not confronting tradition and modernity as a zero-sum game. Rather, both sources of meaning offer routes through which the self can stabilize and secure relationships based upon ontological trust. However, the dual nature of the dilemmas does imperil the project of the self when contradictions among value orientations blur identity sets or render them wholly incomprehensible. Inasmuch as the personal interpretive framework connotes a template through which expressions of teacher identity can be sorted, we can now begin to observe how the dilemmas impinge on the framework’s components.

The first dilemma—unification versus fragmentation—refers to the locus of trust relationships. In pre-modern contexts, Giddens (1991) suggests, trust abounded in immediate, localized settings; people tended to live in the same area for most of their lives with many of the same people. Social mobility, transience, migration, and electronic communications have supplanted those regional ties with the potential for associations across vast distances. Teachers,

in particular, can connect as blocs in terms of politics (e.g. teacher unions) or via internet groups for sharing values and pedagogy, as well as resources and materials. The evaluative and normative components of the interpretive framework may derive from these expansive unifying forces. At the same time, teachers may feel more fragmented, as local or state innovations (e.g. a new superintendent arrives with a new collaboration program) misalign with their current ideation regarding identity.

The subjective educational theory component of the personal interpretive framework houses the teacher's sense of what skills and knowledge are necessary to enact a given identity. Giddens (1991) second concern deals with how self feels powerless in the face of social forces, and further how one questions whether the skills and knowledge she possesses might leverage power in the world. Giddens asserts that powerlessness is not a purely modern function, but that it may be exacerbated by the expropriation and specialization of skills and knowledge found in technological societies. Teachers face similar challenges—Carol wondered aloud if her skills as a diagnostician have value within the IC Teams framework, and all of the participants expressed doubt that their increasing skill and competence would matter to decision-makers in the school district. Yet the path Giddens charts through the second dilemma lies with the “individual [who] clearly seeks active mastery: to survive is to be able in a determined way to ride out the trials life presents and overcome them” (Giddens, 1991, p. 193). It may be that positive formulations of

the evaluative, conative, and prospective dimensions indicate the survival stance derived from mastery.

Modernity, Giddens (1991) posits, produces uncertainty as sources of authority proliferate and, as a result, decline in preeminence. In education, authority splinters as dynamics of choice, inclusion, and accountability roil in federal, state, and local political processes. For teachers undergoing professional development work, authority for quality standards derives often from external innovation developers, even as local administration sets internal standards through evaluation systems—all while adhering to state accountability systems. When formulating one's self relative to the interpretive framework, Giddens might offer that a teacher looks for sources of authority vested with a level of trust. Whether that authority lies with the traditional school hierarchy or the standards of the innovation likely informs one's subjective educational theory, along with normative and evaluative dimensions of the professional self.

Finally, Giddens (1991) highlights the space the self occupies between personalization and commodification. Increasingly, people have a range of choices in meeting needs for autonomy and mastery. The career stories undergirding Kelchtermans' (1993) personal interpretive framework manifest as versions of this choice, with teachers staking out individual sets of standards, albeit shaped by external forces. Further, opportunities for teachers to assume new formalized roles (such as IC facilitators, to be sure) permit educators a greater latitude in self-definition than they may have enjoyed decades ago. In

recent years, teacher evaluation systems have enunciated different tracks and positions of status to certain teachers (Daley & Kim, 2010, p. 9). While perhaps granting more options for teachers to proceed through career arcs, caution is warranted when teaching activities become increasingly commodified through accountability and evaluation systems.

The challenge for education in general (and for professional development programs specifically), might look something like the following statement: How do teachers' personal interpretive frameworks continue to represent the agentic expressions of an authentic self while navigating the dilemmas described herein? I believe the answer returns us to Habermas (1981) and communicative action. In the review of literature for this study, I stated that Habermas envisions the self as engaging the other with the capacity for creativity, to imagine conditions other than what they are at present. In other words, the self attempts to identify oppression and repression, seeks out places in which the lifeworld has been colonized by systems, and searches for mutuality with the Other to resolve those ills. Through communication-based rational argument, free of coercion, new truths and values emerge. Systems of resource allocation, hierarchy, evaluation, and accountability might continue to obtain as forces of uncertainty for teachers, but perhaps development and collaboration models might provide contexts in which values arising from teachers' interpretive frameworks are included in dialogue around decision making.

Responding to the Research Questions

Research seeks to uncover new truths and provide responses to ongoing questions in a given field of interest. From the outset, this study sought to explore relationships between and among notions of teachers' professional identity and teacher development activities, against the theoretical backdrop of Giddens' (1991) and Habermas' (1981) concerns regarding modernity and communicative action. The findings from my engagement with the study participants as they navigated the two-year Instructional Consultation Teams training cycle permit at least some preliminary answers to those questions. I will address each of those briefly here.

How do teachers describe their personal and professional identities?

Earlier, we saw how Kurt, Carol, Katya, and Jean's descriptions of their professional selves readily mapped on to a narrative structure. This follows with accounts of how teachers tend to conceive of their professional identities as career stories (Kelchtermans, 1993), marked by moments of challenge and success. In this study, the primacy of relationships as a barometer for the perception of those moments proved difficult to understate. Nearly every description of nearly every event in the narratives was bounded by the participants' accounting for others' perception and valuation of them. This finding does not, admittedly, present as novel, given the discussion in Chapter Two of how teacher identity stabilization is marked by internal or external inputs (Burke & Stets, 2009) that individuals compare against an identity standard. In the case of the study participants, their peers and supervisors seemed largely unclear regarding the expectations for the facilitators' new

positions, which rendered such external input frequently unclear or even negative.

Against that lack of clarity, the teachers going through these development activities looked at times for internal sources of input to describe who they were in this work. These were tricky operations, as well, since the technical markers of success—skill mastery, teacher and student outcomes—obtained from an emergent knowledge base (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011). For the entire time of the study (and particularly the first year), the participants encountered a volley of new knowledge and skill on a monthly basis, making such internal considerations of identity enactment difficult. Nonetheless, in a context in which informed relational feedback could not be counted on consistently, internal measures of success often carried the day.

It is also worth considering notions of *salience* and *prominence* as brought to us by McCall and Simmons (1978) and Burke and Stets (2009). “Facilitator” was not the only identity the study participants had available to them, and it appeared that they described themselves differentially based upon a few factors. For one, both Kurt and Jean had identities (“special ed. teacher” and “behavior consultant,” respectively) that were more regularly reinforced, both by others as well as Kurt’s and Jean’s own personal interpretive frameworks. In fact, it may be that the prominence of those identities arose from the lack of meaning invested in the “facilitator” standard. In the cases of Katya, and especially Carol, fewer options obtained, leaving “facilitator” as the only salient framework to enact.

In what ways do new roles and responsibilities support or disrupt teachers' identity formulation and stabilization?

Again, relationships among faculty peers—and the uncertainty promoted within those interactions—seems to be most instructive at this point. All four teachers in the study commented on how their peers questioned (with hostility, at times) the legitimacy of IC Teams and the value of assigning a teacher to a half-time position. The facilitators' colleagues seemed to put a premium on “face-time” with students, and resisted the idea of taking a teacher out of the classroom to work primarily with adults. Similarly, administrators in all the schools seemed unclear about the goals of the program and how to support their facilitators and teams. As suggested in the treatment of the first question, this lack of clarity positioned the study participants on shifting sands as they attempted to define and refine their professional selves within these new roles.

In what ways does the IC Teams' training cycle inform our knowledge of teachers' ongoing professional development, particularly in terms of what Kelchtermans (1993) refers to as the teacher's “personal interpretive framework”?

The developers of IC Teams provide a detailed and explicit training regimen based on Joyce and Showers (1980), as has been discussed. Program materials and design (Gravois, Vail, & Rosenfield, 2011) also make plain the innovation's attempts to align with school change theory (Fullan, 2001) and implementation science (Fixsen, Naoom, Blasé, Friedman, & Wallace, 2005), such that it follows stages of initiation, implementation, and institutionalization. Further, IC Teams offers several internal evaluation tools, online coaching, and structured practice sessions (Gravois, Gickling, &

Rosenfield, 2011) that give trainees feedback from both training staff and one another. To some extent, it appears that these practices and resources provided participants with a shared language and normative standards with which they could compare their performance against a set of standards. Those descriptions in narrative form provided clues to how the personal interpretive framework could be used, as above, to build sketches of the facilitators' sense of mastery. At the same time, the uncertainty revealed through the use of the personal interpretive framework suggests again, the limitations of the professional development model alone in supporting teachers' growth. Indeed, the war adage, "no strategy survives contact with the enemy" seems apt, as the resistance from faculty colleagues and inconsistent expectations from administration fomented personal interpretations of vulnerability, frustration, or inefficacy.

In what ways might Habermas' theory of communicative action work together with Giddens' "dilemmas of the self" to inform our understanding of teacher identity?

Habermas (1981) and Giddens (1991) both propose that the challenge to the self in modernity arises when moral authority and legitimate social processes are disrupted. Ontological trust is necessary between actors in the lifeworld who use the tools and structures of society to reproduce elements of that society. When those structures seem to operate from and for fragmented, system-level phenomena disconnected from agents in the lifeworld, the self questions the foundations of the entire enterprise, and faces an existential dilemma: How can I be *X* in a culture in which *X* has no shared meaning?

For the teachers who participated in the study of IC Teams in Flatlands, this dilemma was all too clear. Despite a clearly laid out training sequence with feedback structures and resources, despite a two-year commitment from their district for the work, and despite the facilitators' dogged efforts to enact the program, two competing value systems seemed poised to disrupt the project. In the first case, existing expectations regarding how teacher time should be spent (and with whom) roamed throughout the facilitators' interactions with their colleagues and the way their time was allocated. Even as they attempted to stabilize identities based around teacher-centered consultation support, peers questioned whether this amounted to true "teacher" activity, and administrators provided inconsistent support. Moreover, the state and federal systems around resource allocation continue to be driven by concerns around student pathologies (Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005), often to the neglect of teacher development needs (Gravois, Gickling, & Rosenfield, 2011, p. 2).

In the second case, formal definitions of effective teaching took form in Flatlands' response to the state teacher evaluation law. As shown previously, and as illustrated in the sketches of participants' personal interpretive frameworks, the evaluation system did not align with the performance expectations of the facilitator role. Kurt, Katya, Jean, and Carol, found little authoritative sanction for the identities they were attempting to form and enact, and responded with varying levels of confusion and apathy.

Limitations

A study of this sort arrives with some built-in limitations. From the onset, the goal was to uncover and explore the narratives of four teachers in order to better understand how professional development activities interact with professional identity formation—all within a specific theoretical framework. A target of this nature is not, then, intended to make broad and generalizable claims regarding the identity formation and stabilization of teachers across varied settings. The limits of generalizability are furthered by the small size of the participant group and their relative homogeneity (in terms of race, ethnicity, and geography). Also, while I will suggest some potential implications for practice in the next section, teacher identity was only considered here in the context of the IC Teams professional development sequence. It is likely that groups of educators from diverse backgrounds undertaking different types of professional training in different contexts would report different experiences. It remains to be seen how the theoretical model might apply in other settings.

The conduct of the study brings another set of limitations. While I had nearly unlimited access to the facilitators, and collected over forty hours of data in a range of settings and interactions, I was unable to secure the perspectives of so-called “peripheral” participants. While principals and teacher colleagues appear in observations of training sessions, team meetings, and case management activities, difficulties with time and schedules prevented those individuals from sitting for interviews. To be sure, the four facilitators’

narratives contain many claims regarding these peripheral participants, claims that could not necessarily be interrogated directly. To the extent that the validity of such claims is rendered intersubjectively, we must consider the unavailability of peripheral participant data to be a limitation.

Finally, it deserves mention, as it did in Chapter Three, that my role as the trainer for IC Teams presents potential limitations, not the least of which includes the rather unexplored power relationship between the student participants and myself. Next, I cared personally and professionally for the success of the IC Teams initiative in the Flatlands district. Alongside three other dedicated trainers, I put in countless hours of work in support of the project. I truly believed (and still do) that IC represents an important means through which students and teachers can be supported outside a deficit model of learning that treats pupil and educator struggles as pathologies. And, at the end of things, perhaps as a product of my interest in the success of the program and a result of my long engagement with the work—I acquired a deep fondness and ethic of care for Kurt, Carol, Jean, and Katya. The effort, fortitude, dignity, skill, and passion exhibited by all four of these fine educators was palpable and engrossing. While I stand by my data and conclusions, make no mistake: I was solidly and unabashedly pulling for them to succeed.

Implications for Practice

Teacher preparation and development continue to surface as concerns for school leaders and policy makers (Hill, Beisiegel, & Jacob, 2013; U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Teacher evaluation systems, despite

inconsistencies in design and implementation (Murphy, & Cole, 2017; Murphy, Cole, Pike, Ansaldo, & Robinson, 2014), create an impetus for ongoing support of teacher skill and knowledge acquisition. Development opportunities for educators have undergone a transition in the past decade. Once common one-day “sit-and-git” workshops have ceded the field to online learning delivery models, “flipped” learning approaches, and district-specific training tailored to local needs (Vineyard & McLaughlin, 2016). At the same time, work proceeds on efforts to ensure that implementation of school improvement programs aligns with best practices for sustainability. The National Implementation Research Network provides support and resources for such alignment (Fixsen, Naoom, Blasé, Friedman, & Wallace, 2005).

The IC Teams training model contains many features designed to support sustained implementation; it progresses through clear stages of initiation, implementation, and institutionalization, with clear benchmarks and review components at each point. It also provides documentation regarding roles and responsibilities for personnel within the program, including facilitators, buddies, and principals. Lastly, those three positions on each team receive training on school change theory and practice, including development of skills related to Satir’s congruent communication framework (Rosenfield, 2004; Gravois, Vail, & Rosenfield, 2011). These are intended to support team leaders as they encounter resistance to the innovation.

This study of teacher role and identity has shown, however, that even a well-rendered and aligned school innovation program can foster uncertainty

and apathy in the hearts and minds of its core personnel. Professional development and school change initiatives consist of multiple moving parts that confound identity formulation and stabilization for all participants. Harkening back to previous chapters, let us briefly recall the varied dimensions of the IC Teams project. With a given school, facilitators, buddies, and (ideally) principals are trained in the three areas of instructional assessment, problem-solving process, and reflective communication. Teams acquire those skills, as well, so as to provide a delivery model available to every teacher in the building—creating the potential for each of them to engage in a six to ten hour consultation around a student concern. Moving upward to the district level, implementation of IC includes program evaluation, resource allocation, and alignment with other initiatives. Expanding further, we remember that IC has antecedents in federal law related to RTI, while more recently interfacing with state and federal teacher evaluation strictures.

The degree of interconnectedness shown with IC seems likely to obtain with any scaled change initiative. Forces, local and remote, complement and compete for space in defining what a “good” educator does, and who she is. Political winds shift as initiatives roll out, changing priorities and policies (Huetteman & Alcindor, 2017) and local leadership can change with relative frequency (Chingos, Whitehurst, & Lindquist, 2014, p.1). Teachers attempting to formulate and stabilize identities in response to such work, therefore, will inevitably struggle to incorporate values, markers, and definitions stemming from such a varied and contingent array of sources.

None of this means to suggest that good design of school change programs is for naught. Indeed, clear guidance and expectations oriented around shared value systems derived from legitimate social relations represent a crucial bulwark against dynamic features of the school as a workplace. Shared value orientations, after all, constitute the absence of anomie Habermas (1981) posited as a threat to the self. But what may be implied here lies in recognizing that the project of identity is never complete; the personal interpretive framework stands in constant state of examination and revision relative to internal and external identity standards. To the extent that uncertainty looms as a threat to the self, it is as much a feature as it is a bug. Teachers are never freed from responding to the questions, “Who do I want to be?” “What does it mean to be that kind of person?” “Am I that kind of person?” and so forth. Indeed, the freedom to ask and answer such questions lies at the heart of the democratic enterprise.

In sum, we see that the dilemmas of the self are woven into the work of professional development. External systems and value orientations, while vexingly ephemeral, inform the standards of potential identities teachers enact within such programs. Teachers themselves confront and respond to uncertainty as they make sense of these standards. For developers of school change programs and the school leaders who adopt and implement them, what might this mean? More than anything, it means providing space and structure for teachers (and anyone in the school involved with the work) to situate their career stories within the initiative. We’ve seen that the opportunity to describe

oneself relative to a school innovation is revelatory and instructive to both researcher and practitioner. Perhaps developers and leaders can carve out time and provide tools for professionals to engage with one another about the work and their places in it as it progresses.

A couple examples of these kinds of practices come to mind. Critical Friends Groups (Dunne, Nave, & Lewis, 2000) gives school personnel a number of discussion protocols intended to facilitate thorough and equitable engagement around school-based concerns. In similar fashion, Professional Learning Communities (PLCs), stemming from the work of Wenger (1998), establishes collaborative structures for teachers and other faculty to examine curriculum, instructional products, and student outcomes. Worth noting is that the original concept for PLCs lays out a space for teachers to generate their own standards of collaboration and process, and ultimately define their own standards for quality work. However, state and federal systems (e.g. accountability and evaluation) have shifted the locus of standard-setting, and PLCs today tend to serve those systems, particularly in regards to the gatekeeping function of Response to Intervention (DuFour & Eaker, 2005; Buffum & Mattos, 2014). There seems little space for teachers to define the scope of work, and precious less, if any, to engage around career stories and “self-work.”

In response, it is my hope that the developers of school change programs and school leaders who implement said programs consider the following recommendations:

First, developers of school innovations and teacher development activities should take into account the impact of role and position changes for faculty members tasked with spearheading such programs—as well as the potential responses of peers to those changes. During the initiation stage of new programs, time and attention should be taken to identify the cultural artifacts and values that encircle different processes and roles, and to ensure that all stakeholders' voices contribute to such discussions. All but the newest schools and districts have years and decades of curricular initiative and approaches, staffing arrangements, procedures, and baked-in “ways of doing things around here.” Moreover, local values--within schools and extending out into immediate communities constitute residue on the institutional memory of personnel, perhaps limiting the degree to which new roles are embraced. And certainly, the phenomenon of external systems impinging upon the implementation of new programs cannot be waved away without effective design (if at all). These factors, alongside matters of race, gender, culture, socio-economic status, will affect the identities of professionals taking on new roles in school change work.

Selection of individuals for specific roles within change programs is critical to their success. Finding educators who possess the knowledge, skills, and dispositions for a given initiative can be tricky. Even when those professionals can be found, ensuring they have time to dedicate to such work (or, that work they were previously doing is able to continue if need be) requires a great deal of organizational and managerial wizardry. Yet, this study suggests still more work is needed in the selection process: an understanding of the

dynamic nature of the self and identity formulation and stabilization might move the conversation from “selection” to “accommodation.” In other words, maybe finding the “right person” for a given position is wrongheaded. Rather, school leaders and professional developers should introduce malleability into their programs. Just as knowledge and skill are developmental over the time of a training sequence, so too are notions of the self. Time and resources are allocated for acquisition of knowledge and skill—what would it look like to dedicate time for participants to commune around their place in the work? Such chances for “temperature taking” might permit professionals a voice in how mastery will be considered.

The rise of more rigorous and consequential educator evaluation systems has been discussed at several points in this study. While state and federal laws and policies drive compliance of such programs, they vary a great deal from district to district. In some case, districts adopt the state-endorsed plan, while others utilize evaluation systems designed by outside developers and vendors. Still others design their own systems in-district. No matter the system, though, a teacher evaluation programs represent a powerful means of informing teachers’ professional identities. Inasmuch as these tools can give meaning to teachers’ description of themselves, they should clearly and materially align with school innovation programs and contain shared and meaningful definitions of role expectations. Put plainly, the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of one’s new role ought to be reflected in the local evaluation system. By way of example, one district in my state has guided its policies and

practices around the principles of Universal Design for Learning (Leinenbach & Corey, 2004) for several years. When mandated by the state to develop an educator evaluation plan to comply with the law, district leaders infused much of the rubric with UDL practices (2015-2016 staff evaluation plans, 2016; Columbus letter of recognition, 2015).

At the state and federal level, policy makers should explore funding and resources for schools, particularly in terms of how such funding supports time for teacher collaboration and reflection. Specifically, the proportion of the time American teachers spend in direct contact with students (as opposed to that spent in collaboration or reflection activity) contrasts greatly with their counterparts in countries such as Finland or South Korea (OECD, 2012)—nations which regularly score high on international scales of academic attainment (OECD (2016). While contact time alone may not be the decisive factor in those nations' student outcome, and while I have not explored whether the non-contact time such systems is dedicated to addressing matters of role and identity among professionals, it stands to reason that little can be done for teachers in this regard when they have less time to reflect and process alone or with colleagues.

Suggestions for further research

Kelchtermans' personal interpretive framework (1993) provided a helpful architecture for an exploration of how four teachers' identities as IC Teams facilitators formed and reformed over the course of the two-year program. Gaining an understanding of how individuals relate their professional selves

and subjective educational theories during development activities has implications for developers of such programs and school leaders who seek to adopt them, as discussed previously. This study also, in a small way perhaps, allows us to see how the personal interpretive framework can help illustrate theoretical constructs of identity as they relate to dilemmas of the self and system-lifeworld breakdowns.

Further research is certainly warranted. Value might arise from a more expansive version of this study, one that sought out narratives from more individuals who are involved in development activities. This is not necessarily a response to the limitation described above regarding access to peripheral participants. Such personnel were intended only as potential sources of validity for the facilitators' claims. Rather, while a strength of this study lies in the primacy of the four facilitators' personal interpretive frameworks, if we are interested in implications for the design and implementation of educator development programs, a follow-up study could focus on participants who are not charged with leading such innovations. In other words, teachers who are not first-line change agents nevertheless intersect with school change initiatives—how do they describe their identities in terms of a personal interpretive framework?

Another area ripe for exploration lies in the more rigorous teacher evaluation systems currently employed around the country. While we are learning more and more about the quality of these systems and their outcomes (Murphy & Cole, 2017), and participant satisfaction (Murphy, Cole, Pike,

Ansaldo, & Robinson, 2014), it appears that identity theory and personal narrative may help us learn more about how evaluations impact educators. It could prove useful to engage with principal-evaluators and the teachers they evaluate to uncover their stories and see in what ways, if any, the evaluation process informs their personal interpretive framework. It may be that gleanings from such a study could result in more directed and meaningful professional development activities for teachers.

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Appendix I: Interview Protocols

Facilitator Interviews—Topic Domains & Covert Categories of Interest:

- Pre-service Narrative
 - K-12 school experiences
 - Early teacher role imaging
 - Adoption of teaching as profession
 - Undergraduate identity formation
 - Imagined teacher self
 - Personal Interpretive Framework
 - Subjective Educational Theory
- Early Career Narrative
 - Induction
 - Roles and responsibilities
 - Interpersonal developments
 - Skills, practices, and beliefs
 - Professional Knowledge Landscape (sacred stories, cover stories, secret stories)
- Personal Interpretive Framework
 - Subjective Educational Theory
 - Current & Ongoing Change and Professional Development
 - Recruitment
 - Roles and responsibilities
 - Response to training

- Professional Knowledge Landscape (sacred stories, cover stories, secret stories)
- Skills, practices, and beliefs

Topic Domain #1—Professional Self in the Retrospective

Lead-off question #1: When someone asks what you do in schools these days, what do you typically tell them?

- Covert Categories of Interest:
 - Current & Ongoing Change and Professional Development
 - Recruitment
 - Roles and responsibilities
 - Response to training
 - Professional Knowledge Landscape (sacred stories, cover stories, secret stories)
 - Personal Interpretive Framework
 - Subjective Educational Theory
 - Skills, practices, and beliefs
 - Pre-service Narrative
 - Early Career Narrative
- Possible follow-up questions:
 - Tell me how you came to be an IC Teams Facilitator.
 - In what ways is this work different from what you did previously in schools?

- If someone were considering taking on the facilitator job, what suggestions would you offer them?
- What has surprised you the most about this position?
- What has disappointed you the most?
- Tell me something you've learned that you didn't expect to learn.
- Tell me about one of your best days training your team. Worst?

Topic Domain #2—Subjective Educational Theory

Lead-off question: In whatever terms make sense to you, tell me what it is you think a good teacher does to help kids learn?

- Covert Categories of Interest
 - Professional knowledge landscape
 - Skills, practices, and beliefs
 - Self-image
 - Self-esteem
 - Job motivation
 - Task perception
 - Possible follow-up Questions
 - What does a good facilitator do?
 - What skills have you found easiest to master in this work?
 - What skills are most difficult to perform?
 - What has changed about your beliefs?
 - In terms of students?
 - In terms of colleagues?

- In terms of your school?
- In terms of how you view schooling?
- How do you see yourself in this job?
- How well do you think you are doing in this job?
- Do you wake up excited to come facilitate your team?
- Do you expect to keep doing this work in the future?

Appendix II: Coding Summary

Primary Code Descriptions

1. “How I Relate to Other Teachers” describes the primary context of IC Teams facilitators’ work experience.
2. “Uncertainty” pertains to the ways in which external demands (i.e. other teachers, IC knowledge and skill, job expectations) subvert facilitators’ confidence.
3. “Expressions of Mastery” reveal moments when facilitators experience success

Potential Suppositions, Relationships, and Tensions Across Primary Codes

1. “Uncertainty” connotes the frequently fraught relationships with other teachers.
2. “How I Relate to Other Teachers” represents multiple sources of uncertainty as facilitators apply skills and knowledge in relationship with teachers.
3. “How I Relate to Other Teachers” offers contexts in which facilitators express mastery of the IC Team skill set and pertinent relationships.

Potential Suppositions, Relationships, and Tensions Within and Across Secondary Codes

1. In terms of “How I Relate to Other Teachers,” there are texts that describe goals and strategies used by participants in their work:
 - a. “Driving the Change Bus”
 - b. “Getting a Read on Them”
 - c. “Getting Them to Be Part of IC Teams”

- d. “Promoting Teacher Certainty”
 - e. “And How They Push Back”
2. In the same vein “HIRtOT” features some expressions of how the work with others results in “Friends”
- a. “I Am a Supporter of Teachers”
 - b. “You Like Me—You Really Like Me”
- Or “Enemies”
- a. “That’s Not Very Nice”
 - b. “Oops! Sorry Bout That!”
 - c. “What Are You Doing Here, Anyway?”
3. “Uncertainty” is internally fomented by:
- a. Concerns about ability to perform IC Teams “skills” or exhibit “knowledge”
 - b. Being responsible/not knowing how to ensure “buy-in” for IC Teams within their school.
 - c. “Feeling the Heat” from administrators and colleagues to enact IC Teams and adhere to “Building and District Policies.”
4. “Uncertainty” is exacerbated when relationships with other teachers are marked by “pushback,” questions of legitimacy (“what are you doing here, anyway?”), and colleagues not acting “very nice”
5. The “Uncertainty” experienced when “Feeling the Heat” for “Building and District Policies” arises particularly when:

- a. Facilitators wonder “How Their (other teachers’) Work Reflects on Me”
 - b. Facilitators receive “Push Back” when “Driving the Change Bus” and attempting to “Get Them to Be Part of IC Teams”
6. “Expressions of Mastery” tend to describe situations in which:
- a. “Uncertainty” is absent from interactions with other colleagues
 - b. “Knowledge” and “Skill” are seen as contributing to one’s belief that they can “Run the Show”
 - c. “Good Facilitation” “Promotes Teacher Certainty” and facilitators believe that colleagues “Really Like” them.

Master Code List

- How I Relate to Other Teachers
 - And How They Push Back
 - Driving the Change Bus
 - Friends & Enemies
 - That’s Not Very Nice
 - Getting a Read on Them
 - Getting Them to Be Part of IC Teams
 - A Wall of Facts & Details
 - Making It Easy for Them
 - How Their Work Reflects on Me
 - I Am a Supporter of Teachers
 - Oops! Sorry Bout That!
 - Promoting Teacher Certainty
 - Teachery Things
 - What Are You Doing Here, Anyway?
 - You Like Me—You Really Like Me.
- Uncertainty
 - Buying In
 - Building and District Policies
 - Feeling the Heat
 - Knowledge
 - Making Excuses
 - Skills
- Expressions of Mastery

- Running the Show
 - What Good Facilitation Looks Like
- How I Relate to Students
 - Caring about Them
- IC Teams Communication Skills
 - Clarifying
 - Offering Information
 - Paraphrasing
 - Perception Checking
 - Relevant Questions
 - Summarizing
- Having Fun Together
 - But Feeling a Little Guilty About It
 - Meandering Toward the Irrelevant
- Choosing to Feel This Way
- What Good Student Performance Looks Like

Appendix III: IC Teams Training Calendars

2011-2012 IC Team Training and Technical Support Calendar: Indiana Cohort 5

Date	Location	Topic	Materials	Participants
August 22 –24	Admin. Services Center	Introductory IC Team Training	ICAT Book 1	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal District Coordinator
August/September	Online	<i>ICAT Webinar: Online Coaching</i>	Level 1: ICAT Case Management (Participant Manual)	IC Team Facilitator (All prospective participants must participate in this webinar before coaching will begin.)
September- December	Online	<i>Online Coaching</i>	Level 1: ICAT Case Management (Participant Manual)	IC Team Facilitator (Coaches are assigned to facilitators following Introductory Session. Weekly application and coaching is expected.)
September 13 – 14		Session 1: Instructional Assessment in Reading & Contracting	ICAT Books 1 & 2	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal (Day one only)

September 28		<i>Tech Support 1</i>	ICAT Books 1 & 2 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team “Buddy” and Principal invited)
October 11 – 12		Session 2: Instructional Assessment Reading/ Strategies Problem Identification	ICAT Books 1 & 2	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal (Day one only)
October 26		<i>Tech Support 2</i>	ICAT Books 1 & 2 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team “Buddy” and Principal invited)
November 15 – 16		Session 3: IA and Application of Reading Strategies to Small Groups	ICAT Books 1 & 2	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal (Day one only)
December 14		<i>Tech Support 3</i>	ICAT Books 1 & 2 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team “Buddy” and Principal invited)
December 6 – 7	Central location	IC Teams Facilitation	ICAT Books 1, 2 & 4	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal
December/January	Online	<i>ICAT Webinar: Program Evaluation</i>	ICAT Program Evaluation Manual	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal

December/January	Online	<i>ICAT Webinar: ICAT Tools</i>	ICAT Program Evaluation Manual	IC Team Facilitator Team "Buddy" Principal
January 10 – 12	Central location	Introductory IC Team Training	ICAT Book 1	IC Team Facilitator Team "Buddy" Principal IC Team Members
February 1 – 2		Session 4: Writing Assessment & Student Documentation	ICAT Books 1 – 3	IC Team Facilitator Team "Buddy" Principal (Day one only)
February 22		<i>Tech Support 4</i>	ICAT Books 1 – 3 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team "Buddy" and Principal invited)
March 6 – 7		Session 5: Math Assessment/ Student Documentation Form	ICAT Books 1 – 3	IC Team Facilitator Team "Buddy" Principal (Day one only)
March 28		<i>Tech Support 5</i>	ICAT Books 1 – 3 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team "Buddy" and Principal invited)

April 17 – 18		Session 6: Behavioral Assessment/ Strategies/ Student Documentation Form/ Networking	ICAT Books 1 – 3	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal (Day one only)
May 2		<i>Tech Support 6</i>	ICAT Books 1 – 3 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator (Team “Buddy” and Principal invited)
May 15	Central location	End-of-Year Summary and Planning	ICAT Books 1 – 4	IC Team Facilitator Team “Buddy” Principal District Coordinator

2012-2013 IC Team Training and Technical Support Calendar: Indiana Cohort 5

Date	Location	Topic	Materials	Participants
August 23		Regional Networking 1	ICAT Books 1 – 4 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator Team Buddy (invited) Principal and District Coordinator (morning only)
September 5-6		IC Teams New Member Introductory Training	ICAT Books 1 – 3 (provided for those completing training)	IC Team Facilitator New members from existing IC Teams (2 per registered school)
October 3-4		Session 6: Behavioral Assessment and IC Problem Solving	ICAT Book 3	IC Team Facilitator Team Buddy Principal (Day one only)
October 24		Tech Support 6	ICAT Books 1 – 3	IC Team Facilitator (Team Buddy and Principal invited)
November 7-8		Session 7: Group and Class- wide Applications	ICAT Book 3	IC Team Facilitator Team Buddy Principal (Day one only)
December 5		Tech Support 7	ICAT Books 1 – 3	IC Team Facilitator (Team Buddy and Principal invited)
February 6		State-wide Networking 1	ICAT Books 1 – 4 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator Team Buddy (invited)
		State-wide Networking 2	ICAT Books 1 – 4 All case materials	IC Team Facilitator Team Buddy Principal and District Coordinator (morning only)

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