This Is a Job!:

Second Career Teachers' Cultural and Professional Capital and the Changing Landscape of Teaching

by

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ABSTRACT

As newcomers to schools in the last thirty years, second career teachers, were studied to better understand this group of teachers within schools. Second career teachers bring professional knowledge that did not originate in the field of teaching to their teaching career such as relationship building and collaboration. The professional perspectives of second career teachers were assessed and analyzed in relation with current professional expectations in schools utilizing an analytical framework built from Pierre Bourdieu's reflexive sociology. Second career teachers and their supervisors were interviewed and their responses were reviewed in relation to the districts' defined professional habitus and the professional cultural capital developed by second career teachers. This study goes beyond Bourdieu's theoretical definitions of capitals to explore specific relationships between embodied and institutionalized capitals that were valued in school settings. The knowledge gained from this study provided insight into the professional habitus defined by teachers within a school district and the relationship of second career teachers to this habitus.

DEDICATION

I want to express a magnitude of thanks I have for my family, who have supported me, challenged me, laughed with me, and guided me through this journey. You are my past, present, future and always my now.

Jens, thank you for being you. You are exactly what I need all the time. I love you so much.

Rose, your brilliance and perseverance inspires me daily. Thank you for being my study buddy and ongoing source of inspiration. Max, your humor and insight into the world ground me in ways beyond your years. Thank you for making me laugh every day. I am so proud of both of you and love you with all my heart.

Mom and Dad, I will never be able to thank you enough for your unconditional love and support in everything I have done. Mike and Amy, your creativity, compassion, and intelligence push me to think beyond my current reality. Thank you for always having my back and understanding me in ways that no one else does. I love you all so much.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For me the completion of my doctoral dissertation is a crossroads: the end of one journey and the beginning of new adventures. What I will take away most resolutely from this work is the deeper insight that every voice matters and every action is important.

My doctoral journey began a few years ago, before I even realized it, when I was still a teacher in the classroom. At this time I was working hard, enjoying my time in the classroom, and making my definition of a "difference" for others. My perspective on teaching was somewhat cliché. Dr. Ronald Glass woke me up from the enchanted reverie I had of teaching by opening my eyes to the history of our current educational system, the counter perspectives of others within education, and the importance of thinking critically. I am thankful for his insight, dedication to education, and the continued work he does to impact the field of teaching.

Chris Busch, you were my most caring principal because you were honest and supportive of me as a teacher and a learner. Thank you for opening up your district to me so that I could continue to grow as a learner.

To the DELTA IX cohort, thank you for pushing me and learning with me during two incredible years of study. I will always remember our time together and I am blessed to have had such a phenomenal group of colleagues to always call upon as professionals and friends.

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learning in my daily context. In addition, your insight into my early drafts of this dissertation pushed me to re-examine authors I had previously read and the relevance of their work in this study. I hope our paths continue to cross in education.

Dr. Powers, you are the heroine of details and precision! In addition to these qualities, you taught me what it took to put together an academic paper. I could not have organized the research or concepts for this dissertation without the foundation you provided me. This is something I will continue to build upon in my future endeavors. Additionally, I am fortunate to have gotten to know you on a personal level. You are a colleague I look up to and look forward to continuing to learn from you.

Dr. Fischman, when we first began the work towards the dissertation, you told me that this would be hard work, that you would push me and that I would be proud of the work when I was finished. You delivered on each of these promises. Thank you for standing alongside of me in this journey. I am proud of this study and am proud of myself. You pushed me for clarity in times of confusion and encouraged me to expand my voice in times of uncertainty. In essence, you have allowed this dissertation to be mine. Thank you for believing in my vision and pushing me to investigate it to the best of my ability. I look forward to learning alongside of you in the future and will be forever grateful for the gift of learning you have given me.

Finally I would like to thank and acknowledge the many teachers and administrators I have had the pleasure to work with in this study. Your time spent in interviews was humbling and gratifying. Each of you shared a story or event that caused me to think, reflect and learn. For this, I am grateful.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

When I was a new teacher, I couldn't wait to have my own classroom where I would make a difference for students. In my first teaching position, I was assigned to a classroom in a portable building. The school was in the process of building a new school and many of the classrooms were located in temporary portable buildings. When I opened the door to my classroom, a mostly empty room welcomed me. On one end of the room was a haphazard stack of desks and chairs; at the opposite end of the room were a single chalkboard and a teacher's desk. There were no books, manipulatives for learning, or evidence that children would be learning in this room. What some would have deemed a dismal beginning, I interpreted as a blank slate. In reality, I didn't know any better.

I began that first of year of teaching building my professional knowledge and professional behaviors in isolation (Lortie, 1975). Other than the occasional staff meetings and assigned professional development, I existed in a world that involved thirty students and myself. Both my students and I grew that year as I built classroom procedures, developed a curriculum, and refined my pedagogical practices on my own. I measured my success in the successes of my students.

What I didn't realize at the time was that my first classroom was representative of future teaching experiences (Lortie, 1975; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010). As a teacher, I spent much of my professional time on my own working with students (Lortie, 1975; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010; Fischman, G.E., 2001). Time in the classroom with my students was precious for me to truly make the difference I believed I could make (Lortie, 1975; Fischman, 2001). As the years progressed, I had the opportunity to teach in different schools and with different staffs. While curriculums, grade levels, and

acquaintances changed, the independence I experienced within the classroom remained constant (Lortie, 1975). To me this was a normal part of teaching.

As an individual whose only career at the time was teaching, I was unaware of this characteristic of the profession (Lortie, 1975). I considered my students as children in my school family. Like a "mother" I took pride in the relationships I built with my students and their success (Fischman, G.E., 2001). I readjusted my pedagogy each year to meet the needs of my different students as well as adjusting to trends in education (Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010). Trial and error became my mode of learning and I gained as much knowledge from my successes as from my failures (Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010).

My world as a developing and respected teacher came to a halt the year I was told to teach a scripted curriculum in sync with the other teachers in my grade level. To me, this request threatened the expected professional behaviors of a teacher that I had built over my years of teaching (Fischman, 2001; Lortie, 1975). My distrust and skepticism about this approach was viewed by former colleagues and my former principal as challenging and unprofessional (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). I felt alienated, and I lacked the resources to do anything to change my situation, so I left the field of teaching (Brewer, 1996). Recently, teachers in other areas of the nation have documented similar experiences (Strauss, 2014a, 2014b).

I pursued a new career in retail management. In the management track, I felt like I was an outsider or an alien. In management, I experienced a more comprehensive perspective to systems and operations as opposed to the individualistic approach I had learned in the teaching. My career in retail management allowed me to understand

professional actions from a different perspective. The experiences in management provided me with assets that I had not gained in the world of teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Eventually, I came back to teaching. However, in my "second" career as a teacher, I had a different understanding and interpretation of professionalism. I reconfigured elements of myself to serve the needs of the educators with whom I worked. For example, I looked at situations from multiple levels, not just my own (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). In addition, I understood what the multiple levels of what to be a professional meant and I maneuvered through educational institutional structures in a more accelerated way (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). In my second career as a teacher, I felt I had a different lens on professionalism. This experience led me to pursue the current study. What are the professional perspectives, actions, and trends of second career teachers?

Background

Arizona schools are subject to policy mandates that draw upon business practices and philosophies aimed at making schools more efficient (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Ravitch, 2011; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Many of these policies are aimed at quantifying the relationship between teacher and student learning (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Berliner & Glass, 2014; Ravitch, 2011). Teachers are finding their working conditions and performance on the job under heavy scrutiny and review (Ravitch, 2011; Berliner & Glass, 2014; Darling-Hammond, 2010). These contextual factors may influence teacher's roles, retention in the field, and career paths (Ravitch, 2011; Darling-Hammond, 2010). In a study that focuses upon the professional perspectives of teachers,

it is essential to understand recent trends in education that shape teachers' experiences (Berliner & Glass, 2014).

Recent Policies that Affect Teachers

The 1980s began an era of education reform that was more prescriptive and oriented toward the "basics" of teaching than the exploratory and flexible approaches to education of the 1970s (Cuban, 1993). Reports such as *A Nation at Risk* created concern that the United States was in danger of losing its competitive edge and education reform was necessary for national security (Bell, 1983). Many of today's "traditional" attitudes and perspectives about teachers as well as the attitudes and perspectives of today's teachers evolved from neoliberal education policies that were introduced during the 1980s (Robertson, 2008). While the focus of this study is not neoliberal policy, neoliberalism has affected how we think and act as teachers and learners in predictable and unpredictable ways (Robertson, 2008). Neoliberal policies have shaped the teaching profession and have likely helped create complex career paths of some teachers (Apple, 1999; Robertson, 2008; Zeichener & Gore, 1990).

In response to neoliberal educational policies, research during the 1980s and 1990s began to focus upon teacher career paths and understanding cohorts of teachers' entrance and exit from the profession (Zeichener & Gore, 1990; Ingersoll, 2001a). Much of the research that was conducted during this period utilized economic theories, such as "rational choice" to guide policy recommendations (Brewer, 1996; Kirby, Grissmer, & Hudson, 1991). Concepts such as direct return on investment were used to explain teachers' entrance and exit into the profession (Beaudin, 1993; Macdonald, 1999). Economic perspectives of rationality have also dominated subsequent studies of attrition

and teacher career paths (see for example, Brewer, 1996). A lack of focus on addressing possible non-pecuniary factors such as individual career interest (Macdonald, 1999), individual opportunities within the context of schools (Macdonald, 1999), social positions in a school (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011), and the cellular structure of classrooms (Lortie, 1975) were not utilized as frameworks for understanding teacher career paths; these studies assumed that teachers' professional choices are solely tied to economic factors (Beaudin, 1995).

In the 2001 Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA), it was outlined that by the year 2014, 100% of students would obtain proficient scores on state tests (NCLB, 2001). Since the enactment of this legislation, benchmarks have been put in place to help states track their progress towards these goals through annual measurable outcomes (AMO's; Wiley, Mathis, & Garcia, 2005; Berliner & Glass, 2014). The intent was to establish benchmarks so that families would be attracted to "good" schools and "bad" schools would close (Berliner & Glass, 2014). This was a market-based approach aimed at holding schools accountable for student performance (Wiley et al., 2005; Berliner & Glass, 2014).

As the year 2014 grew closer, it was clear that the goals of the reauthorized ESEA would not be met (Wiley et al., 2005; Berliner & Glass, 2014). Multiple factors affected student achievement progressing to the outlined 100% pass rate. In response, the Obama Administration introduced opportunities for states to opt out of the requirements of the ESEA with federal waivers (United States Department of Education, 2012, 2014). The waivers complemented a concurrent federal grant created through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act called Race to the Top (U.S. Department of Education,

2014). In Race to the Top grants, eligibility for money was contingent upon aligning teacher effectiveness with student achievement (United States Department of Education, 2012, 2014). To qualify for much needed funding for education, states across the nation began to change approaches to education. Arizona lost no time in shifting its focus to prepare for this grant (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). In 2009, Arizona removed the opportunity for teacher tenure (HB 2011). Four years later, Arizona passed legislation that stated teacher evaluations must be aligned with student performance in *The Framework for Arizona Educator Effectiveness* (§ 1040). Overviews of the changes in teacher evaluations are as follows:

- LEA's have the flexibility to divide teachers into two different groups:
    - Group A—teachers that have students that take the state mandated high stakes test
    - Group B—teachers that do not have students that take the high stakes state mandated test
- Depending upon the group, a portion of a teacher's overall evaluation will be tied to student achievement at an individual teacher level, school level, or a combination of the two. The LEA determines this.
    - 50% of a teacher's evaluation must be through observation/evaluation.
    - Teachers must have multiple evaluations within a school year
    - Evaluations must be from a rubric based instrument that defines best teaching practices

Coupled with §1040 was Arizona House Bill 2823 (HB 2823), which was implemented in the school year 2013-2014. This bill took the policy on educator effectiveness from

§1040 and has outlined specific actions for teachers based upon their evaluation results. HB 2823 requires teachers' evaluation results to be reported to the state and used to improve teacher performance. School districts must establish performance levels for teachers across their schools. In addition, HB 2823 requires districts to develop guidelines for transferring the lowest performing teachers without following specific steps. Of particular note in this bill are mandates to local educational agency's (LEA's) to implement incentives for teachers in the highest classification ratings, transfer incentives for teachers at the highest performance levels to relocate to low performing schools, and protections for teachers that are transferred to low performing schools. These policies have implications for teachers who plan to remain in profession, as their opportunities for movement and/or incentives will be dependent upon individual performance labels. Furthermore, these policies may also change teacher's agency in their ability to negotiate for positions and compensation (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Arizona and Arizona teachers are at a pivotal time period for teachers and education. Teacher Follow Up Surveys[1] suggest that teacher attrition is still of concern nationally (United States Department of Education, 2012). Furthermore, attrition is moving into different segments of the teacher population—the experienced career teachers—while concurrently current state policy has changed the dynamics of teachers' job security (United States Department of Education, 2012). All of these factors shape the local contexts that teachers must navigate (Berliner & Glass, 2014). Traditionally teaching has been considered a career that once one began, rarely did one leave except for

[1] The Teacher Follow Up Survey is a nationally administered survey to determine teacher retention and attrition from schools. This is an additional survey that is administered as part of the Schools and Staffing Survey (United States Department of Education, 2012).

family or retirement (Lortie, 1975). Current trends in the teacher workforce demonstrate mobility at multiple levels within the career as well as increasing focuses on teacher quality (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Macdonald, 1999; Day & Gu, 2010).

Recent legislation previously mentioned in Chapter 1 of this dissertation such as HB 2011, §1040, and HB 2823 illustrate a focus on teachers' impact on student achievement via a business view of teaching. These policies employ a ranking and sorting of teachers based on their performance in a classroom in relation to student outcomes (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Such policies suggest performance data from evaluations can target where to improve one's teaching, that teaching is a quick study, and technically simple (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Lavigne, 2014). These frameworks isolate teachers as the independent variable in students' opportunities for a successful education (Bourke, Lidstone, & Ryan, 2013). As these mandates are becoming institutionalized in Arizona schools, the reach of oppressive practices has doubled for teachers (Berliner & Glass, 2014). Not only are teachers held accountable for shaping our next generation of responsible citizens in an outdated system, their efforts are documented, labeled, and categorized (Berliner & Glass, 2014).

Recent Trends in Attrition

National workforce trends of teachers from the last 20 years have demonstrated steady increases in the numbers of teachers entering and leaving the teaching profession (Figures 1 and 2).

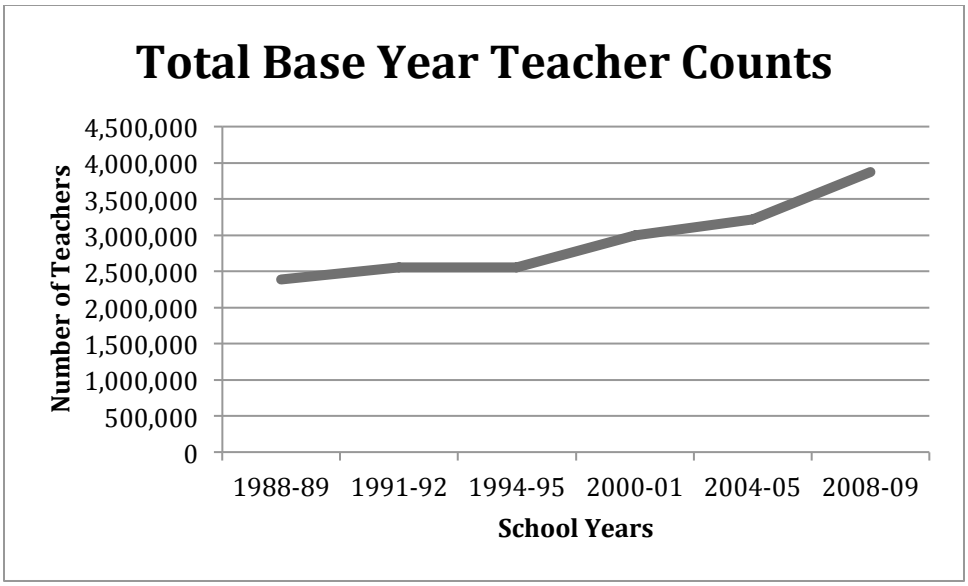


Figure 1. Total base year teacher counts. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

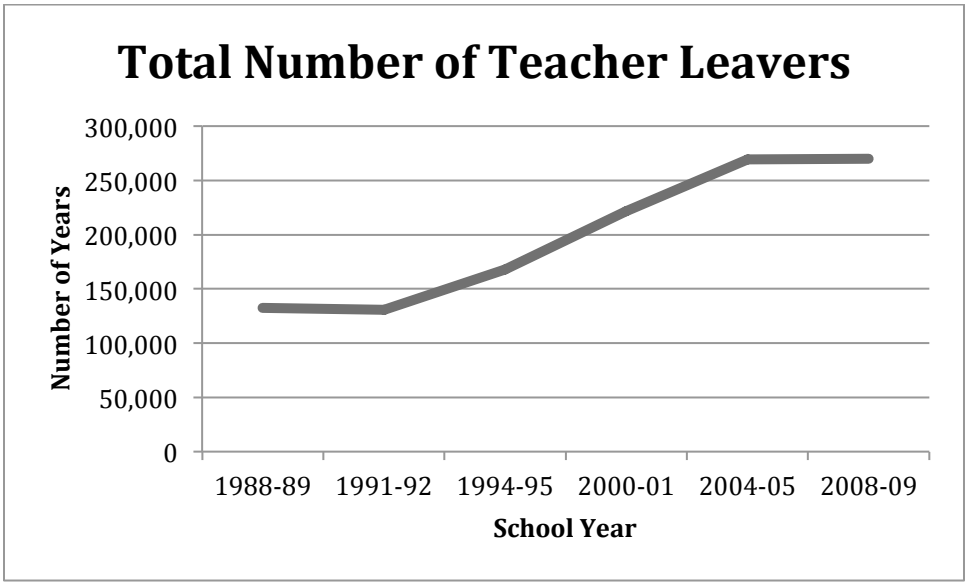


Figure 2. Total number of teachers leaving. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

Teachers leave teaching for a variety of reasons: family responsibilities (child bearing, child raising, care of an elder family member), retirement, dissatisfaction with the teaching profession, reassignment of teaching position, and career change (Macdonald,

1999). Figure 2 reflects those teachers that are leaving the profession. In analyzing teacher attrition, a factor that is of high interest is teachers that leave the profession due to dissatisfaction (Bobbit, Leich, Whitener, & Lynch, 1994; Ingersoll, 2001a; Kersaint, Lewis, Potter, & Meisels, 2005; Macdonald, 1999). There is ample literature regarding teacher attrition as will be discussed later in this dissertation (Chapter 2). Figure 3 provides more specific insight into the trends of those that leave teaching due to dissatisfaction (U.S Department of Education, 2008). As is evident in the figure, attrition rates for teachers that leave teaching for other careers have continuously risen since the mid-90s, doubling in the percentages from roughly 10% to over 20%.

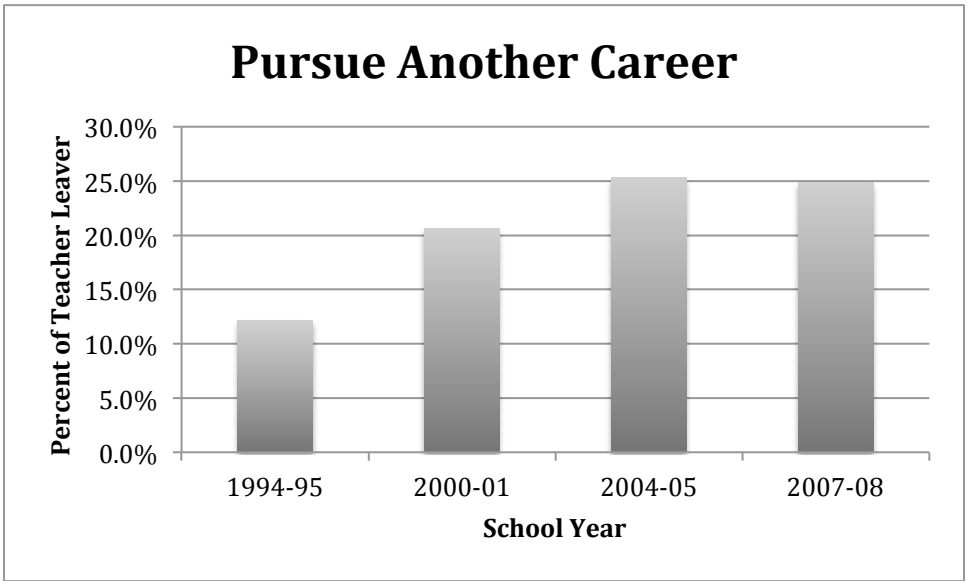


Figure 3. Percentage of teachers leaving to pursue another career. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

Another factor that is associated with teachers' decisions to leave the profession is the number of years of teaching experience. An early study by Kirby et al. (1991) indicated that the attrition of the teaching force typically follows a "u-shaped" pattern

with a high number of leavers in the early years of the career and again a high number of leavers towards the end of a career (Kirby et al., 1991). More recent data suggests that there have been increases in teachers that are leaving the profession in the middle of their careers or between years 4 and 19 of their teaching careers (U.S Department of Education, 2008). Figures 4 and 5 document this trend by looking at the number of leavers by experience and age.

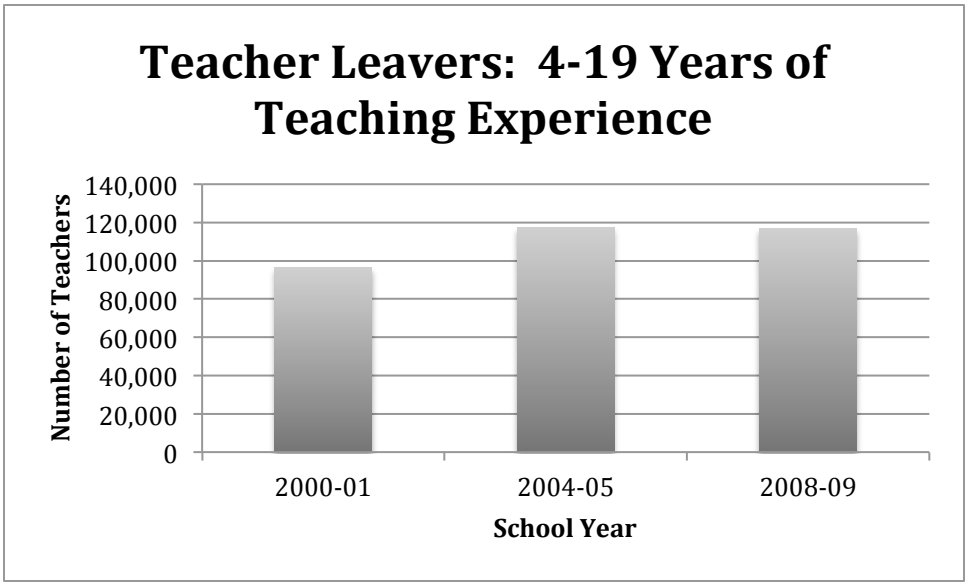


Figure 4. Number of teachers leaving who have 4-19 years of experience. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

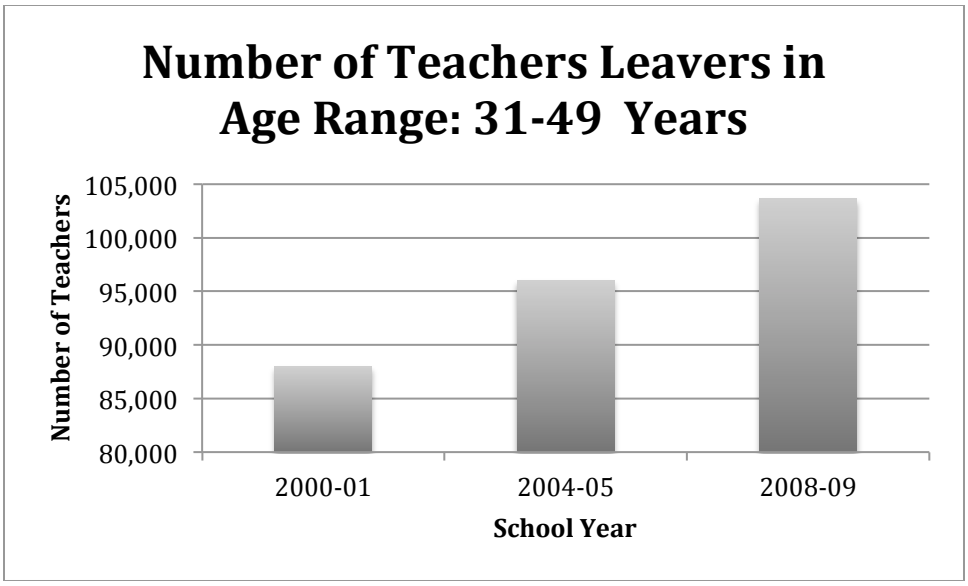


Figure 5. Number of teachers ages 31-49 who leave teaching. (U.S Department of Education, 2008)

This change in demographics reflects a different population that is moving out of teaching. Many teacher leavers who are more familiar with the characteristics of the teaching profession and have the experience that allows them to be more effective are teachers that are not staying (Henry, Bastian, & Fortner, 2011). They have work experiences that often cannot be taught in isolation and replacing them can be more costly for schools than early career leavers (Macdonald, 1999). Their exit from the field of teaching may have an effect on the professional dynamics of those that remain as their reasons for leaving coupled with the knowledge they gained through experience leaves the field (Ingersoll, 2001a).

Recent Trends in Teacher Entrance

While it is relevant and necessary to understand who is leaving the teacher workforce, it is just as relevant to understand trends in who is entering the teacher workforce (Cannata, 2010; Anderson, 2008). A national survey on teacher career choices

has looked at national trends for career teacher choices reflecting information collected over a ten-year period (1993-2003) to understand the path of graduates who entered into the field of teaching (Anderson, 2008). Many characteristics of 1993 graduates were considered in relation to teacher career choice: race, ethnicity, gender, as well as undergraduate major (Anderson, 2008). Of particular interest within this study were the categories and tracking of teachers over the 10-year period (Anderson, 2008). Teachers were categorized into the following categories:

- Taught Consistently: graduates were teaching in K-12 education over the course of the entire study
- Late Starters: graduates did not begin teaching by the first data collection but were found to be teaching in the second and/or third data collection
- Leavers: graduates were found to be teaching in the first data collection but consequently left in the second and/or third data collection
- Other teachers: graduates were teaching during one of the data collection points but not in one or the other two (Anderson, 2008).

Figure 6 demonstrates the percentage of teachers that entered the teaching field at various points after graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1993 (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Of note in this study are the majority of teacher candidates labeled as late starters indicating that initial entrance into teaching is often delayed (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). What was not evident from this study or others that were researched was how time was spent between undergraduate degree and entrance into teaching U.S. Department of Education, 2003). This would be of interest to identify

more precise numbers of teachers that enter teaching as a possible second career and how time is spent from graduation until entrance in the classroom (Rinke, 2007).

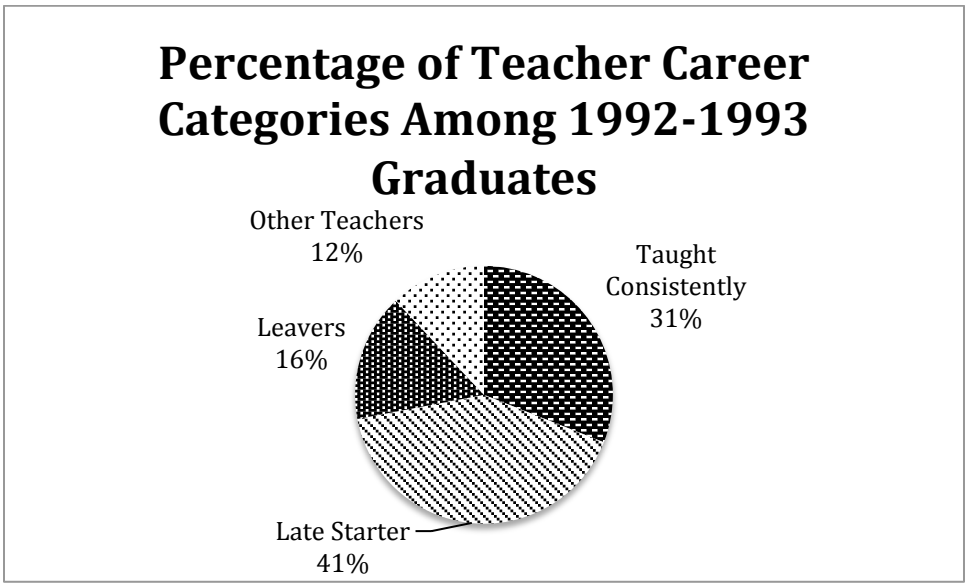


Figure 6. Percentage of teacher career categories among 1992-1993 graduates. (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Eduation Statistics, 2003).

Further data from 2000 and 2008 *Student and Staffing Survey* confirm that a delay of entering the workforce or returning to teaching after time away is consistently growing (U.S Department of Education, 2000, 2008). Both of these combined were a significant population of new teachers (Figure 7). Beginning teachers were surveyed to understand their entrance into the teaching field after graduation (U.S. Department of Education, 2000, 2008). In this survey, direct entry teachers were first year teachers who did not report a lapse in time from undergraduate studies and their first teaching year (U.S. Department of Education, 2000, 2008). Delayed entry was for those teachers that documented an activity other than teaching before a first year of teaching (U.S. Department of Education, 2000, 2008). Reentry teachers are those that indicated that they

had previously taught, but not in the year prior to the survey (U.S. Department of Education, 2000, 2008). Finally, transfer teachers are those that had recorded teaching in a different school the previous year (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). It is of note that this data collection does include numbers from public and private school teachers (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). The rationale in combining delayed entry and reentry leaves room for the possibility of teachers to experience other careers in their absence from teaching.

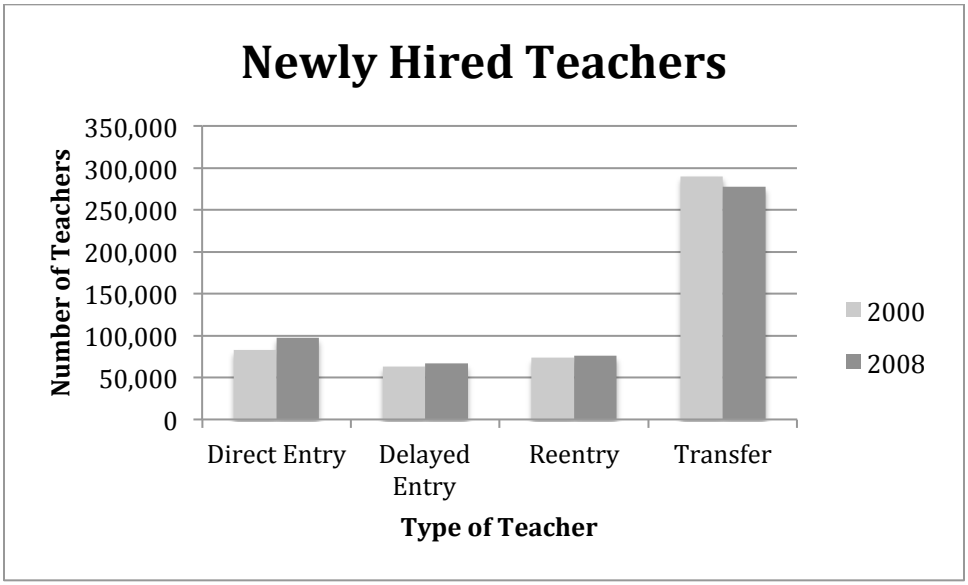


Figure 7. Number of newly hired teachers. (U.S. Department of Education 2000, 2008).

Trends in teachers that participated within this study also revealed consistent factors with data presented later within this paper (Chapter 2; U.S. Department of Education, 2000, 2008). The majority of teachers that enter the field and remain in their positions tend to be female and white (Lortie, 1975). Factors such as marital status and

dependents revealed that the majority of teachers were married regardless of their entrance or exit into teaching. Childbearing did not seem to have a major effect on teachers necessarily entering or leaving the profession although this did occur. Table 1 reports the percentage of teachers with dependents within the Teachers Career Choices Study (U.S. Department of Education, 2003).

Table 1

Percentage of Reported Teacher Dependents from 1993-2003

	1993		1997		2003	
	No Dependents	1 or more Dependents	No Dependents	1 or more Dependents	No Dependents	1 or more Dependents
Taught Consistently	73.3	26.7	57.1	42.9	29.2	70.8
Late Starters	80.8	19.2	68.3	31.7	41.8	58.2
Leavers	87.4	12.6	66.8	33.2	30.7	69.3
Other Teachers[1]	90.7	09.3	79.4	20.6	46.3	53.7
Total Percentage	87.4	12.6	74.7	25.3	43.0	57.0

Note: (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Eduation Statistics, 2003).
[1] Other teachers include health, vocational/technical, and other technical/ professional.

While the data that is revealed in the 2003 study of teacher career choices is somewhat dated, it does indicate that further inquiry into the context of teachers entering the teaching field is warranted (U.S. Department of Education, 2003; Ingersoll, 2001a). The development of programs such as Teach for America, Urban Teaching Partnership,

Troops to Teachers and Pathways to Teaching have begun to change the demographics of the teaching field with more teachers entering the field without specific backgrounds in education (Owings et al., 2006; Berliner & Glass, 2014). Within the study cited here, the increased trend in teachers entering the field from other academic backgrounds was evident as a significant trend among late starters (see Table 2; U.S. Department of Education, 2003).

Table 2

Percentage of Types of Bachelor's Degrees for Teachers from the 1993 Graduating Cohort

	Business/ management	Education	Humanities	Mathematics/ Natural Sciences	Social Sciences	Other[1]
Taught consistently	0.5	76.9	8.6	7.8	3.8	2.3
Late starters	14.3	29.0	14.6	12.4	18.4	11.2
Leavers	3.8	56.1	9.3	16.3	9.6	4.9
Other teachers[2]	7.4	39.5	13.1	12.6	21.5	5.9
Total	24.6	11.9	10.1	19.8	15.3	18.3

[2] Other includes health, vocational/technical, and other technical/professional.
(U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Eduation Statistics, 2003)

Organization and Purpose of School

Finally, I would like to compare the purpose of education in relation to the current structures of schools. Our current educational system was created and designed to be supportive of building a democratic citizen who could actively contribute and participate in a democracy (Fischman & Haas, 2012; Cuban, 1993; Mann, 1957). Thus, the idea of upward movement and improving one's position in life is embedded in current hopes for individuals living within our democratic society (Tyack, 1974). This is illustrated through popular sayings such as "self made man," "rising star," "man to watch," and "upward mobility." An education is expected to provide the foundation for anyone in America to achieve his/her dreams (Mann, 1957; Tyack, 1974).

The organization of schools in relation to building structures and their human capital do not align to the previous concept of meritocracy (Tyack, 1974). Physically, schools and classrooms are set up in an egg crate-like structure (Lortie, 1975) with teachers working the majority of their day in isolation from their peers. In addition, schools deploy human capital in a manner similar to an oligarchy (Tyack, 1974). Teachers work in school districts that are governed by a school board and superintendent (Tyack, 1974). The governing group is removed from the individual school buildings (Tyack, 1974). At the school level, a principal is in place to oversee the operations and instruction that occurs at the school building (Tyack, 1974). Working under the careful watch of the school board and district office, principals often have strict objectives to meet that are set for them by district personnel (Tyack, 1974). Teachers within the school buildings are separated for most of their day from their peers (by building structure), must comply with the mandates from the district office, and have little opportunity for

"upward mobility" (Tyack, 1974). In reality, the structure of schools and deployment of human capital mirror the aristocracies of the late 17th century rather than an organization whose objective is to support democracy (Glass, 2000).

Thus, within school buildings, the power structures and social dynamics are often left to the building principal to maintain and lead (Lortie, 1975). While principals oversee the instructional and operational needs of the schools, they are prior teachers themselves (Brewer, 1996). Their positions as principals demand different sets of skills that are typically not developed as a classroom teacher (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Lavigne, 2014). Furthermore, support for principals as leaders is scarce requiring many principals to learn on the job the skills required for leadership, management, and collaboration of a school staff. Thus, the organization and maintenance of power dynamics and structures within schools are left to building principals and site dependent (Lavigne, 2014).

Teachers work in a system that does not offer the opportunities for advancement within their career (Lortie, 975). Consequently, teachers are dependent upon the interests of the building principal to determine the local context of what is valued professionally within each school, which when combined with current contexts of high stakes teacher evaluations, greatly shifts the focus (Lavigne, 2014). Professionalism is less defined in education, leaving definitions more to interpretation rather than followed standards (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Specifically, principals set the tone for informal and implied professional structures that can lead to or deny access to decision-making positions such as grade level chairs, leadership team membership, and even can even impact evaluation ratings (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Lavigne, 2014). Teachers that

have access to positions of power may be chosen more on subjective perspectives by the building principal rather than objective structures that are defined and agreed upon by the group (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011).

I choose the work of Pierre Bourdieu because his work in fields of power assisted me in looking at the structures of schools in a new way—as a field of power (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Teachers are not usually considered power brokers; typical metaphors of teaching include teaching is mothering and teaching is gardening, reflecting nurturing prototypes and images (Nieto, 2003; Fischman & Haas, 2012). In fact, putting teachers in a context such as power brokers may seem unusual. In addition, current policy requires teachers to be ranked, sorted, and labeled which puts teachers in a dominated and less professional position (HB 2823, §1040). For teachers to have agency and autonomy as is typical of professionals, they must move beyond these metaphors that keep teachers as regulated workers (Freire, 2005). Thus, I used professionalism as a focused topic within teaching to narrow my inquiry to determine how teachers viewed professionalism and how their professional expectations were valued in relation to professional expectations of school systems (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). By focusing on second career teachers (SCTs), I was able to look reflexively at objective and subjective structures of professionalism available to teachers (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). SCTs had the opportunity to engage in multiple perspectives of professionalism (from their first career and in their teaching career) allowing for insight that may not be as evident to first career teachers who have only known professional actions through their current work in teaching (Day & Gu, 2010; Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007).

School campuses have imbalances of power like many other fields (Hardy & Linguard, 2008). Within the context of schools, teachers rely upon two of the three capitals Bourdieu outlines: social and cultural capital to vie for positions of power within schools (economic capital is not as relevant as teachers have little opportunities for advancement and monetary decisions are determined at the district level; Lortie, 1975). Recently, mandates from the federal government required schools to implement policies that assume meritocratic structures by ranking and sorting teachers based on evaluation data and student achievement (Berliner & Glass, 2014). Once ranked and labeled, the identification of these labels is intended to follow teachers throughout their careers assuming that a label based on subjective evaluations and high stakes testing can equate to a judgment of a teachers' expertise (HB 2823; Berliner & Glass, 2014; Lavigne, 2014). Furthermore, current legislation implies opportunity for advancement through the achievement of better ratings (U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Lavigne, 2014).

In a time when neoliberal mandates have influenced and impacted current roles of teachers, including professional perspectives, a counter perspective must be accessed to understand "blind spots" that have arisen (Fischman, 1998; Fischman & Haas, 2013). In Gustavo Fischman's 1998 study of teachers in Brazil, two view of teachers emerged: donkeys and super hero teachers (Fischman, 1998). The "donkeys" were the teachers that were left behind in public schools, metaphorically too dumb to make a difference for the children they worked with or the communities they served (Fischman, 1998). The "super hero" teachers (super teachers) were portrayed as holding up the world, in essence having great power with eyes gazing hopefully upwards--an image of teaching reflecting a

utopian view, demonstrating the hope teachers bring into a teaching career (Fischman, 1998).

Additionally, popular culture has portrayed images of teachers in the United States through popular movies such as "Stand and Deliver," "Dangerous Minds," "Kindergarten Cop," or "School of Rock." Teachers in these types of movies align with the super teacher image of teachers: Jaime Escalante ("Stand and Deliver"), Lou Anne Johnson ("Dangerous Minds"), John Kimbell ("Kindergarten Cop"), or Dewey Flinn ("School of Rock"). Interestingly, the teachers featured in these movies were all SCTs that were able to beat the odds in the storyline of the movie, thus creating archetypes of SCTs as super heroes. What has been lacking from popular culture has been a divergence from the super teacher image (Fischman, 1998). Thus, teachers not fitting into the super teacher realm by default fall into the "donkey" category (Fischman, 1998). The Cartesian duality between two distinct portrayals of teachers leaves impressions for teachers very limited: either a teacher is a super teacher or a donkey (Fischman, 1998).

Gustavo Fischman and Eric Haas' 2013 article continues the connections between images of teachers and their perceived impact on society,

> One of the strongest claims of progressive pedagogies is that the concrete results of schooling are deeply connected with the possibilities of achieving the goal of democratizing societies. That is, the results of schooling and democracy are intertwined and constructed in and through people's linguistic, cultural, social, and pedagogical specific interactions, which both shape and are shaped by social political, economic, and cultural dynamics. From this perspective, societies, communities, schools, teachers, and even students engage in oppressive practices, and those understanding those practices need to be connected with transforming them. (p. 60)

It is an exploration of blind spots in professional actions and perceptions that exist in current views of teachers that this study looks to examine (Fischman & Haas, 2013).

Without an understanding of personal perspectives of professionalism in relation to individual actions, it is difficult for teachers to translate the tension between their perceptions and the mandates that are currently challenging their professional possibilities (Fischman & Haas, 2012).

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to document and analyze teachers' professional capital as a subcomponent of their cultural capital with a specific group of teachers that have come to the field of teaching as second career teachers (SCT) (Bourdieu, 2008). To document and analyze professional capital as an element of cultural capital, a particular type of teacher will be the focus: teachers that have come to the field of teaching as a second career. A second career teacher refers to individuals that did not start their adult careers as teachers but have eventually decided to enter the field of teaching. Careers are defined as occupations that are intentional choices and for which time is typically spent in post-secondary education being trained and/or qualified as preparation. While some careers are considered professions, this study does not look to reduce the field of careers to only professions. The decision to use SCT's was deliberate, as they are believed to have a broader exposure to types of professionalism through multiple career experiences (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Their prior professional experiences will allow them to provide insight into current definitions of professionalism in teaching, as they will have a point of view that allows for counter perspectives (Fischman & Haas, 2013).

SCTs' entrance into the field of teaching indicates a shift towards broader perspectives of teachers (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). Superficially, these

newcomers to the field of teaching bring expert content knowledge to the field, impacting schools with their high level expertise (Powell, 1997). Looking at them at a deeper level provided a depth of insight into their impact (Powell, 1997). Their arrival on school campuses in the last 30 years is akin to aliens materializing in a new world. Where do they come from, and how do they operate in schools?

Additionally, SCTs' influences and input into current school communities is less represented in the literature. This study will subsequently better understand this population of teachers in a time when educational policies are pushing deeper accountability measures in a highly formalized business approach (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Berliner & Glass, 2014). Current changes in policies may change the type of professional capital that is valued in the field of teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Gaining insight into the relationships between educators and the fields in which they work will assist in uncovering valued professional actions of teachers (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011).

The concept of capital was borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu (1984) (Bourdieu, 1984, 2008). His work provided insight into different types of capital (economic, social, and cultural) believing that capital is socially determined by what is necessary to produce and reproduce for a given field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1998a, 1998b, 1990f, 2000b, 1990d, 1990c, 1990i). Bourdieu used a social constructivist approach that analyzes collective schemas of perception, thought, and action (habitus) in relation to the structures within which they must operate (fields; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). A field's habitus can be considered in a collective view as well as individual view known as cultivated habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1998a, 2000c;

Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu defined cultural, economic, and social capital as forms of capital that were embodied, objectified, and institutionally acquired and were considered valuable through social use and social reproduction within a social space or field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1990c, 1990d, 1998a, 2000b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Lareau, 1999). In this manner, capital is legitimized through relationships in the field and the field's participating agents (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Bourdieu, 1990f, 1998b).

In this study cultural capital was redefined as professional cultural capital. Professional cultural capital was defined as embodied and institutionalized experiences that may be mobilized to benefit an individual within their place of work (Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986).

While the professional cultural capital of SCTs were analyzed as a form of cultural capital, statements tied to professional and business views of teaching were used to determine the field's habitus in relation to how professional cultural capital was valued (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Five statements of professional views and five statements of business views of teaching were used to reveal a collective history of behaviors and actions within the field of teaching for the Children's Elementary School District (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Specifically within the work of Hargreaves and Fullan, they propose examinations of educator's ability to *"be professional"* and *"be a professional,"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). To "*be professional"* indicates the specific behaviors that address quality and character of an individual (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). To *"be a professional"* indicates how others regard an individual as a professional (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). This

study looks to define the collective definitions of professionalism (habitus) and SCTs' professional cultural capital in relation to the field's view using aspects of SCTs *"being a professional"* and their supervisor's view of them *"being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). While it is debated within the literature if teaching is a true profession, it has been argued that *qualities of professionalism* can be found within teaching (Helterbran, 2008; Zeichener & Gore, 1990; Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005).

SCTs bring unique and specific experiences to their jobs that may influence how they teach, how they interact with students, and how they maintain their senses of efficacy (Powers F. W., 2002; Williams, 2013; Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). It was unknown prior to this study if SCTs' previous professional behaviors were homologous to their current positions as teachers and/or if their previous experiences were mobilized or activated in ways that improve their ability to *"be professional"* or *"be a professional"* in a school context (Williams, 2013; Powers F. W., 2002; Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). The intent of this concurrent mixed methods study was to document and analyze SCTs' professional cultural capital. In the study, a quantitative survey was administered to measure professional habitus in CESD (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). At the same time, the professional cultural capital of second career teachers was explored in interviews of SCTs and a separate interview with their supervisor. The reason for combining both quantitative and qualitative data was to better understand this research problem by converging both quantitative (habitus/general trends) and qualitative (cultivated

habitus/detailed views) data (Creswell, 2009). The guiding question for this study was as follows:

> In what ways do SCTs' stories of professionalism reflect professional perspectives of teachers?

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

In this literature review, emphasis was placed on empirical studies, data from the National Center for Educational Statistics, and books that have been published about the educational practices of teachers. I conducted literature searches in well-respected research-oriented databases such as JStor, Science Direct, EBSCO Host, and Google Scholar. Keywords such as *temporary attrition, teacher retention, career paths, teacher life cycle, teacher re-entry, teacher attrition, professionalism, professional identity, Bourdieu, capital,* and *second career teacher* were utilized to find relevant articles and research pertaining to the subject of interest. A few articles were discarded based on lack of relevance towards the subject. Most of the studies used for this literature review were empirical studies, literature reviews of relevant literature, and a few mixed methods studies. In my analysis of the literature, it was noted that the literature emphasized the reproduction of teacher roles through educational systems and teacher career path trajectories and the relationship between teacher work decisions and monetary issues. Second career teachers were the most underrepresented in the literature.

Conceptual Framework

Utilizing the work of Bourdieu and multiple researchers who have built upon his concepts, professional perspectives were understood as a form of capital. Bourdieu's formulation of the forms of capital, habitus, and field were the core of the conceptual framework (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990b, 1990f, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). Willem Schinkel and Mirko Noordegraf (2011), have revisited Bourdieu's work to include professionalism as a form of capital (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011).

Related, but from a distinctly different perspective, Paulo Freire (2005), has developed a theory of dominant power structures and their impact on oppressed individuals (Freire, 2005). Freire's focus on oppressive structures emphasized liberating individuals and groups towards more equitable opportunities was also based on relevance to local contexts (Freire, 2005; Glass, 2000). He noted that dominant groups utilize power to their advantage through various methods (Freire, 2005). His work is relevant to this study but less emphasized in the methodology that was used (Freire, 2005).

Bourdieu's Capitals, Habitus, and Field

Pierre Bourdieu is credited with using the notion of capital as a socially constructed concept (Bourdieu, 2008). Bourdieu's concept of capital is divided into three parts: economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Connections between capital producers and the consumption of capital consumers imply a competition between groups within an identified social space that is referred to as a "field," (Swartz, 1997; Bourdieu, 2000, 2000a) Bourdieu used these concepts to better understand relationships of power (an individual's or group's) within a social context (Swartz, 1997). This study will focus upon one type of capital: cultural capital. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as embodied, objectified, and institutional capital acquired through education and social origin (Bourdieu, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The use and value of capitals are dependent on a social field (Bourdieu, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

A field is a space where different locations can be held (Swartz, 1997). Depending upon an agent's social origin and location in a social field, different "tastes" are acquired and valued (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu utilized the concept of taste not as an

individual's physical reaction to objects but as a perception of what one interprets as valuable and appropriate for a given set of practices (Bourdieu, 1984). An individual's tastes are shaped by the collective practices that are considered necessary in a field, which allows them to become almost second nature or like tacit knowledge (Bourdieu, 1984; Polyani, 2009). The collective practices for a field are what Bourdieu defined as a field's habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2008). As previously stated, an individual's habitus is considered a cultivated habitus which becomes functional and valid within a field where dynamic situations require an agent to utilize the different types of capital he/she possesses in the most efficient manner (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1998a, 2000a).

The circulation of capital within a social field reveals the true nature of what is legitimized as important and critical, thus having more value (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011). Investments of time and effort to increase one's capital are dependent upon the profits the capital offers agent(s) in terms of increased legitimacy within a particular field, known as *disinterest* (Bourdieu, 1998a). The more profitable a practice, object, or action is within a field, the more legitimate it becomes leading to a hierarchy of legitimacies (Bourdieu, 1984, 1984, 2008). Bourdieu's concept of habitus is important for identifying hierarchies of legitimacies as well as how hierarchies are reproduced (Bourdieu, 2000). Individuals that develop in a social field where the legitimatized capital(s) is as natural as the air one breathes acquire a self-assuredness that perpetuates legitimized practices and profitability (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992). Bourdieu equates this to the analogy of "a fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). Those that

don't have the habitus to operate as a fish in water may not have the same advantages within the social field (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992).

Individuals who are considered parvenus to a field can become trapped trying to mimic practices without the embodied understandings of the field or they may bring practices from other fields that do not translate equitably (Bourdieu, 1984). Consequently, the relationship of habitus to a field implies that some practices may receive opposite meanings or values in different fields, in different configurations, or in opposing sectors of the same field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986).

Bourdieu's concepts extend to agents that change social fields (for instance, SCTs) (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). He stresses that the habitus of original social position is embodied within the agent and must be coordinated and/or translated to the new field (Bourdieu, 2000). When a social field is invaded or invites agents into the field, tension can be created (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984). Dominant agents within a field monitor the collective habitus through the capital that is valued and circulated (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984). All agents within fields resist "down classing." Dominant agents within a field work to maintain their original status while newcomers challenge the field with new beliefs, dispositions, and demands (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Thus, relationships between habitus and field occur on two levels: through prior conditioning (habitus) and cognitive construction (cultivated habitus; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

Drawing upon Bourdieu's concept of field and capital, this study utilized a chiasmic structure of views of teaching to represent two views that are present within the

field of teaching: professional and business views of teaching (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993). These two views of teaching have been used to establish dominance and hierarchies in macro and micro fields. Hargreaves and Fullan's definition of professional views and business views of teaching were used to assess the current professional habitus of teaching within the CESD district through a survey (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). These represent two opposing and accepted views of teaching that are competing to have the biggest impact on how we understand student achievement and teacher effectiveness (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital positions players within fields recognizing that all individuals do not enter a field from exactly the same starting point and consequently do not have equal access to positions of power within fields (Bourdieu, 1990f). Bourdieu posited that different locations within a field might yield advantages and disadvantages based upon the distribution of capital within the field (Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1984, 1993).

Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam (2011) built upon Bourdieu's work to look at fields from a group level rather than just at the individual level (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). This allowed an understanding of actors' collective work on a field to learn if they are building strategic advantages in and/or with other groups (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). While individual perspectives of habitus and capital are important, these authors suggest that collective action is more easily documented and to understand social processes across disciplines and contexts especially in light of modern society's movement toward networks as a mode to expand power (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

Three different groups can populate collective fields: incumbents, challengers, and governance units (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Incumbents typically hold the dominant influence on the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Their perspectives are often reflective of the dominant views of the organization within a field (in this case, school district and/or field of teaching) (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Challengers hold less privileged positions within the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Challengers are not to be solely associated with rebellion or revolution and many times willingly conform to the order of the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Finally, governance units such as state policy or district policy through the operations of district office staff or principals, work to ensure smooth operations of the system in general (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). It is the work of the social actors in a collective manner that is critical to understand (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Fields in this light may be seen akin to Russian nesting dolls or a web, building upon each other or woven together in multiple ways (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Skilled actors within fields may be able to mobilize or influence fields by conforming to the dominant field and adding to it, creating new alliances and splintering the field into weaker fields, or linking weak fields to weak fields to create a more powerful field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

Professional Cultural Capital

Multiple authors have used the concept of professional capital as a tool to understand or define professionalism in fields (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011) note that Bourdieu did not believe in the term professionalism indicating it was a folk structure that imposes a universal definition for those that lacked noble or bourgeoisie

status. Bourdieu believed that it was sociology's task to uncover what has been universalized, not reproduce it (Bourdieu, 1986). Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011) challenge Bourdieu's perspective of professionalism stating that the term professionalism does apply to his theories of power laden contexts that are in constant negotiation (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011). In addition authors, Andy Hargreaves and Michael Fullan (2012), have recently written a book, Professional Capital that defined professional capital as the sum of human, decisional, and social capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Hargreaves and Fullan's interpretation of professional capital focused on actions that they recommend teachers employ to ensure that teaching maintains (or regains) professional stature as a field (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

The concept of professional capital for this study focused within cultural capital as defined by Bourdieu and Schinkel and Noordegraaf (Bourdieu, 2008; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Drawing from Bourdieu's definitions of cultural capital, professional cultural capital for this study was defined as embodied and institutionalized experience that may be mobilized to benefit an individual within their place of work (Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986). In this way, the concept of professionalism allowed the researcher to examine the symbolic characteristics of professional capital in a historically constructed field of power, schools.

Review of the Literature

A civilization is a heritage of beliefs, customs, and knowledge slowly accumulated in the course of centuries, elements difficult at times to justify by logic, but justifying themselves as paths when they lead somewhere, since they open up for man his inner distance.
-Antoine de Saint Exupery

Role of a Teacher

It is of interest to consider the origins of the modern day teacher and her heritage as this directly relates to how teachers today define their roles through the prototypes of teaching (Lortie, 1975; Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010; Willis, 1981; Cuban, 1993; Ravitch, 2011; Fischman, 1998; Fischman & Haas, 2012). These culturally defined definitions of teaching affect how teachers understand their role and purpose in classroom settings, which leads to embodied understandings and actions that become part of a teacher's professional cultural capital (Fischman, 1998; Fischman & Haas, 2012).

Individuals that fulfilled early positions of teachers in the United States were mainly unwed, white females (Cuban, 1993; Tyack, 1974). Since the Civil War demographics of teachers have reflected that a majority of schoolteachers that are white females; in 2008, 84.5% of teachers were female and 85% were white (U.S Department of Education, 2008; Lortie, 1975).

During the early years of mass schooling, there was specific emphasis put upon uniting citizens around the nation state (Thompson, 1997). This emphasis continues today (Berliner & Glass, 2014). Recent educational documents and policies such as a Nation at Risk (Bell, 1983), No Child Left Behind (NCLB 2001), and Race to the Top all emphasize education's influence on national security and well-being (Berliner & Glass,

2014; U.S. Department of Education, 2014). An embodied component of teaching has become that a teacher's work is critical to national security, economic prosperity, and global relations (Fischman & Haas, 2012; Fischman & Haas, 2013). For teachers, there has been a long history and embodied concept that the work of a teacher is vital for society to develop citizens and maintain its place in global positions of power (Fischman & Haas, 2012; Ramirez & Boli, 1987).

Early definitions of teaching centered around imparting knowledge to those that did not have it (Mann, 1957; Tyack, 1974). This perspective reflected Cartesian influences of the Enlightenment in which knowledge was deemed as rational and lent itself to mass deliverance (Fendler, 1998). Teachers were positioned at the head of the class, controlled the movement of students in the classroom by arranging desks in rows, and followed curriculum that delivered the minimum skills young citizens needed to become obedient and productive members of society (Tyack, 1974; Cuban, 1993; Ramirez & Boli, 1987).

As the United States evolved into a more urban and industrial country, teachers attempted to adjust to the shifts in population (Tyack, 1974). Still the dispensers of knowledge, teachers during the early part of the 20th century began exploring alternative forms of pedagogy to address the more dynamic and multicultural students in urban schools (Tyack, 1974; Cuban, 1993). The number of teachers that experimented with changing pedagogical practices was small but a movement began in which a few teachers experimented with teaching techniques to improve their practice such as student choice in study topics or learning centers (Cuban, 1993). However, only a quarter of all teachers in a given district adopted alternative practices (Cuban, 1993). The early traditions of

teacher-dominated instructional practices in the hopes of educating citizens influenced practice and continued to permeate the definitions of a teacher's role (Cuban, 1993).

As reforms were created to improve educational systems, the definition of a teacher to dispense knowledge instead of guide knowledge or inspire inquiry remained (Cuban, 1993). The 1960s and 1970s were especially experimental decades for teacher exploration of alternative teaching styles (open classrooms, inquiry based instruction, student centered classrooms), but connections back to nationalization eventually dominated teacher roles (Cuban, 1993). The deep historical purpose of a teacher did not lend itself to teaching practices centered on choice and autonomy (Cuban, 1993). Furthermore, teachers themselves have culturally reproduced the roles of their positions (Lortie, 1975; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010). Efforts to maintain status quo have been documented in the literature in multiple contexts (Lortie, 1975; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010; Willis, 1981; McLaren, 1986). Dan Lortie's (1975) work on teachers brilliantly documents characteristics of teachers that have remained consistent over the last century. He emphasizes the socialization, rewards, and perspectives of teachers through his work in Five Towns (Lortie, 1975). Elements such as eased entry, unstaged careers, and disjunctive rewards have all remained an element of teaching even to this day (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009).

Teaching has been a field where entrance has not been a barrier as in other fields of work (Helterbran, 2008; Lortie, 1975; Zeichener & Gore, 1990). This has evolved from early conditions in the field where teaching was considered one of a few occupations acceptable for women (Cuban, 1993; Tyack, 1974). Furthermore, eased entry made teaching a more attractive second choice option for those individuals that had either

obscure interests (medieval history, German language) or could not "make it" in their first career (theater or music; Lortie, 1975). By allowing teaching to be easily accessible, it also accomodated high turnover rates of entering and exiting the field resulting in a consistent pool of individuals that were qualified to teach (Lortie, 1975).

Along with an eased entry into the field, teaching has remained what Lortie (1975) terms an un-staged career (Lortie, 1975). As a field, monetary rewards for staying in teaching are minimal with salary increases remaining relatively minimal over the course of a career (Lortie, 1975). Consequences of this have developed a field where "advancement" is not typical nor is it considered an option (Lortie, 1975). Allowing the field to remain un-staged makes it easy for individuals to come and go without repercussions in position or status (Lortie, 1975; Cuban, 1993). This feature of teaching benefits those that want to leave the field to have a family and return later (Lortie, 1975). Consequently, there is a strong culture within teaching that focuses upon the present and immediate rewards that can be gained through student successes (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009).

The life cycle of a teacher begins with his or her early experiences in school (Cannata, 2010; Cuban, 1993; Lortie, 1975). Before a teacher ever enters the classroom as a professional, she has had years of exposure to a variety of teachers (Cannata, 2010). Thus, in the genealogy of individual teachers, there are multiple histories that shape the way teachers understand their roles (Cannata, 2010). Those histories happen at macro and micro levels. The macro levels of teaching reflect the partnership between teachers and society but they also happen at the micro level with the experiences that are embodied by teachers (Gore, 1998).

Entrance Into the Teaching Field

Approaches to teacher preparation have been shaped by multiple and often competing agendas advanced by think tanks and policy institutes and other stakeholders (Zeichner, 2003). Zeichner (2003) discusses three types of current agendas that affect traditional teaching preparation programs: the professionalization agenda, the deregulation agenda, and the social justice agenda. Each of these agendas has had both positive and negative influences upon teacher preparation programs (Zeichner, 2003). For example, the professionalization agenda has sought to raise the status and working conditions of the teaching profession through emphasis on professional standards, yet this approach does not always fit the local context of students and schools across the country with its "one size fits all approach," (Zeichner, 2003). The deregulation agenda has contributed to the content knowledge conversations of teachers, but does not sufficiently address how teachers also have to have pedagogical knowledge of instruction (Zeichner, 2003). Finally the social justice agenda has raised awareness of culturally and linguistically diverse populations, but overall, the teaching profession lacks diverse and culturally knowledgeable faculty to relevantly support such an approach (Zeichner, 2003).

Traditional entrance into teaching. Teachers that complete a teacher preparation program and pass state certification tests that allow them to teach in public school classrooms define traditional entrance to the teaching profession (Carter, Amrein-Beardsley, & Hansen, 2010). Alternative paths to teaching are thus defined as any entrance that does not follow this typical path. (Carter, Amrein-Beardsley, & Hansen, 2010).

Typically students interested in pursuing a teaching career take prescribed sets of courses in teacher preparation programs at traditional universities and colleges that prepare them in teaching pedagogy, methods, and content that will enable them to be proficient teachers in the classroom (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Carter, Amrein-Beardsley, & Hansen, 2010; Zeichener & Gore, 1990). National teaching standards such as INTASC Model Core Teaching Standards created by the Council of Chief State School Officers (INTASC) or the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards defined specific elements that are necessary to become a teacher (CCSSO, 2011; Zeichner, 2003). Teacher preparation programs consequently design courses and curriculum around professional competencies to assist teachers in achieving outlined benchmarks for success in classrooms (Zeichner, 2003). States also adopt and implement professional teaching standards that mirror these same competencies (Understanding INTASC Standards, 1987). Most institutions that provide pre-service training through a teacher preparation program follow a professionalization agenda towards teacher induction (Zeichner, 2003).

The research literature suggests that teachers' experiences in traditional teacher preparation programs vary considerably (Rots, Aelterman, Vlerick, & Vermeulen, 2007). Numerous studies have been done to better understand teacher experience, perceptions, and entrance into the field from traditional teacher preparation programs (Rots, Aelterman, Vlerick, & Vermeulen, 2007; Calderhead & Robson). Many of these approaches are based upon metaphors of teachers as viewed by traditional teaching programs such as teaching as guiding, teaching as nurturing, teaching as providing tools, teaching as transmitting, and teaching as molding (Alger, 2006). Finally teachers' perceptions of their teacher preparation programs have direct effects on their entrance

into the profession and longevity (Rots, et. al, 2007). Of particular importance were the experiences they received while student teaching and the support of their mentor teachers (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Cannata, 2010; Rots et al., 2007).

Teachers that go through traditional teacher preparation programs have been found to be at an equal risk of attrition as their peers that enter the profession through non-traditional programs (Cannata, 2010; Rots, et. al, 2007). The literature demonstrates that teachers that go through traditional teacher preparation programs typically look for employment in schools that demographically match their own experiences in school (Cannata, 2010). Marissa Cannata's (2010) work with pre-service teachers that participated in traditional teacher preparation programs demonstrated that there is often a disconnection between pre-service teachers' espoused beliefs about what they look for in their teaching career and what they actually enact through the process of getting a job. Teachers in this study actively sought schools and districts that matched their own demographic descriptions, which provided insight into why school populations that do not reflect the dominant group of teachers (white, female) struggle to hire and maintain qualified teachers in their schools (Cannata, 2010).

This insight into teacher preparation programs demonstrates a significant disconnect between preparing teachers to work in diverse populations and cultures despite prerequisite classes in multicultural education (Zeichner, 2003). Reformers interested in a social justice agenda have pursued and worked to address this issue, but teacher colleges often lacks faculty that are racially/ethinically diverse, or, have teaching experience in culturally diverse schools, as well as curricula that teaches all pre-service teachers to teach all students (Zeichner, 2003).

Non-traditional entrance into teaching. Influenced by deregulation agendas that are in turn influenced by neoliberal and neoconservative agendas, non-traditional approaches to teacher education are aimed at reducing beaurocratic restrictions on entrance into teaching (Zeichner, 2003). Claims that teachers lack rigorous content knowledge and that pedagogical practice can be learned "on the job" work to establish that the monopolies on teacher education by universities and colleges should be challenged (Zeichner, 2003). Programs such as Teacher for America, Troops to Teachers, NC TEACH, and others provide opportunities for a variety of individuals to enter the teaching profession through accelerated and alternative ways (Zeichner, 2003; Owings et al., 2006). The literature surrounding alternative approaches to teaching reflect a myriad of positive and negative factors (Berliner & Glass, 2014). Most alternative approaches to teaching take advantage of individuals that have either received a degree in a specific content area or have had prior work experiences (Teach for America, 2012; Owings et al., 2006).

One specific example of an alternative pathway into teaching is Teach for America (Teach for America, 2012). This program recruits graduates from select universities to enter the teaching profession in high need areas with the opportunity to receive on the job training in pedagogical practices (Teach for America, 2012). Individuals in this program are considered highly educated and experts in their content area (Teach for America, 2012). During their teaching in high need schools, Teach for America Corps members receive emergency certifications through an intensive summer training, which qualifies them to work in public schools (Carter, et. al, 2010; Teach for America, 2012). In their first year of teaching, TFA corps members take classes through

affiliated local universities to obtain a master's degree (Carter et al, 2010). Compared to traditional teacher education entrants, non-traditional certification entrants tend to be less satisfied with their pathways into teaching (Carter et al., 2010). Teach for America students in a southwest state were more critical of their coursework for their Masters degree than peers that were obtaining Masters degrees in a traditional manner (Carter et al., 2010). Requirements for state certification were used to design the Masters program and drove the content instead of providing real world learning that was applicable to students in these types of programs (Carter et al., 2010).

Further research into the characteristics of alternative certification programs indicate the importance of school context for student teaching, teacher experiences in the program, and coursework provided as critical factors in such types of programs (Humphrey, Wechsler, & Hough, 2008). This insight also reflects similar trends in traditional teacher preparation programs and the need to better understand the approaches of multiple teacher preparation program agendas and build from the best of all approaches (Zeichner, 2003).

Life Cycles of Teachers

Teacher life cycles are influenced by the cultural and social capital of teachers. The cultural capital that teachers acquire through different stages of their career can be very connected to their social capital (networks; Lortie, 1975; Bourdieu, 1990h, 2000b; Swartz, 1997). The literature on professional cycles from various fields reveals a sequence of events that is often interpreted as being linear and consecutive (Huberman, 1989). In education, the literature on teacher career cycles does not necessitate linear career cycles; rather they are flexible and can be divided into stages that reflect generic

characteristics (Hargreaves, 2005; Huberman, 1989; Margolis, 2008). Three general stages have been extrapolated from the literature regarding stages of teacher career cycles: early career (years 0- 3), mid-career (years 4 - 19), and late career (years 20 +; Huberman, 1989; Day & Gu, 2010; Day et al., 2007).

Early career stages are defined as entrance into the field and the subsequent years after (Huberman, 1989; Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007). This time period in a teacher's career is marked by initial uncertainty and desire to conform (Huberman, 1989; Margolis, 2008; Day et al., 2007; Day & Gu, 2010). When teachers begin their careers, it is advantageous to work in a school that consists of a mixture of teachers from a variety of stages (Huberman, 1989). An exposure to teachers of a variety of experience levels has been found to be positive predictors of teacher retention (Huberman, 1989). Characteristics of teachers in the early stages of their career are enthusiasm, flexibility, and periods of growth followed by stabilization (Huberman, 1989; Margolis, 2008; Rinke, 2007; Lynn, 2002). During the stabilization period, teachers experience a sense of rhythm and routine in their professional practice (Huberman, 1989; Margolis, 2008). It is of note that the early career stages can be "re-experienced" by teachers that change grade levels and/or positions within education (Huberman, 1989).

Mid-career stages represent a larger span of a teacher's career (Huberman, 1989). Generally teachers in this stage experience periods of both harmony and/or discontentment. Fluctuations in experiences are defined by events that are contextual to that individual (Huberman, 1989). As teachers have developed professional experience, teachers in mid-career typically become more confident about their practice and begin to experiment with ways to make a greater impact upon their students (Margolis, 2008;

Huberman, 1989). Furthermore, teachers in this stage are able to better separate their emotional connections to students (Hargraeves, 2005). While contentment settles in for most teachers, many do go through periods of reassessment and self-doubt, which is followed by renewal or continued self-doubt (Huberman, 1989; Day & Gu, 2010; Day et al., 2007). As teachers with career still to experience, it is important to better understand the reasons for self-doubt and reassessment.

In Michael Huberman's (1989) study of teachers career cycle, it was found that teachers in the mid-career stage who spent more time focusing upon their own classroom practice as opposed to becoming involved with school wide initiatives and/or reforms had a higher predictability of contentment in teaching over the long term (Huberman, 1989). Christopher Day and Gu's (2010) work builds upon Huberman's work noting that teachers in mid-career stages positively benefit from opportunities for leadership (Day et al., 2007). Furthermore, Carol Rinke's (2007) study on job satisfaction ties career satisfaction to the perception and interpretations of experiences rather than the actual events themselves (Rinke, 2007). While these initial studies begin to address some of the factors behind teacher satisfaction, there is still more to understand.

Late career stages represent the winding down of a teacher's career cycle (years 20 and beyond) (Huberman, 1989). This time period for teachers can be a time of reflection, peace, or discontentment (Huberman, 1989). Factors that add to teachers experiencing positive and negative reflections at the end of their careers are dependent upon earlier experiences such as perceived changes in education as being a drastic change from their earlier experiences, personal life events that have contributed to career end

decisions, and working conditions (Cannata, 2010; Huberman, 1989; Hargraeves, 2005; Rinke, 2007; Day et al., 2007; Day & Gu, 2010).

Demographics of teachers in the various stages of their careers indicate a larger portion of teachers in the mid to late career stages (Figure 8).

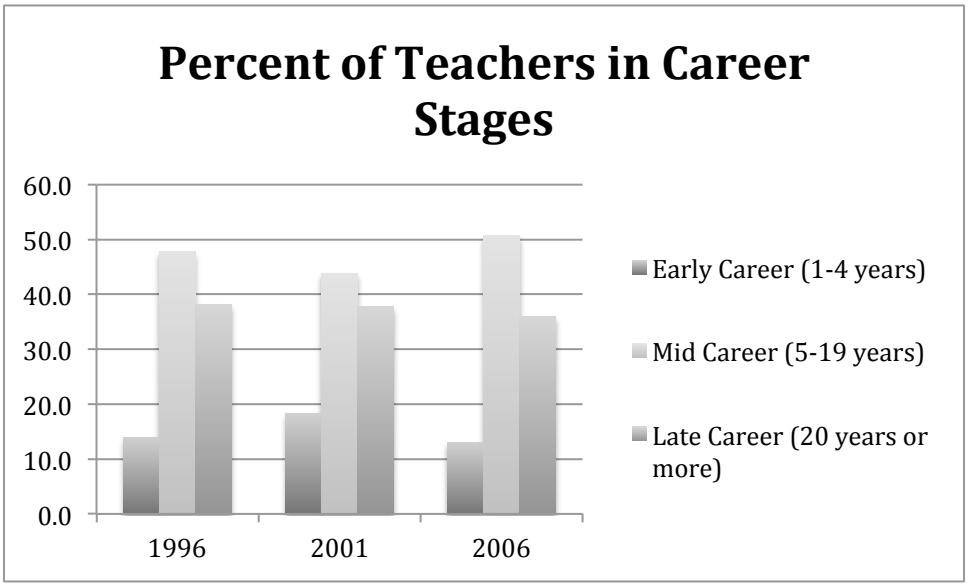


Figure 8. Percent of teachers in each of the career stages. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

This data mimics a U-shaped function of teacher career path (Kirby et al., 1991) with a higher percentage of teachers in mid-career stages. A closer look at teacher age also shows a graying trend towards older teachers with 32% of the teachers over the age of 50 (Figure 9).

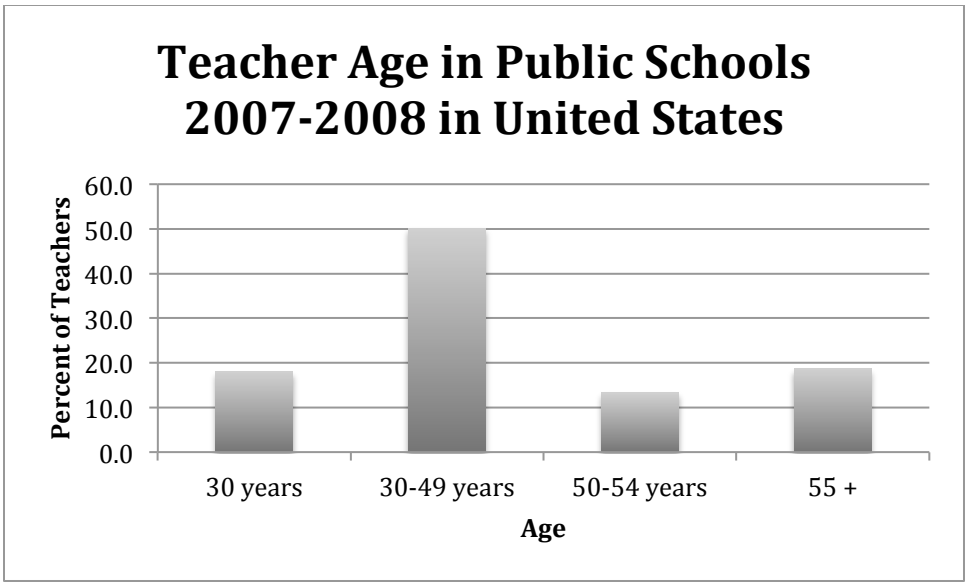


Figure 9. Ages of teachers in U.S. public schools 2007-2008. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

In comparing national averages to the state of Arizona, there are similar trends in teacher ages with Arizona having a slightly older teacher workforce in the ages 50 and older and a slightly younger workforce in the ages 30-49 (see Figure 10). These patterns in the current workforce indicate that understanding teacher career path, especially in the mid-career stage, is of importance in considering teacher attitude and experiences (Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007). Further inquiry into teacher attitudes at a national level indicate that when asked how long teachers would stay in teaching, 50% of those in the 0-10 years of experience and 43% in the 10 or more years indicated that they intend to stay as long as they can (U.S Department of Education, 2008). While the majority has indicated that they intend to stay in the field, 19% of the less experienced

teachers and 14% of those with more experience are still undecided about remaining in teaching (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

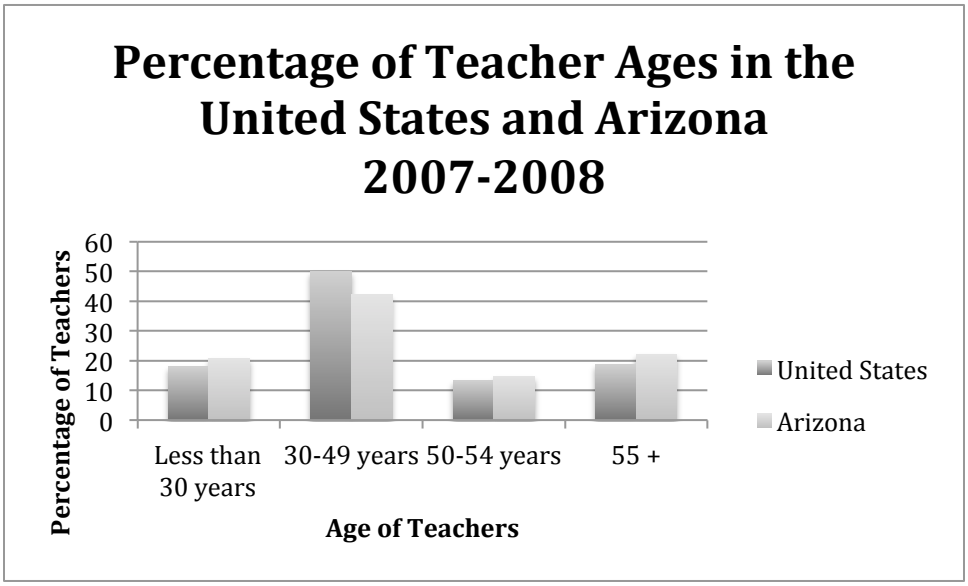


Figure 10. Ages of teachers in U.S. public schools and Arizona 2007-2008. (U.S Department of Education, 2008).

Teacher career path research indicates that organizational factors are a consideration in the context of a teacher life cycles (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Huberman, 1989; Nias, 1989; Lynn, 2002; Margolis, 2008). Organizational factors also have been found to affect teacher attrition (Ingersoll, 2001). Teacher experiences affect perceptions of career success or failure and are connected to reassessment and self-doubt stages of teaching (Huberman, 1989).

The traditional career trajectories for teachers are limited for those teachers that wish to remain teaching in the classroom. Unlike professions that have upward mobility, teaching is similar to medical and social work professions that are not designed around

meritocratic systems of advancement (Harris & Adams, 2005; Lortie, 1975). Opportunities to progress into higher positions are often limited to roles such as department or grade level chair or membership on a site leadership team unless a teacher chooses to pursue a different role in the educational field such as administrator or academic coach or a district level position (Brewer, 1996; Lortie, 1975). With limited opportunities for growth, teachers have expressed experiences of boredom and reassessment after settling into their career (Huberman, 1989; Hargraeves, 2005; Margolis, 2008; Nias, 1989; Ravitch, 2011; Rinke, 2007).

While insightful, working condition surveys reflect decisions that have already occurred instead of understanding teacher actions before and during critical events and experiences (Rinke, 2007; Ladd, 2011). Multiple factors can affect an experience and studies that reflect teachers' perceptions will allow research to make deeper connections to espoused beliefs and beliefs in action (Ladd, 2011; Cannata, 2010). Cannata's (2010) work with pre-service teachers espoused beliefs and beliefs in actions revealed an unconscious or unaware disconnect between beliefs and actions (Cannata, 2010). Understanding organizational factor perceptions and realities reveal a relevant source of information that can be used to understand teacher career paths and how to differentiate for teachers as they progress in and out of career stages (Ingersoll, 2001).

Perspectives on Professional Identities

Teacher professional identities are not static or solely related to just teaching (Day, 2003). Building upon events and interactions, individual and professional identities are shaped in the context of life (Day, et. al, 2007; Day & Gu, 2010). Multiple factors can affect a professional identity including prior careers, one's own years in schools, as well

as personal factors (Mayotte, 2003; Grier & Johnston, 2009; Apple, 1999; Day et al., 2007; Day & Gu, 2010; Lortie, 1975; Gee, 2001). Adding the concept of professionalism to the concept of teacher identities suggests a professional aspect of teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Noordegraf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraf, 2011). While teaching is not considered by all to be a true profession, it is widely accepted as a semi-profession (Helterbran, 2008; Zeichener & Gore, 1990; Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005; Agarao-Fernandez & Guzman, 2006).

Teachers' professional identities are believed to begin in years of schooling as students (Lortie, 1975). While the vantage point of a student is not the same as a teacher, it does allow for intuitive and imitative observations of what teaching over a longitudinal time period consists of (Lortie, 1975). Years of observation and experiences with teachers from the point of view of a student add to the embodied understandings that individuals acquire about teaching (Bourdieu, 1986; Fischman & Haas, 2012; Lortie, 1975; Gee, 2001). Building upon the role (and social location) of being a student, another factor affects teacher professional identities: entrance into the classroom (Lortie, 1975). Inherent to the field of teaching (and one of the factors that some believe keep teaching from being identified as a profession) is the little time that is spent between being a student and being a teacher (Lortie, 1975). It is not unusual for an individual to be a student in July and a teacher in September, accepting 100% of the duties, responsibilities, and tasks (Lortie, 1975). The lack of a gradual time period from being a student of teaching to being a teacher, allowing one to build upon teacher pedagogical knowledge, lends teachers to rely heavily upon their experiences (Lortie, 1975).

Perhaps due to the human nature of teaching or the structural shape of classrooms or these and multiple factors, teaching has been found to be a field that stresses an importance on relationships between teachers and students (Lortie, 1975). Lortie (1975) notes that these relationships are connected to what he terms as the psychic rewards of teaching. Psychic rewards are highly individualistic to each teacher and they complement the egg crate structures of school buildings with teachers working more in isolation from colleagues than collaboration (Lortie, 1975). Teachers highly value the time they are able to spend with their students and view this element of their teaching as critical (Lortie, 1975; Dixson & Dingus, 2008). Their daily focus and intent is the students with which they work; professional duties required beyond this are seen by teachers as distracting and irrelevant (Lortie, 1975).

Day et al. (2007) have found patterns of teacher professional identities that relate to teachers' years in teaching. General trends tied to the previously mentioned stages are:

- Early Stage: Balancing teaching and adding school responsibilities; early teachers view success in terms of their motivation and commitment.
- Middle Stages: Professional identities are at a crossroads; teacher's ability to gain leadership role is a key factor for many; teachers having to begin to manage tensions between career stagnation and motivation.
- Late Stages: Professional identities are most affected by policies; teachers begin to see pupils as more of a negative impact on their identities; teachers begin to decline in motivation.

Affecting these patterns of professional identities are three factors: situational, professional, and personal (Day et. al., 2007). The interaction of these factors can have

positive and/or negative affects on teacher well-being, vulnerability, motivation, agency, resilience, and percieved effectiveness (Day et al., 2007). Further work by Day and Gu (2010) emphasized that patterns of professional identities that had been found in their earlier work was related to years in teaching, not necessarily age. The relevance of these findings are of particular interest noting that indivdiuals that come to teaching later in life will replicate some of the same patterns that their younger colleagues might based upon their years in the field of teaching (Day & Gu, 2010).

Teacher professional identities are also influenced by the changing social structures of education (Hargreaves, 2005). While Lortie's (1975) work on teachers is still relevant, there are contextual factors that have changed the landscape and field of teaching for teachers through more business influences upon education (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Day, 2003; Day & Gu, 2010; Day et al., 2007). Shifts towards collaborative professional communities, policy changes, and standardization have all affected professional identities (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ravitch, 2011). Teachers are now defined effective by quasi-managers who have replaced the covenant of teaching with the contract of teaching (Day & Gu, 2010). This is a change from a field that has had years of institutionalized individualism of teachers (Lortie, 1975).

Trends in professional communities challenge the dynamics of professional identities in multiple ways (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). First of all, they assume that the social dynamics of such communitites are equitable and fair allowing all that come to the table an equal opportunity at participation (Lortie, 1975; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Day et al., 2007; Day & Gu, 2010; Hargreaves & Fullan,

2012). Some professional communitities have had the negative effects such as feelings of deskilling the teacher when their personal experiences are not deemed important in relation to standardized ideals of progress and success of the professional community. This has led to decreased senses of autonomy and well-being (Day et al., 2007).

Research by Hargraeves and Shirley (2009) explored factors of professional identities of teaching reviewing the effects of a school reform in relation to teacher identities. In their research, teachers showed little interest in long term approaches, opting rather for short term strategies that required little extra effort on their part (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). While the focus on the immediate strategies that build upon their own personal experiences (what Hargraeves and Shirley term "presentism"), is in alignment with Lortie's study of teachers, it also demonstrated that teachers were willing to collaborate outside their classrooms in new ways (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Lortie, 1975).

Within the multiple contexts that teachers' professional identities develop and change they are in constant interaction with what is considered acceptable behavior within their current work settings (O'Connor, 2006; Cohen, 2008; Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Metaphors of caring, mothering, and growing a garden are common descriptions of the teaching field that are self defined (Nieto, 2003). It is the tension between internal expectations developed and fostered through interactions with students, observations of teaching, and interactions with colleagues and external requirements of policies that shape behaviors of professionalism based upon percieved professional identities (Ben-Peretz, Mendelson, & Kron, 2003).

Hargraeves and Fullan (2012) expand upon the concepts of being professional and being a professional. Calling for more teachers to engage more actively in professional actions, they define *"being professional"* as "about what you do, how you behave (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 80) It's about being impartial and upholding high standards of conduct and performance," and *"being a professional"* as "how other people regard you, and how this affects the regard you have for yourself" (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 80). These behaviors and perceptions of behaviors are negotiated within social fields and reflect internal professional identities as interpreted by the individuals and their colleagues (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Teacher Attrition

In considering economic factors that affect teachers entering the profession, it is important to understand the significance of the opposite of entrance into the field of teaching—teacher attrition (Ingersoll, 2001, 2002; Ingersoll & Perda, 2010). Teachers coming to education may replace those that are leaving the teaching profession for a variety of factors (Ingersoll, 2001, 2002).

Teacher attrition has significant economic, social, and philosophical implications for education (Ingersoll, 2001; Lavigne, 2014). For example, schools with high attrition rates struggle to build trust from the community, struggle to build a community of professionals within the school, and face extra costs in training new staff members (Ingersoll, 2001). Over the years, factors such as educational experience, school and teacher demographics, societal expectations, education policy, and financial opportunities have influenced teachers leaving the field of education (Macdonald, 1999). Most often,

individual reasons for leaving the teaching profession are a combination of factors, which result in teacher quit decisions (Macdonald, 1999).

While individual reasons for leaving teaching may vary, it is important to look at trends of teacher attrition (Ingersoll, 2002). Identifying trends and combinations of factors that lead to attrition will allow policy makers, educational institutions, and schools to better understand why teachers exit education (Ingersoll, 2002). The majority of research found for this review was quantitative which provides a useful foundation for qualitative studies.

An increasing focus on the impact of a teacher in relation to student outcome has become prominent in educational policy (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Wiley, Mathis, & Garcia, 2005). Claims that teachers are the most important factor of influence in the classroom bring attention to how policy is evolving to address the specific role of a teacher (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Lavigne, 2014). Interruptions in the teaching force are always timely and relevant but the added influence of educational policy focus on teachers has added a new layer to understanding why teachers leave the profession (Carnegie Corporation, 2007; Jerald, 2012; Daley & Kim, 2010).

Research conducted on teacher attrition in the 1980s and 1990s hypothesized a "graying" of the teacher population due to the aging of the baby boom generation (Ingersoll, 2002). Along with a concern that the teaching profession would be affected by a large number of retiring teachers, there was an increase in the student population (Ingersoll, 2002). The increase in students raised concerns over where or not there would be enough high-quality teachers to meet the demands of a growing student population (Ingersoll, 2002). The fear that a teacher shortage would occur simultaneously with an

increase in students prompted intensification of the research on teacher attrition. As stated earlier, much of the research that arose had a conceptual framework tied to economic concepts (Beaudin, 1995; Brewer, 1996; Kersaint et al., 2005). In conducting research for this study, the focus was narrowed into three areas of teacher attrition demographic considerations, organizational factors, and effects of attrition on the profession.

Demographics of teacher attrition. The demographics of the teacher workforce have a relationship with reasons for teachers leaving the profession. As a predominantly female profession, there has been a trend in gender-related issues that have influenced teacher attrition (Brewer, 1996; Guarino, Santibanez, & Daley, 2006). For instance, at one time in the United States teaching was considered a profession for women to embark on prior to marriage (Cuban, 1993; Tyack, 1974). Once married, many teachers left the profession to concentrate on family needs (Cuban, 1993; Tyack, 1974). Family needs, traditional female roles of caretaker, and child bearing have long been factors for teachers leaving the profession (Kersaint, Lewis, Potter, & Meisels, 2005; Ingersoll, 2001; Ingersoll, 2002). This continues to be a trend in today's teaching workforce (Kersaint et al., 2007; Ingersoll, 2001, 2002).

While the majority of the teaching workforce is female, there are male teachers in the profession. The majority of male teachers are employed in middle schools and high schools (Brewer, 1996; Henry, Bastian, & Fortner, 2011). The attrition of males in the workforce has largely been attributed to economic and professional reasons (Brewer, 1996; Henry et al., 2011). Some researchers argue that males that are the main breadwinner in their families have often left teaching due to low salaries (Brewer, 1996).

Teachers have few opportunities to increase their salaries; the profession does not typically have levels for advancement as teachers (Lortie, 1975). Teachers that want to increase their salary and stay in education often have to leave the classroom and move into administration (Brewer, 1996; Lortie, 1975). The roles of principal, district office employees, and superintendent are male dominated fields in education that have a higher number of former teachers in these roles (Brewer, 1996). While these individuals have not left the profession, they have left their classroom careers as teachers (Brewer, 1996). These exits from classrooms, do affect teacher turnover rates as they leave schools with the task of finding teachers for classroom instruction to fill these voids (Brewer, 1996).

Age has also been found to be a relevant factor in attrition (Beaudin, 1993). For the past two decades, researchers have documented that younger teachers tend to have higher attrition rates than older teachers (Beaudin, 1993; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Guarino et al., 2006; Harris & Adams, 2005; Henry et al., 2011; Ingersoll, 2001; Kersaint et al., 2007; Murname, Stinger, & Willet, 1988; Murname & Olsen, 1990; Ravitch, 2011). Many teachers enter and exit the profession before the age of 30 (Murname, Singer, & Willet, 1988). Some of the reasons related to early career attrition could be related to gender roles as stated previously (Murname, Singer, & Willet, 1988). Other attrition factors include timeliness of teacher preparation in relation to working conditions (Murname & Olsen, 1990). For example, some teachers have done their teacher preparation programs during college but have had a delayed start in teaching. Delayed starts might be because individuals postpone their careers to start a family and raise children (Guarino, Santibanez, & Daley, 2006). For some new teachers the misalignments of the realities of teaching to their perceptions of the job have caused

negative reactions (Murname & Olsen, 1990; Guarino et al., 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Ravitch, 2011; Macdonald, 1999). In addition, younger teachers who have not invested time in their teaching career are not as adverse to the prospect of leaving teaching early (Harris & Adams, 2005). For the latter group, leaving teaching can be a way to regain financial or academic capital to apply the knowledge they gained from teaching to other professions (Harris & Adams, 2005; Macdonald, 1999; Beaudin, 1993; Murname et al., 1988; Murname & Olsen, 1990).

Another obvious and well-documented reason for teacher attrition and age is retirement (Huberman, 1989). Teachers that typically stay in the field of education past the first three years remain in the profession until retirement age (Guarino et al., 2006; Harris & Adams, 2005). Teachers that leave for retirement generally fall into two categories: retirement at the conventional retirement age and early retirement (Kirby, Grissmer, & Hudson, 1991). A natural process of the career path, teacher retirement does have an effect on attrition factors in schools. While a natural factor of a teacher's career path, large numbers of teachers retiring can have an effect on teacher turnover (Ingersoll & Perda, 2010). A graying teaching population warrants preparation for novice and inexperienced teachers to enter the field. In periods of economic crisis, many districts offer early retirement packages to experienced teachers to reduce salary costs and avoid a forced reduction in workforce (Harris & Adams, 2005). Douglas Harris and Scott Adams (2005) reported a sharper increase in retirement numbers as part of teacher attrition counts than previously reported by the work of Ingersoll (Harris & Adams, 2005; Ingersoll, 2002; Ingersoll, 2001). It is suggested by their research that early retirement is a bigger factor than previously considered (Harris & Adams, 2005).

Barbara Beaudin's (1995) work on teacher attrition and ethnicity lends voice to how ethnicity relates to teacher attrition (Beaudin, 1995). While minority teachers are in teaching, they are a not dominant representation of the teaching force (Cuban, 1993; Berliner & Glass, 2014). Attrition of minority teachers from teaching has been lower than that of white teachers (Beaudin, 1995). The lower number of teacher leavers from minority groups has been attributed to different factors such as limited opportunities in other fields (Beaudin, 1995). Another contributing factor to this is the lack of teacher preparation at the pre-service level for teachers to teach all types of students, including minority teachers understanding how to teach non-minority students (Zeichner, 2003). Trends in minority teachers that remain in teaching find minority teachers teaching in predominantly minority schools (Beaudin, 1995).

Finally, attrition rates vary by subject area. In general, elementary, language arts, and social studies teachers are less likely to leave the profession. Science teachers tend to have the highest rates of attrition (Murname, Stinger, Willett, Kemple, & Olsen, 1991). One explanation for this phenomenon has been these teachers have qualifications that easily transfer into other fields that offer economic advantages (Murname et al., 1988; Murname & Olsen, 1990). Science classes in particular are at risk of declining support for materials for instruction, classrooms conducive to teaching science, and these factors impact teacher-working conditions greatly (Powell, 1997; Ingersoll & Perda, 2010).

Richard Ingersoll and David Perda's (2010) recent study on teacher attrition notes a "revolving door" in the profession. While much of the literature has focused upon the attrition of new teachers, there is little in the research that reflects attrition of second career teachers. As education continues to struggle with maintaining a highly qualified

and consistent work force, a deeper perspective of second career teachers is essential as they represent an under studied, yet possibly important component of the teaching population.

Second Career Teachers

The "concept" of SCT teacher became more prominent in the 1980s when high teacher shortages were predicted and emergency certification processes were implemented to address this need (Humphrey et al., 2008). Second career teachers in some of the research fell into three general categories: home comers, converters, and unconverted (Chambers, 2002). Home comers see their second career in teaching as a return to a dream or hope that was not fulfilled (Chambers, 2002). Converters were categorized by an event in their first career that caused them to rethink their career and make a change (Chambers, 2002). Finally unconverted teachers were often successful in a first career but did not find the same level of success or status in their second career as teachers (Chambers, 2002; Powers, 2002). Another study by Esther Priyadharshini and Anne Robinson-Pant (2003) suggested six types of career changers: the parent, the successful careerist, the freelancer, the late starters, the serial careerist, and the young careerist. These career changers were noted as contributing members of schools and communities (Priyadharshini & Robinson-Pant, 2003). Furthermore, to lose their knowledge would be equally as detrimental as losing first career teachers.

Much of the literature found on SCTs documented the influences that caused individuals to change careers (Williams, 2013; Powers F. W., 2002). Similar to Lortie's (1975) stories of first career teachers reporting a "calling to teaching" to make a difference and give back, SCTs report similar reasons for coming to teaching (Lortie,

1975). SCTs also look to find a career or line of work that is satisfying in comparison to previous careers (O'Connor, 2006; Powers, 2002; Grier & Johnston, 2009). One study reported that all (10) of its participants experienced life-altering experiences before making the shift into teaching (Powers, 2002).

The pre-service experiences of SCTs are both similar and different from their first career teacher counterparts (Williams, 2013). While SCTs have been reported to have many of the same challenges and successes as first career teachers based upon their years in teaching, they have been noted to bring different qualities to their pre-service experiences (Day et al., 2007; Tigchelaar, Brouwer, & Korthagen, 2008; Tigchelaar, Brouwer, & Vermut, 2010; Priyadharshini & Robinson-Pant, 2003). Supervisor interviews of SCTs during pre-service course work have revealed they have the following advantages over their first career counterparts: deeper understanding of collaborative working structures with adults, previous practical experiences that they are able to bring to the classroom, and a more formalized philosophy that drew upon first careers (Tigchelaar et al., 2008; Tigchelaar et al., 2010; Priyadharshini & Robinson-Pant, 2003; Williams, 2013; Mayotte, 2003).

Second career teachers report many of the same apprehensions about teaching as first career teachers such as time management, fear of the unknown, and the demands of teaching (student discipline, paperwork lesson preparation, and lesson delivery), and hope for career satisfaction (Haggard, Slostad, & Winterton, 2006; Williams, 2013). These initial difficulties in teaching are in alignment with perceived difficulties (time management, fear of the unknown, demands of the profession) but SCTs also mention that different professional challenges may be present (Haggard, Slostad, & Winterton,

2006; Williams, 2013). Distinct challenges for them were in relationships at schools such as difficulties with mentoring teachers in their pre-service work and programmatic challenges from their teacher preparation programs (Haggard, Slostad, & Winterton, 2006; Williams, 2013). A possible explanation for these latter difficulties is that these are more experienced professionals entering a career that caters to newcomers as inexperienced professionals (Haggard, Slostad, & Winterton, 2006). Another challenge noted in the research is a dissonance with supervisors in teaching (Powers F. W., 2002). SCTs prior experiences and expectations of leaders, are not always aligned with the roles of school administrators, yet prior professional experiences of SCTs have assisted them into accommodating for these situations (Powers, 2002; Williams, 2013).

Two studies of second career teachers mentioned second career of teaching as a "back-up" career when a first career did not pan out as expected (Gilbert, 2011; Powell, 1997). In this respect, teaching was deemed as a stopgap between a first and third career (Gilbert, 2011; Powell, 1997). Case studies of teachers reflected an interest in coming to teaching to make a difference but dissatisfaction with the teaching community in which they worked (Gilbert, 2011; Powell, 1997). This could have been due to their particular circumstances but is worthy of further inquiry (Gilbert, 2011; Powell, 1997).

One study of a second career teacher documents an individual's frustration of his inability to bring specific content knowledge to his instruction in a second career experience in teaching (Powell, 1997). This represents a concern about the structure and constraints of typical public educational institutions and their effect on teaching (Powell, 1997). Furthermore, the second career teacher in this particular study was compared with a first career teacher and both individuals ended up in a similar approach to their teaching

with heavy dependence upon textbook and scripted curriculum (Powell, 1997). In situations such as this, the content expertise of the second career teacher did not appear to be an advantage, even though his prior experience in his first career and love of science is what brought him to teaching (Powell, 1997).

A recent study by Hart and Associates (2010) in conjunction with the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation found that SCTs are more prevalent than previously noted in other data sources (Teacher Follow Up survey) (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). The report further confirms many of the findings in the literature: career changers come from a variety of professions, many pre-service programs are under prepared or unaware of components of teacher preparation programs that address this population, and that career changers are a positive influence in classrooms (Day et al., 2007; Tigchelaar et al., 2008; Tigchelaar et al., 2010; Mayotte, 2003; Powers, 2002; Williams, 2013).

The study by Hart and Associates provided a succinct and detailed overview of data collected on over 500 SCTs across the United States (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). The demographic backgrounds of SCTs from their survey reflected general trends in current teacher demographics in relation to gender, ethnicity, and educational attainment (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). This study provided a solid foundation in which to examine the demographics of the current group of SCTs (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). SCTs from this study reported that their reasons for entering teaching included: teaching was something they originally wanted to do (26%), they had a desire to work with children (24%), altruistic interests, hoping to "make a difference" and "give back to their community" (11%). Interestingly, financial barriers were not a

factor for SCTs reasons for coming to teaching as many reported an increase in salary from prior careers to teaching (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010). Finally, SCTs are generally satisfied with teaching as a career (Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010).

Judy Williams' (2013) recent work in Australia on SCTs at the pre-service level was another extensive study of SCTs in a country that has a comparable educational system to the United States (Williams, 2013). Her study involved a survey that recorded responses of around 375 SCTs who again fit a similar demographic to teachers in the United States (Williams, 2013). Teachers within her study reported somewhat similar reasons for coming to teaching (Williams, 2013). Williams (2013) reports SCTs' motivation to come into teaching also lies in working with children (63% of survey respondents) and contributions to society (55.9%) but the Australian respondents also indicated family factors and career opportunities within Australia as factors that were not mentioned in the study in the United States (Williams, 2013; Hart Research Associates, Inc., 2010).

Finally, a trend in bringing former military personnel into teaching has been noted as another supply source for SCTs (Owings et al., 2006). A recent study done on the program Troops to Teachers revealed a high retention rate and high satisfaction with individuals that have transferred into teaching from a military career (Owings et al., 2006). In addition, SCTs from the military have been noted to fill teaching positions in areas of teaching that are often considered "hard to fill" such as mathematics, science and technology (Owings et al., 2006).

Chapter 3 - Methods

Introduction

All teachers come to the field of teaching with symbolic capital that they use in multiple ways, whether through enacting pedagogical and academic content or developing relationships within the school and/or local community. The focus of this study was to learn about professional cultural capital as a subcomponent of cultural capital that was utilized within the educational field as a legitimized form of symbolic currency (Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2008). For the purposes of this study, professional cultural capital was defined as embodied and institutionalized experience that may be mobilized to benefit an individual within their place of work (Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz, 1997). To access this knowledge, the professional cultural capital of second career teachers was studied.

SCTs' presence within the educational field challenges the teaching field's concept of professionalism allowing for examination of "unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 40). Within teaching, the institutionalized capital of a teaching certificate holds value, but its ultimate value is in relation to the social position of the owner. The professional origins of SCTs in relation to first career teachers (FCTs) reflect different beginning points of professional perspectives. The differences in starting points was of interest to understand what Bourdieu terms the *illusio* (perceptions of what is important) and the doxa (what is globally agreed upon by the field) in relation to "*being professional"* (how one views one's own professionalism) and *"being a professional"* (how others view

one's professionalism) (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2008; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). SCTs entered the field of teaching as agents that were not usual to the field of teaching and may over value their perspectives of professionalism or misinterpret their position within the field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986). Understanding the professional cultural capital of SCTs provided insights for the following: valued perspectives of teaching and how these values were leveraged by teachers, the unique impact that SCTs provided to their school communities, further insight into a growing subgroup of teachers, SCTs, and a better understanding of teacher professional cultural capital as a viable and legitimate currency within schools. Finally, knowledge of the identified professional habitus within local educational contexts gave insight into current discourses of power and their relationship to cultural reproduction within education (Apple, 1999; McLaren, 1986; Willis, 1981).

Restatement of the Problem

In the last 30 years, entrance into the teaching profession has been divided into two categories: traditional and non-traditional. Traditional career paths into teaching have been through teacher preparation courses that teach the pedagogical and academic content necessary for classroom instruction. In recent years, alternative approaches to entering teaching have been introduced (Ingersoll, 2002; Murname, Stinger, Willett, Kemple, & Olsen, 1991; Tabs, 2004). For example, emergency certifications allow individuals to enter teaching without the time or expense of attending teacher preparation programs. Other non-traditional approaches have been deemed as routes to improve education are recruiting individuals that have expert knowledge in particular fields of study, thus making them viable candidates for classroom instruction with the assumption

that pedagogical knowledge will be learned on the job (Zeichner, 2003; Carter et al., 2011).

Teacher attrition has been studied extensively to understand when and why teachers leave the career, especially in early years of teaching. Even though attrition rates have steadily increased, there has also been a steady entrance of individuals into teaching. SCTs are a distinct group of individuals entering teaching. The lack of depth in the literature regarding second career teachers is a departure point for this particular study. Understanding the experiences and perspectives of this group provided opportunities to work with these teachers in ways that will better serve students and school communities.

Finally, less is known about teaching as a second career. SCTs enter the profession with a set of experiences that differ from first career teachers: their prior experiences in a previous profession. This study will seek to understand these individuals and their presence within the field of teaching. Of specific interest was the relationship of SCT professional cultural capital and the valued professional habitus identified in their district using the lens of Bourdieu's cultural capital and reflexive sociology (Bourdieu, 2008; Helterbran, 2008; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986). Reflexive sociology was a hallmark methodological approach that Bourdieu used to "capture the intentionality without intention, the knowledge without cognitive intent, the prereflective, infraconscious mastery that agents aquire of their social world by way of durable immersion within it…" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19-20).

As teachers have been consistently entering and exiting the field of teaching, educational policies have continued to draw upon neoliberal perspectives forcing political

agendas to influence current practice (Apple, 1999; Kozol, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ravitch, 2011). Recent legislation in Arizona has required a labeling of teachers based upon their teaching effectiveness in relation to their student outcomes in a business style approach. Prescribed labels of teachers will soon be used as symbolic currency towards possible monetary incentives, teachers' opportunities for mobility in the system, and an ability to stay employed. As contextual factors are changing what is deemed valuable within education, this may have an effect on how teachers function within the field of teaching. Their professional behaviors in relation to such policies may influence their ability to be successful.

Here professional cultural capital was defined as a type of cultural capital developed through embodied and institutionalized experience that may be mobilized to benefit an individual within their place of work (Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu (1990g) states,

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles, which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively regulated and regular without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of the conductor. (p. 53)

In other words, habitus is dependent upon objective and subjective structures within the field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990j; Swartz, 1997). At the individual teaching level then, experiences within a field can shape embodied understandings, actions, and cultivated habitus that lead to what one considers *"being professional"* (how one views one's own professionalism) (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Within the teaching field,

teachers have developed prototypes of beliefs and behaviors through social norms that are used in daily practice (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Fischman & Haas, 2012; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). These social norms influence behaviors and definitions of professionalism and were used to determine *"being a professional"* (how others view one's professionalism; Helterbran, 2008; Zeichener & Gore, 1990; Grier & Johnston, 2009; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

While the conceptual application of professional cultural capital was drawn from Bourdieu, the objective "structuring structures" of professional habitus were developed from Hargraeves and Fullan's (2012) analysis of business and professional views of teaching and a recent working conditions survey from a national publication (Washington Post, 2012). In reviewing recent policy trends in education as well as the continued practices of cultural reproduction, these authors suggest re-examining the being and doing of teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Willis, 1981; McLaren, 1986). Their call for a collective development of professional capital involves readdressing the human, social, and decisional capital of teaching with a focus on next steps for teachers as a field (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Within this perspective they specifically address the dilemma of business view versus professional views as it relates to the macro field of teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

In the business view of education, business concepts such as return on investment and cost efficiencies have been prevalent (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Neoliberal policies such as No Child Left Behind, Race to the Top, and Arizona Statutes 1040 and 2823 are a few examples of how these have spread into education. This view is in

opposition to the professional approach to teaching which values investing in the individuals that are working, building networks among teachers for professional dialogue and support, and the capacity to make independent decisions about teaching in vague and uncertain contexts. Hargraeves and Fullan (2012) suggest that teachers are more oriented towards building a professional field than business field. Using their work, the professional habitus of teaching will be assessed in two ways: *"being professional"* (qualities and character of an individual) and *"being a professional"* (how one is perceived by others in reference to quality and character) (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

The symbolic values of *"being professional"* and *"being a professional"* were socially determined within a field via professional cultural capital in relation to the professional habitus of the district (Bourdieu, 1984, 1984, 2008; Darling-Hammond, 1989; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). To understand how professional cultural capital was valued and mobilized, this study utilized "newer" members to the field—SCTs. As individuals that likely have a broader definition of professionalism, their insight into *"being professional"* and their supervisor's reflections on how they *"be a professional"* allows an examination of how this professional cultural capital is navigated and mobilized (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Noordegraaf & Schinkel, 2011; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). The unique perspectives of SCTs revealed possible conflicts within definitions of professionalism in a context (the field of education) that considers itself more of a profession but is influenced and controlled by business perspectives (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2008; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005; Zeichner, 2003; Apple, 1999; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ravitch, 2011). My goal is to document the collective

definitions of professionalism (habitus) and SCTs' professional cultural capital in relation to the field by answering the following question:

> In what ways do SCTs' stories of professionalism reflect professional perspectives of teachers?

Research Design and Procedures

Data Collection Procedures

This study drew its methodology from epistemic reflexive sociology as outlined by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu emphasized that the methodologies used to study a problem must fit the needs of the research so that researchers do not fall in the trap of writing words about words. This was a critical component in Bourdieu's approach to research, believing that every act of research is concurrently empirical (looks at phenomena in the world) and theoretical (tied to an embedded set of relations) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As such Bourdieu stressed that epistemic reflexivity (1) target the collective unconscious (social and intellectual) embedded in analytic tools, (2) be collective, not individual, and (3) seek to support the depth of human knowledge within sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As such, I wanted to ensure that my data collection and analysis did not default to a description of responses, but instead ensured a reflexive approach. I designed the data collection and analysis to address embedded consciousness in the research tools (by both the researcher and the participants), address collective perspectives and support the depth of participants' experiences. The following figure (Figure 11) outlines an overview of the approach to data collection:

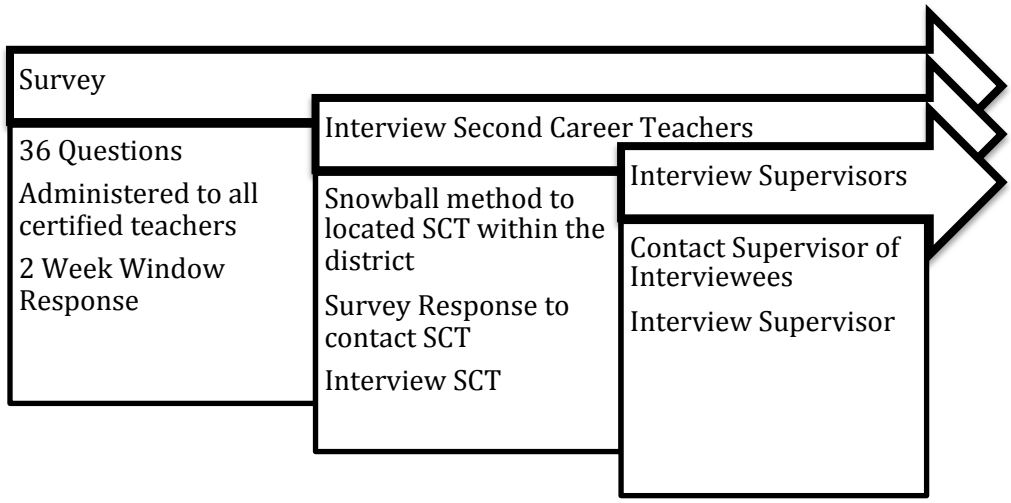


Figure 11. Approach to data collection.

Initially, a survey was administered to all certified employees to gain insight into the perspectives of teaching from the CESD field (Creswell, 2009). Following the delivery of the survey, individual interviews of SCTs were solicited to gain insight into individual SCTs' perspectives of *"being professional"* and SCTs' supervisors perspectives of "*being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Survey. The initial survey was designed to obtain the perspectives of the field of teaching in relation to professional views, business views, working conditions, and of the perspectives of necessary professional qualities at the individual and site level. Bourdieu defined a field as a structured space designed around specific combinations of capital (Swartz, 1997). The survey allowed for the codification of the field, which provided an opportunity to examine dominant definitions of professionalism in relation to teaching, and assisted in better understanding the economy of symbolic exchange (Bourdieu,

1990b). It allowed me to document and analyze general views of teaching trends in CESD in multiple ways, and was an efficient use of time (Creswell, 2009).

The survey was electronically delivered to all certified members of the CESD through their internal mail system in coordination with the CESD using a reputable electronic survey format (Survey Monkey). Utilizing the internal mail system ensured delivery to certified teacher participants. Respondents were encouraged to respond voluntarily and were enticed to participate through a random drawing for a gift certificate to an online bookstore for a set of classroom books. The drawing for the gift certificate was approved by CESD and IRB. The survey was designed specifically for this study and was based upon Hargraeves and Fullan's professional views of teaching and business views of teaching and a workplace conditions survey from a national newspaper (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Washington Post, 2012).

Part one of the survey solicited the backgrounds of participants: age range, gender, ethnicity, years in teaching, FCT or SCT status, grade level and school location. This data was relevant to understand subgroups of participants for comparison and trends in responses. I also used this data to understand the context of CESD in relation to national trends and was helpful in disaggregating perspectives from the field.

Part two of the survey was designed using elements from Hargraeves and Fullan's (2012) statements relating to professional and business views of teaching and a workplace conditions survey from a national newspaper (Washington Post, 2012). The following statements pertaining to a business view and professional view of teaching were used to survey respondents:

The business view of teaching asserts that:

- "Good teaching may be emotionally demanding, but it is technically simple.
- Good teaching is a quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability.
- Good teaching is hard at first, but with dedication can be mastered readily.
- Good teaching should be driven by hard performance data about what works and where best to target one's efforts.
- Good teaching comes down to enthusiasm, hard work, raw talent, and measurable results.

The professional view of teaching asserts that:

- Good teaching is technically sophisticated and difficult.
- Good teaching requires high levels of education and long periods of training.
- Good teaching is perfected through continuous improvement.
- Good teaching is a collective accomplishment and responsibility.
- Good teaching maximizes, mediates, and moderates online instruction." (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 14)[2]

These statements reflect the tension between current policy mandates and traditional views of professionalism (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Helterbran, 2008; Darling-Hammond, 1989; Day & Gu, 2010; Day et al., 2007; Huberman, 1989; Lortie, 1975; Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005; Zeichner, 2003; Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010). Participants were asked to respond to the above statements and two more statements related to general trends in working conditions using a five-point Likert scale. While there is evidence that users that are provided with broader scaled surveys will allow for more detailed analysis of choices, this study looked to identify the

[2] One business view of teaching and one professional view of teaching were omitted.

major trends in perspectives of teaching and a five-point scale sufficed for this type of analysis (Dawes, 2007).

The next set of questions was designed to elicit participants' personal perspectives of professional behaviors that are not always openly stated in educational settings (Washington Post, 2012; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1990b, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2008; Swartz, 1997). Two questions asked participants to describe the power structure at their school by asking participants to distinguish individual and school level opportunities for advancement based on cultural capital (academic knowledge) and social capital (social networks). Finally, the last two questions assessed professional qualities valued at the individual and site levels: participants were given a choice of ten professional qualities to choose from (expert knowledge, dedication, caring, collegiality, collaborative, demonstrated success, compliance, innovative, kindness, and independence). The data collected from this survey provided a "field view" of the CESD's views of teaching (professional or business or other),

After initial development of the survey, it was tested in a pilot phase in which I asked 20 colleagues to take the survey and provide feedback on the instrument. No major revisions were made to the survey based upon the pilot test feedback (Paufler & Amrein-Beardsley, 2013). The survey was then deployed to all teachers within CESD and respondents had a two-week time period to complete and submit their responses.

Interviews. Participants for individual interviews were sought through the assistance of CESD survey, social media advertising, snowball sampling, and self-referral (Corbin & Anselm, 2008). Using the demographic information contained from the district survey, second career teachers were contacted to solicit their participation in the

individual interviews. CESD administrators were also contacted and asked to identify teachers they knew that came to teaching as a second career. Finally, a social media posting to former colleagues that were employed in CESD was dispatched to elicit second career teachers for interviewing. Of the 65 individuals that self identified as second career teachers from the completed district surveys, 14 individuals responded with interest in participating in interviews. In addition, a colleague referred one SCT and an administrator referred one SCT. This completed the interview count to a total of 16 SCTs and 10 SCT supervisors.

Personal views of professionalism were collected in individual interviews with SCTs and their immediate supervisors. The SCT interviews and the supervisor interview took place over the course of two months (Seidman, 2006; Mayotte, 2003). The final number of interview participants was 16 SCTs and 10 SCT supervisors. There were fewer SCT supervisors than second career teachers as three SCT supervisors each oversaw two of the SCTs and two SCT supervisors were unable to be reached for an interview. All of the SCT interviews were completed before SCT supervisor interviews were conducted. The interviews were mainly conducted before and after school times to accommodate the schedules of SCTs and SCT supervisors. Some interviews were conducted at the local library, as participants were eager to participate in the research but could not meet during the last two weeks of school so these interviews took place during the summer months.

Interviews were digitally audio-recorded and transcribed by a local transcription service. I took observation notes during the interview recording physical reactions that might not be collected in an audio recording as well and notes on the physical space of the classroom. Photographs of the space were taken at the conclusion of the interview

(Ayers & Alexander-Tanner, 2010; Lortie, 1975). Influenced by the approach developed by Seidman (2006), each interview was purposeful and revolved around a three-step process to gather historical, current, and reflective perspectives of second career teachers. Some of the questions were drawn from an earlier study of SCTs (Mayotte, 2003; Seidman, 2006).

In the beginning of the SCT interview, personal histories were elicited to understand the participants' professional experiences in careers before teaching as well as reasons for coming to the field of teaching. The middle portion of the SCTs' interviews explored their current perceptions of teaching, metaphors of teaching, and experiences transitioning from one career into another. The third portion of the interview prompted SCTs to reflect upon their previous careers in relation to their current career to reveal professional relationships. Interviews of SCT supervisors were used to gain insight into the cultivated habitus of *"being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Survey and interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

After each interview session, memos were recorded independently while the context and events were fresh in my mind noting data that was relevant based upon SCT reactions to interview questions as well as initial themes that were revealed in the survey data. Before each interview, the themes from previous interviews were reviewed to make sure that I paid attention to current interviewee's responses. A set of general questions was available to ensure that each interview was similar while still allowing for contextually interacting with the interviewee. Using Bourdieu's lens of reflexivity in conjunction with SCT stories in the coding and analysis, cartographies of the teachers' experiences and unveiled views and professional cultural capital.

Data Analysis Procedures

Influenced by the work of Celine-Marie Pascale (2011) and Pierre Bourdieu (1990j), the metaphor of a map was used to understand the relationships between participants' professional cultural capital within the field of teaching. This approach compliments Bourdieu's perspective of reflexivity in the social sciences indicating that data collection is spiritual exercise, aiming to obtain, through forgetfulness of self, a true transformation of the view we take of others in the ordinary circumstances of life (Bourdieu, 1990j, 1990k, 1996; Pascale, 2011). The process of mapping the field of professionalism allowed me to gather an objective analysis of professionalism in relation to the subjective narratives of participants. This also gave insight into my position within the field as an observer. In this way I was able to use theory as a "tool" to see what aspects of professionalism was and what was not present within the field of teaching (Bourdieu, 1990j).

A Bourdieuian approach to analysis emphasizes the significance of the locations and associated opportunities for individuals or groups within a structured field. Not to be confused with a Cartesian duality, Bourdieuian methodologies work to define the field in a double reading: the outside view and the internal view. The outside view represents the imposition of existing power structures and the internal view represents the actions shaped by individuals within the field with an emphasis on what is reified as socially efficient resources that delineate outside limitations on practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Wenger, 1998). Bourdieu's perspective places an emphasis on individual's positions within a space, thus giving priority to objective locations (outside views) within the field before reviewing subjective perspectives (inside views; Bourdieu & Wacquant,

1992). This study drew heavily upon Bourdieu's methodologies through the use of survey response data to represent the field view of professionalism in CESD and subsequent interviews to represent the individual perspectives of professionalism within the field.

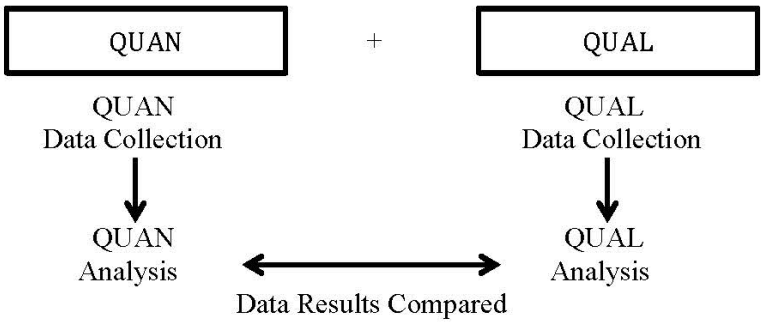
Once survey respondents submitted their responses descriptive and inferential tests were conducted using SPSS. Overall survey participation was 266 participants however, after reviewing submissions for completeness, 30 submissions dropped from the analysis due to incomplete responses. The final number of 236 respondents represented 31% of the total CESD teacher sample. The number of respondents was large enough to draw conclusions that garnered strong enough statistical calculations and acceptable levels of errors. While the number of respondents was large enough to draw conclusions, it cannot be generalized to all teachers without further study. Moreover the respondents in this survey might differ from others in the CESD district through their decision to participate in the survey (Paufler & Amrein-Beardsley, 2013).

The survey contained both quantitative and qualitative information that was used as a framework to better understand the CESD field of professional habitus. Quantitative responses were numerically depicted and qualitative responses were reformatted in quantitative representations to better understand the frequencies and trends of responses. This design allowed for a more robust examination of the data for areas of convergence and ultimately led to a stronger analysis of results (Paufler & Amrein-Beardsley, 2013).

Survey data was analyzed by subgroups to understand if particular groups had different perspectives of professionalism that weighted the overall view. I included all certified employees in the data collection believing that ownership of a teaching

certificate indicated an ability to teach and consequently qualified those individual for the survey.

Data from the survey and the interview data were analyzed using a concurrent embedded approach (Creswell, 2009). This approach allowed the use of the survey data to map the field's definitions and perspectives of professionalism in relation to the subgroup of teachers studied, SCTs definitions of professionalism. Thus, the survey gave insight into how stories of professionalism would be valued within CESD and the interview responses would allow for analysis of SCTs within the CESD field of teachers. This was in alignment with a Bourdieuian approach to the analysis using the survey to reveal objective views of professionalism and interviews to reveal subjective views of professionalism (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Figure 12 is an overview of this approach.



- A "+" indicates simultaneous data collection
- Arrows indicate sequential order of data collection and analysis
- Boxes highlight the data collection
- "QUAN" represents quantitative data; "QUAL" represents qualitative data
- Capitalization indicates weighted priority (Creswell, 2009)

Figure 12. Data analysis approach.

The survey data was quantified to understand trends in professional habitus of CESD specifically noting areas of strong agreement to survey questions through descriptive and inferential statistics. The survey data became the objective foundation for subsequent subjective perspectives collected via interviews and was then examined for overt and latent constructs. This data was considered the CESD professional habitus and useful in comparing to the stories of SCTs' cultivated professional habitus of *"being professional"* and *"being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

The qualitative data was analyzed in two ways: (1) using a set of codes that were designed to elicit the different forms of capitals described by Bourdieu (cultural, economic, and social) to determine general themes from participant interviews, and (2) interview data was reviewed in relation to the district survey data (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Interview data represented subjective structures related to positions within the field that were expressed indivdiually based on SCTs' locations within the field.

Transcripted interviews were loaded into an electronic coding program, ATLAS.ti, and coded for themes. Interview data was coded initially using open coding to get a perspective of participant responses and the flow of interviews (Saldana, 2013). Initial open coding resulted in over 100 codes and was useful in understanding the general content of the interview data and helped me to determine where to take the coding in subsequent analysis (Saldana, 2013). Based on this first attempt, I needed to re-examine the data in a manner that allowed for looking at the interview data in the lens of participants' "capitals." A reflexive approach was desired to ensure that the researcher's judgments and perceptions were not clouding the analysis of the data.

Understanding that the process of coding was a simultaneous objectification of the individual and the researcher (and that the intent was to map relationships from first to second careers), a set of codes and their definitions were developed to review the data a second time with the more objective lens based on the different types of capital (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1996). This also lended a more pragmatic and reflexive approach to analysis, allowing myself to pay attention to where I may be clouding my analysis with my own perspectives as a former FCT and SCT (Pascale, 2011).

Thus, I engaged in a second round of coding to incorporate the original set of codes into a framework that more closely aligned with Bourdieu's notions of capital, using hypothesis coding (Saldana, 2013). Hypothesis coding allowed the researcher to apply pre-determined codes to assess a research generated hypothesis (in this case that SCTs may bring professional cultural capital to their careers as teachers; Saldana, 2013). Appendix B details a more precise set of definitions that supported the final coding framework that was used (Saldana, 2013). After both survey and interview data were analyzed, they were examined in relation to each other.

Figure 13 demonstrates a map of Bourdieu's conditions of existence, habitus, and life style adapted to the elements of this study. In this rendition of the map, I have substituted careers for conditions of existence, perceptions and classifiable actions of professionalism for habitus, and life style as a result of these social structures working together (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 171). The map helped frame the analysis of SCT and supervisor interviews for trends in their stories of professionalism (Pascale, 2011).

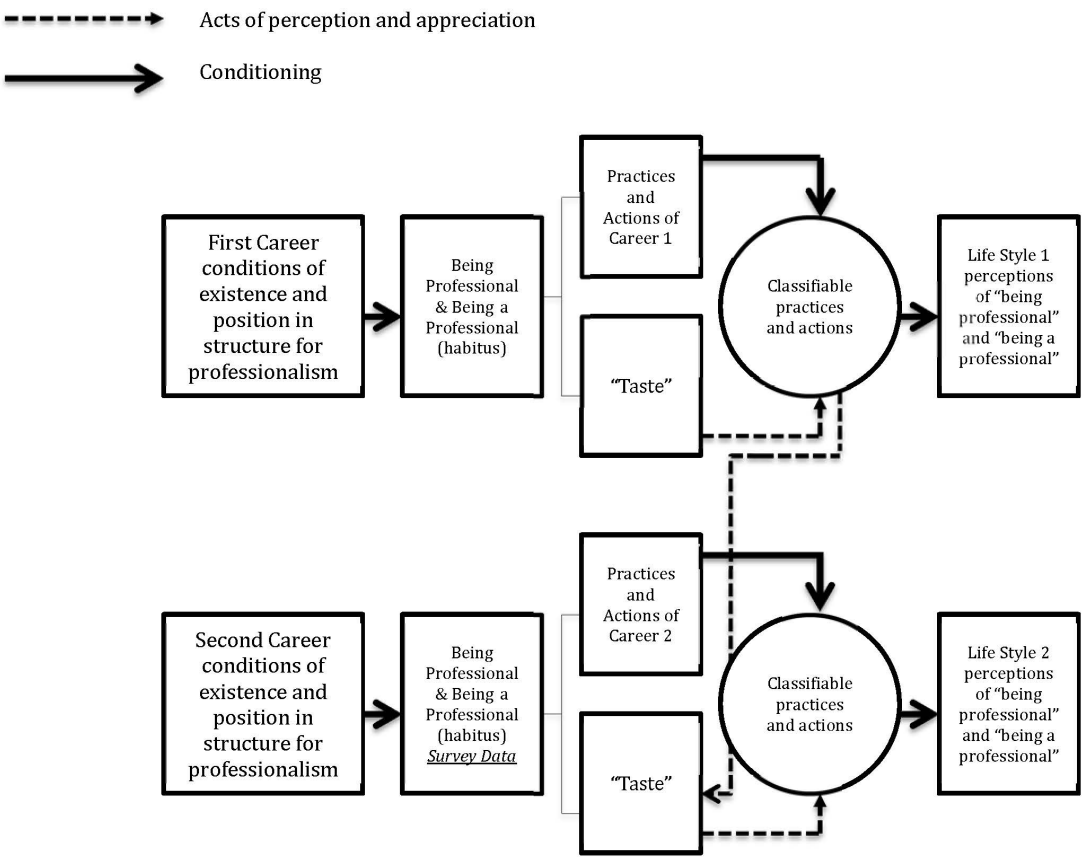


Figure 13. Map of SCT habitus.

Chapter 4 – Data and Evidence

Survey Sample

The CESD school district is located in a mid-sized city in the southwestern portion of the United States (NCES, n.d.). The CESD school district hosts 21 schools in the district with the following breakdown: 14 elementary schools, 4 middle schools, 2 K-8 schools, and 1 preschool. The school district covers 36 square miles. Within the CESD school district there are approximately 12,000 students serving a range of ethnicities and cultures (NCES, n.d.; School results for CESD School District, 2013).

Table 3 provides an overview of current data available for the teachers in CESD, which was obtained directly from the CESD offices. The survey respondent sample is compared to CESD teachers. The data from the CESD teacher workforce mirrors national trends; teachers are predominantly white, female, married, middle-aged population, and consequently, in the middle portion of their teaching career

Table 3

Comparison of CESD and Survey Respondent Demographics

	CESD *n* and Percent		Survey Respondents *n* and Percent	
Sex				
Female	659	86%	209	89%
Male	109	14%	27	11%
Age				
21-25	75	10%	15	6%
26-34	232	30%	60	25%
35-45	198	26%	69	29%
46-55	158	21%	53	22%
56-65	100	13%	38	16%
65 and Over	5	<1%	1	0%
Ethnicity/Race				
White/Caucasian	634	83%	185	78%
Hispanic American	95	12%	35	15%
African American	16	2%	7	3%
Native American	15	2%	3	1%
Asian/Pacific Islander	8	1%	6	3%
Married				
Yes	392	51%	153	65%
No	376	49%	83	35%
Dependents				
Yes	Not Tracked		100	42%
No	Not Tracked		136	58%
Years in Teaching				
0-3	260	34%	33	14%
4-19	427	56%	166	70%
20 or more	81	10%	37	16%

The survey sample closely matched the all teachers in the district with predominantly female, white, married and middle-aged respondents. There was a difference between teacher ages with the general CESD sample having slightly more teachers within the 26-34 age range and the survey respondents having a larger number

within the 35-45 age range. The largest difference between the two groups appears to be in teaching experience. CESD noted 34% of the teachers in this early stage of their career while only 14% of the survey respondents were in their first years of teaching.

As evident from the Table 3, survey respondents were predominantly female, white, married and in the middle portion of their teaching careers. There was more variance in age and number of dependents among respondents. It was noted that respondents to the survey were mainly in the middle age range of teachers with the highest *n* count falling within the 35-45-age range. There were more respondents that did not have dependent children, but the discrepancy between the two groups was not as wide as in other demographic data. Not shown in the prior table, but of note, SCTs were found to be teaching at every site in the CESD district. For the most part, the sample closely mirrored the demographics of the district's teachers, which suggests that the survey respondents are a representative sample of the teachers working in CESD.

Survey: Satisfaction with Teaching

As part of the online survey respondents were asked to indicate their satisfaction with teaching. This was important to establish overall teacher perceptions of teaching in relation to their subsequent answers tied to views of professionalism and teaching. Figure 14 shows descriptive data of overall teacher satisfaction from the survey sample.

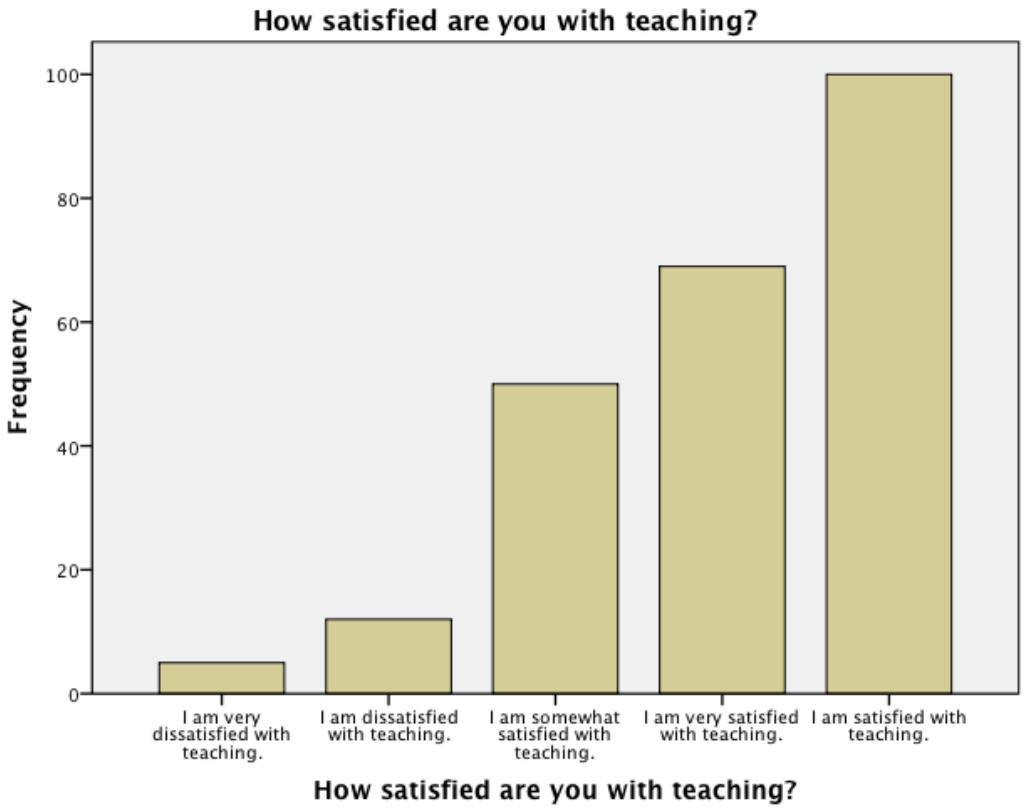


Figure 14. CESD teaching satisfaction.

Teacher responses indicate a high satisfaction with teaching noting that 72% of the respondents indicated, "I am very satisfied with teaching," or "I am very satisfied with teaching." The data was then broken down into FCT and SCT responses to determine if there was a difference in these two groups. The data reflected a highly positive response to teaching for both groups and SCT responses did not significantly differ from FCT in their satisfaction with teaching (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. SCT satisfaction with teaching.

SCTs were highly positive attitude towards teaching with 74% responding with "I am satisfied with teaching," or "I am very satisfied with teaching."

Views of Professionalism and Views of Business in CESD

The online survey was a set of 16 questions that asked participants to rate their agreement on a five-point Likert scale regarding views of professionalism, views of business in teaching, reactions to working conditions, and perspectives of professionalism at the individual and site level (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Washington Post, 2012). The responses were analyzed for descriptive and inferential statistics using SPSS. The survey

provided knowledge of "professional" economies of the field and consequent regulating controls that SCTs encountered in their current work (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Ten of the questions were developed out of Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) statements on business and professional views. It was of interest to determine respondent's reactions to these statements to understand if teachers in CESD had more professional or business views of teaching.

A Wilcoxon test was used to evaluate whether survey respondents favored professional views of teaching or business views of teaching. A Wilcoxon test compares means, which allowed for an understanding between the differences between these two groups. The mean of the business views of teaching results and the means of the professional views of teaching were calculated to determine general responses using descriptive statistics. The results indicated a significant difference, $z = 12.02$, $p < .01$. The mean response to professional views of teaching was 18.25 and the mean response to business views of teaching was 13.83. Figure 16 is a box plot to visually demonstrate the differences in responses by the survey respondent sample. It was noted that there were a few outliers to the group's averages, but due to response rates of the survey ($n = 236$) these were not of concern to the mean of each group (Green & Salkind, 1997).

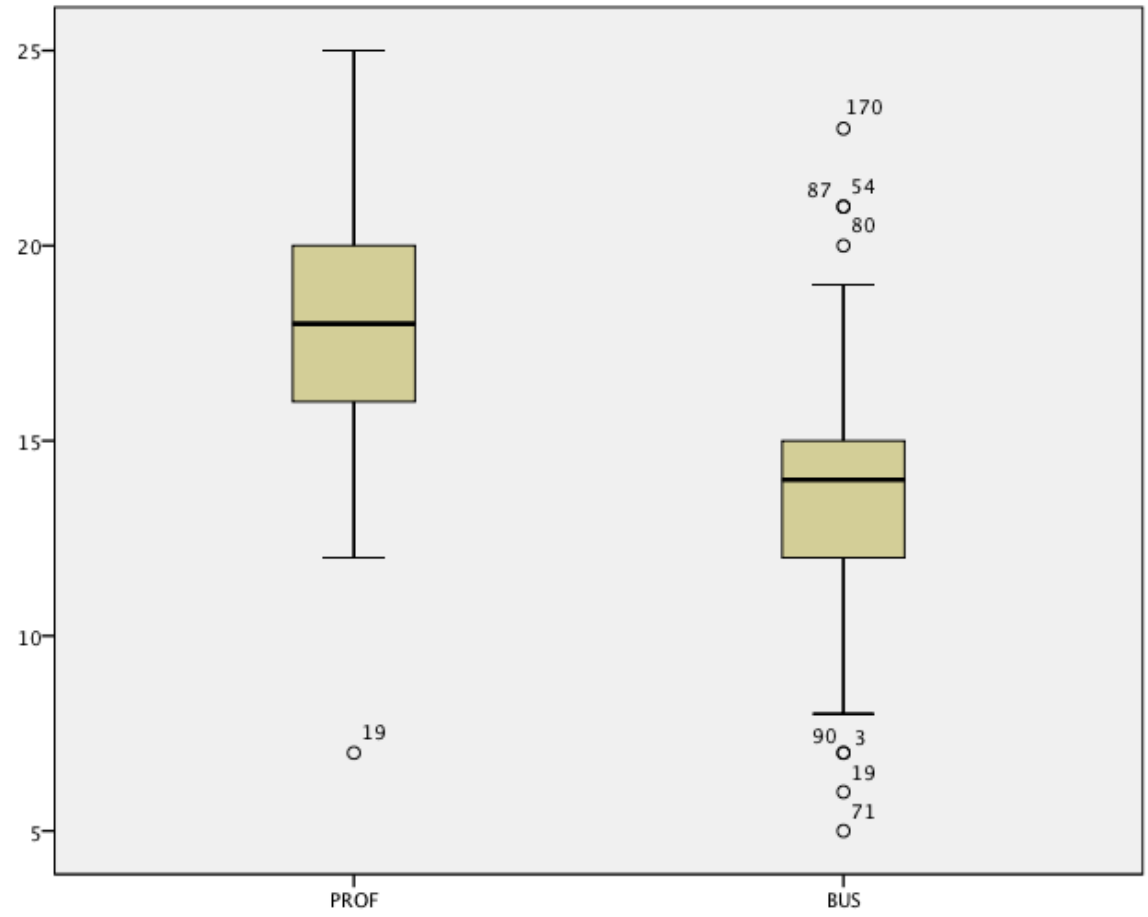


Figure 16. Views of professionalism versus views of business in teaching.

The established dominance regarding views of professionalism was important to understand, as these perspectives represented desired behaviors and perceptions of teachers within the CESD school district (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1990h, 1998a, 1998b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The second step was to compare FCTs' responses to SCTs' responses. One hundred and seventy one respondents were identified as first career teachers (FCT) and 65 were identified as SCT. Since there was a significant difference between views of professionalism and views of business in teaching for the

entire group, an independent *t* test was run to compare the responses of these two groups. An independent *t* test was the appropriate test because it measures the difference between two unrelated groups (Salkind, 2011). The independent *t* test revealed that there were no significant differences in the responses between FCT and SCT in views of professionalism $t\ (234) = .543$, $p = .588$ and views of business $t\ (234) = .524$, $p = .601$. Figure 17 highlights how the responses of each group largely mirror one another (No = SCT, Yes = FCT).

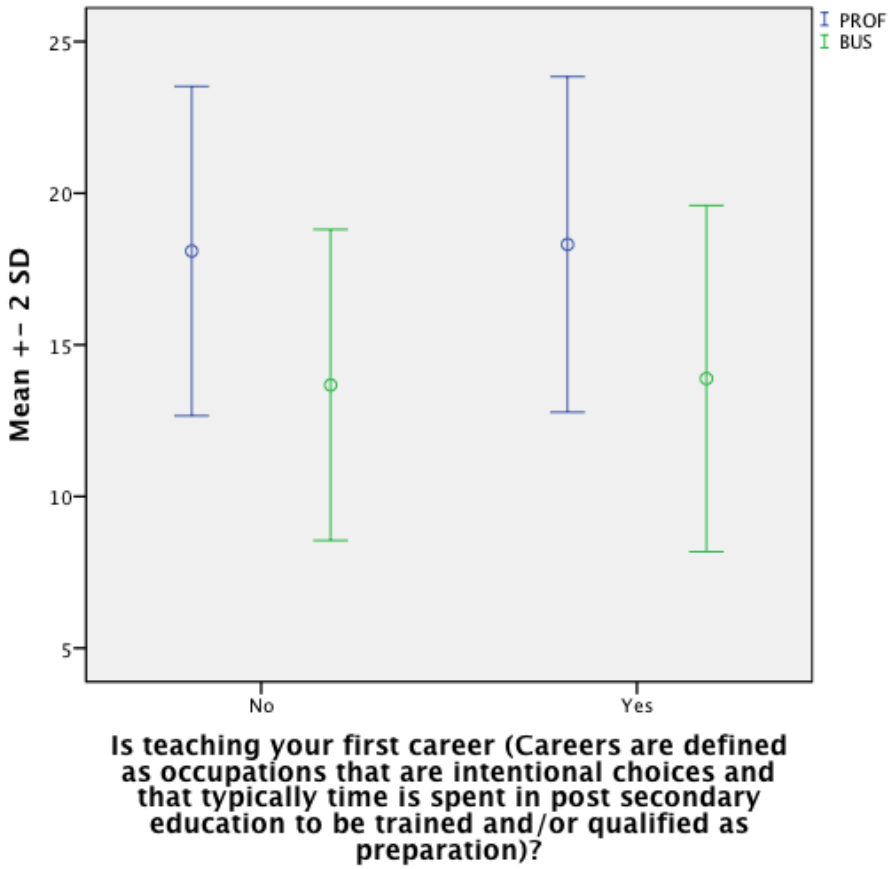


Figure 17. Comparison between first career teachers and second career teachers.

Exploration for differences in age, gender, and ethnicity of the data uncovered other factors that contributed to perspectives of views of professionalism or views of business in teaching. The literature is rich with studies that demonstrate differences in viewpoints based on three of these factors (age, gender, and ethnicity) making the exploration relevant (Day et al., 2007; Apple, 1999; Helterbran, 2008; Lortie, 1975; Willis, 1981; Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005; Cannata, 2010; Hargreaves, 2005; Margolis, 2008). I used a similar technique to assess if there were differences in the two groups responses that might be associated with age, gender, and ethnicity. In general, differences in responses were not statistically significant. Only one group, unmarried FCT and SCT views of professionalism were statistically different. In general, teachers' (FCT and SCT) views of professionalism or views of business in teaching were not statistically different when age, gender, ethnicity, and marriage were analyzed except for unmarried teachers' views of professionalism (see Appendix C).

The t-test analysis allowed me to document the field's regulating controls in regards to these views of teaching. The use of Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) views of teaching demonstrated that CESD teachers agreed more with the statements tied to professionalism (commitment, preparation, networks, consistent improvement) and less with statements tied to business (return on investments, youth, expendable workforce). However, multiple factors can contribute to perspectives of teaching so consequently the data was explored for latent constructs or beliefs and perceptions that may have shaped participants' responses and were not apparent in the initial analysis (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Conway & Huffcutt, 2003).

An exploratory factor analysis was employed using the two sub sets found within the items from the survey: 5 business view items and 5 professional view items (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003). The exploratory factor analysis was run using maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation. Maximum likelihood allowed for an analysis of statistical significance in rotated factors. The direct oblimin rotation was chosen to identify underlying constructs and was consistent with fewer cross loadings to occur within the data. Eigenvalues, the variability within factors, with an outcome greater than 1.0, were used to determine factor loadings. Based on previous data from the independent *t* tests, views of business in teaching were reversed to allow for the negative agreement with this view of teaching. It was noted that some survey responses had skewed responses favoring more agreement (BQ4, BQ5, PQ2, PQ3, PQ4) and others had skewed responses favoring less agreement (BQ1, BQ2). A bivariate correlation was run as factors were considered to be dependent on each other (direct oblimin rotation). Significance in distributions can be found in the Appendix D.

The exploratory factor analysis produced three factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, thus making them relevant for consideration. The first factor had dominant associations with three of the five professional views of teaching ("good teaching is technically sophisticated and difficult," and "good teaching requires high levels of education and long periods of training"). Almost 15% of the variance in all of the items was found in this factor. This factor was labeled: Factor 1 Sophisticated Views of Teaching (Urdan, 2010; Salkind, 2011; Green & Salkind, 1997).

The second factor was dominated by all five of the business views of teaching ("good teaching is emotionally demanding and technically simple," "good teaching is a

quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability," "good teaching is hard at first, but with dedication can be mastered easily," "good teaching should be driven by hard performance data about what works and where best to target effort," "good teaching comes down to enthusiasm, hard work, raw talent and measurable results"). This factor explained 14% of the variance in the items. I named this Factor 2 Business Views of Teaching was the name of this factor (Urdan, 2010; Salkind, 2011; Green & Salkind, 1997). While there was a latent construct tied to this set of questions, the construct demonstrated that disagreement the statements tied to the business views of teaching were related to each other.

A third factor overlapped the professional view of teaching and the business views of teaching and emphasized two views of professionalism ("good teaching is perfected through continuous improvement," and "good teaching is a collective accomplishment and responsibility") and one business view of teaching ("good teaching is a quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability"). This factor was labeled: Factor 3 Collective Improvement Views of Teaching (Urdan, 2010; Green & Salkind, 1997; Salkind, 2011).

The purpose of the exploratory factor analysis was to determine underlying perceptions and beliefs that were present in the CESD sample. While a reliability analysis could have been performed, as previously stated, it was not my intent to reduce the variables but, rather, to determine if the survey produced alternative qualitative data that was not uncovered in the initial independent *t* tests (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003). Two new factors were found through this approach and were subsequently used to the map the objective and subjective perspectives of the field.

Individual and School Professional Qualities for Teaching

Survey respondents were given a list of ten possible qualities and asked to choose the three most important professional qualities they felt were important to them as individuals and what they perceived to be important at their school site. Positive results were determined at a 40% or higher response rate for any of the professional qualities. Agreement between FCTs and SCTs were determined as agreement rates within 5% of each other.

Areas of agreement between FCT and SCT for individual perceptions of professionalism were analyzed in the following discussion. Ranking of the perceptions was not employed; instead relationships between FCTs and SCTs were investigated. A review of response rates for both FCTs and SCTs noted Expert Knowledge, Caring, Dedication and Collaboration as important professional qualities valued by both FCTs and SCTs. Individual perceptions of professionalism reflected less interest in the areas of Demonstrated Success, Compliance, Innovative, Kindness, Independence, and Collegiality by FCTs and SCTs. FCTs and SCTs agreed that Expert Knowledge, Dedication and Demonstrated Success were valued at their school sites. Alternatively, FCTs and SCTs both noted less value in Caring, Collegiality, Kindness and Independence at their school sites.

FCTs and SCTs differed in some perceptions of the professional qualities. The individually valued professional qualities of Dedication and Collegiality were perceived differently by FCTs and SCTS with the largest difference in Dedication (a 12% difference). In addition, perceived school level quantities of professionalism showed less agreement in Compliance, Innovative and Collaborative between FCTs and SCTs.

Interestingly, Collegiality was perceived less positively than Collaborative by both FCTs and SCTs. Appendix E overviews survey responses at the individual and perceived school level to these two questions.

Since differences were noted between perceptions of individually valued qualities of professionalism and perceived school valued qualities of professionalism, a paired *t* was run to understand significance of differences. Paired *t* tests are typically used for comparison of two non independent samples over time. However, a paired *t* test is also appropriate to understand two separate groups in relation to each other (Green & Salkind, 1997). Areas that had significant differences between FCT and SCT perceptions of professional qualities (indivdiual vs. school) were Dedication, Caring, Collegiality, Demonstrated Success, Compliance, Innovative, and Kindness representing seven of the ten professional qualities listed. Appendix F is an overview of all respondent results noting mean (*M*), standard deviations (*SD*), *t* scores, and *p* values.

Once the general respondent results were calculated, it was of interest to look at the responses of FCT and SCT responses independently of each other. Another paired samples *t* test was run to examine the responses of FCT and SCT. FCT responses remained similar to overall responses with significant differences in the same areas (Dedication, Caring, Collegiality, Demonstrated Success, Compliance, Innovative, and Kindness). SCTs had less differences between individual professional qualities in relation to perceived school qualities of professionalism noting four areas with significant differences: Caring, Demonstrated Success, Compliance, and Innovative. Appendix G contains an overview of SCT results noting mean (*M*), standard deviations (*SD*), *t* scores, and *p* values.

Interview Sample

Sixteen individuals responded to the request for an interview representing 25% of the identified SCTs from the online survey. Interviews lasted from 30 minutes to an hour and a half, depending upon the respondents' interest in participating. Fourteen of the interviews were conducted in person and two were conducted by phone. Table 4 is an overview of the demographics of the interviewees in relation to the SCT respondents and the entire survey sample.

Table 4

Demographics

	SCT Respondents		Interviewee Respondents	
	n	Percent	*n*	Percent
Sex				
Female	56	86%	16	100%
Male	9	14%	0	0%
Age				
21-25	0	0%	0	0%
26-34	9	14%	3	19%
35-45	16	25%	6	38%
46-55	28	43%	5	31%
56-65	12	18%	1	6%
65 and Over	0	0%	0	0%
Ethnicity/Race				
White/Caucasian	54	83%	14	88%
Hispanic American	6	9%	1	6%
African American	3	5%	0	0%
Native American	1	1.5%	1	6%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1	1.5%	0	0%
Married				
Yes	49	75%	15	94%
No	16	25%	1	6%
Dependents				
Yes	31	48%	12	75%
No	34	52%	4	25%
Years in Teaching				
0-3	7	11%	2	12%
4-19	54	83%	14	88%
20 or more	4	6%	0	0%

In comparing interviewee respondents against the CESD district and SCTs in the survey, there were some similarities across all groups. All groups were predominantly female, white, married, and in the middle of their teaching careers. Some differences

among the interviewee respondents and their larger sample of SCT were in age (more SCTs were in the 46-55 age range as opposed to the interviewees that were in the younger 35-45 age range) and dependents (more SCTs did not have dependents at home while a majority of the interviewees did). All interviewees were female whereas there were male SCTs in the CESD teacher workforce.

Interviewees had previous careers in multiple fields. Table 5 is an overview of the different fields that interview participants noted as their previous careers.

Table 5

Types of First Careers

Career	Number of Interviewees
Business	5
Entertainment	1
Healthcare	1
Law	1
Non Profit	3
Public Relations	1
Real Estate	1
Social Work	3

Individuals within the field of business reported various types of work (accounting, bookkeeping, banking) and were collapsed into one field: business. Similarily, indivdiuals within non profit work and social work had participants that had varied roles within these fields but were grouped together to understand trends in previous careers. The highest category of prior careers that was noted were in individuals

from the field of business. It was also noted that only three categories warranted clustering of individuals into a broader category.

Once into teaching, SCTs found varied positions. Seven SCTs were teaching in general education classrooms, three were gifted teachers and four of the respondents were in special education. The SCT teachers worked within 13 of the 19 CESD schools. Four of the SCTs worked specifically at the middle schools, eleven of the SCTs worked specifically wihtin the elementary schools, and one SCT worked as a district level support coach. Two SCTs were working in the capacity as support for teachers (academic coach and reading interventionist). Four of the sixteen interviewees respondents (25%) were actively participating in leadership roles within their schools by sitting on school level leadership teams or joining the school's leadership for the following year.

Interviews of SCT and SCT Supervisors in Relation to Survey Data

Latent factors. The quantitative analysis helped me identify three latent factors that arose from the ten question Likert scaled survey: Sophisticated Views of Teaching, Business Views of Teaching (a negative reaction was found for this factor), and Collective Improvement View of Teaching. SCT interviews were analyzed to understand these latent constructs in SCT teacher responses and supervisor interviews. While the data was not coded directly for these constructs, SCT interviews revealed areas where SCTs perceptions of teaching aligned with the latent constructs (Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986; Carrington & Luke, 1997; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984).

Sophisticated views of teaching. Sophisticated views of teaching were aligned to the two questions in the ten question survey on views of professionalism and views of

business in teaching. These two questions asked teacher to rate statements "good teaching is technically sophisticated and difficult" and "good teaching requires high levels of education and long periods of training." For four SCTs this factor resonated strongly within their interviews. Additionally, sophisticated views of teaching appeared in many aspects of SCT interviews. For example, Wanda reflected how she developed a process to design curriculum that met the needs of her students, that was rigorous, and well thought out. This related sophisticated views of teaching as it demonstrated her willingness to design relevant curriculum in a very thorough and strategic manner,

> I didn't have a curriculum so I invented my own—I pretty much put my—I saw what the kids—assessed what they needed, did it very objectively and I designed a program that was going to, I felt, fit their needs and really push them in a positive direction.

Another participant with a highly sophisticated viewpoint of teaching was Josie. She emphasized that she would not be the level of teacher she felt she was now without her prior experiences. She remarked,

> It was a good experience, but I think that also my working experience altogether really helped me adjust to being a teacher. I think easier than coming out of college. I look back at myself, and could I have done this, special ed, and this? I'd have to say the answer is absolutely no. I could not have done it. I could not have done it.

Many SCTs experiences in multiple schools and multiple grades which enhanced their current professional opportunities in CESD and also shaped their sophisticated views of teaching. For example, Jillian spoke of her work as a kindergarten aide, "I worked in the kindergarten program at [School D]. I had experience in the kindergarten classroom so I knew the difference between working and teaching kids, and then what I was doing." Some SCTs highlighted what they viewed as teaching experiences in first careers. Shirley described assisting in her first career in the following way,

> When they say, 'What does this mean?' you say, 'Well, you can read it right here.' You have to kinda figure out a way where you can guide them cuz that's the whole legal issue right there. Then they're calling on you all the time for five months or however long the house takes to build, so it's just what the next step is.

The preceeding examples represent statements by SCTs that indicated they understood that teaching involved multiple steps, needed to be well planned, and required a depth of knowledge beyond a textbook that outlines what to teach.

Four of the SCTs' supervisors described their SCTs as having a sophisticated view of teaching in four of the SCTs. For example Mr. Morris stated,

> She has a big scope of how far do I want my kids to get and what do I have to do to get them there. Not necessarily that my other teachers don't do that, but they do it in terms of test scores and how I want my kids to perform by the end of the year, where [SCT] does more of the how, what do I want them to walk away understanding.

Mrs. Daniels noted her SCTs recognized that teaching requires ongoing professional development,, "When we started up [program] she was one of the first to hop on the bandwagon and wanna get trained and attend conventions and stuff. In fact, she presented at the last national convention last year."

Negative reactions to business views of teaching. The business view of teaching was aligned with all five of the questions from the survey that reflected this viewpoint: "good teaching may be emotionally demanding, but it is technically simple," " good teaching is a quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability," "good teaching is hard at first, but with dedication can be mastered readily," "good teaching should be driven by hard performance data about what works and where best to target one's efforts," "good teaching comes down to enthusiasm, hard work, raw talent, and measurable results," and "good teaching is often replacable by online instruction." As previously noted, neither FCTs or SCTs showed strong agreement with these statements.

In the interviews, the SCTs descriptions of teaching did not address the to business views of teaching which suggested this was not a a viewpoint that was relevant to them. There were very few statements throughout the interviews that aligned with this viewpoint of teaching. Threre were no comments by supervisors that invoked the business view of teaching.

Collective improvement views of teaching. Collective improvement views combined two of the professional views in teaching and one of the business views of teaching: , "good teaching is perfected through continuous improvement," "good teaching is a collective accomplishment," and "good teaching is a quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability." Twelve SCTs statements highlighted this view as the dominant factor in their teaching. This perspective was also highlighted in their descriptions of first and second career experiences. A frequent occurrence in SCTs' dispostions noted supporting colleagues and collaborating with colleagues. In these themes, SCTs shared an adherence to high levels of collaboration and support for colleagues signifying a disposition (preperceptions, adherences to the "norm," awareness of being in and out of synch with others) towards continuous improvement (Bourdieu, 1990f, 1990g, 1998b, 2000a, 2000c). For example, Josie stated, "[In my first career] I had networked a lot with other people and learned to work with other people, and you need to do that very much in teaching." Many SCTs reported acts of disinterest (investment in professional actions without monetary reward) which suggests that they viewed collective responsibility as important to them and teaching (Bourdieu, 1998a). Louise represents this by stating, "I think as a teacher you're much more accountable for their success [speaking about students in relation to her previous career as a case

worker].” Another theme that was associated with this factor was new experiences which invoked the statement that good teaching is quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability. SCTs’ described themselves as interested in new experiences which suggested that they welcomed novelty and innovations did not provide an overwhelming challenge. Jasmine summed up this sentiment with her statement comparing career in comparison to teaching, “I liked the fact that I was always busy, every day was different, I got to meet lots and lots of new people, and I usually had at least one new challenge every day. It’s a lot like teaching.”

Eight principals communicated SCTs having a collective view of teaching. Mr. Bliss noted, “She very much had the attitude, ‘whatever I can do to help you,’” which represented the sentiment of many supervisor perspectives of SCTs. Another area that supervisors noted of SCTs were acts of support for their colleagues. For example, Mrs. Wiley noted, “She’s also really good at being able to talk them through, ‘This is what I want to do, this is what I want to see, how can I help you in the classroom, how can we work together?’”

Professional qualitites. As previously documented, CESD teachers were queried on perceptions of professional qualitites that were deemed important. Quantitative data previously analyzed looked at the relationships of FCTs’ and SCTs’ perceptions at the individual level and perceived importance at schools. In determining overall professional qualities for the field, the three highest responses at the individual and school level were chosen: Expert knowledge, Collaboration, and Dedication. Expert Knowledge and Collaboration had the second highest areas of agreement and positive results for the entire survey sample. The area that had the highest positive results was Dedication.

Dedication did not have as high agreement between the individual and perceived school levels but since individual (79%) and school level (66%) were both well above the 40% agreement mark, it was included as an important professional quality for the field. SCT interviews were found to reflect these professional qualities. While data was not coded directly for these themes, SCT interviews and SCT supervisor interviews revealed areas where SCTs aligned with these professional qualities (Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986; Carrington & Luke, 1997; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984)..

Expert knowledge. Expert knowledge was noticed in SCT descriptions of their previous careers and within their careers as teachers. Ten of the participants spoke directly about their expert knowledge. While all SCTs shared expert knowledge of skills from their first career, I did not solicit the SCTs to expand upon their technical skills from their first careers in areas such as typing or data entry or bookkeeping. Expert knowledge from the interviews was focused in areas where SCTs interacted with colleagues or clients and were recognized by others. For example, Wanda shared how she worked with interns to share her expert knowledge, "I've had two interns every semester and I had a student teacher last year—second semester of last year. Which I absolutely love(d)." In addition, Brittany reflected how she was percieved by parents in her school, "They put his sister in my class a few years later and said, 'Ms. Brittany can do anything.'"

Seven supervisors noted SCTs' expert knowledge. For example, Mr. Bliss described his SCT as follows: "[When] I need somebody who's got a little bit different skillset than your basic teacher. She's the person that I will go and ask." Expert

knowledge was also reflected in SCTs' ability to think dynamically. Mr. Green shared that his SCT brought a unique perspective, "With other people, we may all be talking kinda longer saying why, and she may bring up a different way to look at things. That is not coming from any other staff member but her."

Dedication. Dedication was noted directly by twelve of the participants. Many of the SCTs shared longterm first careers representing dedication to a previous career or focus "I did that for about 20 years," from Brittany, "I worked with them about 10 years," from Louise, and "I was a bookkeeper. I did that for 25 years," from Josie. In addition, SCTs' actions of disinterest reflected dedication to projects and colleagues. For example Wanda shared, "Yeah, I feel that's my job. Just not my responsibility to those students but it's also responsibility to my profession to be able to—I'm not possessive of my space."

While dedication was noted by a majority of the SCTs, it was less noted by supervisors. Only three supervisor interviews reflected a perspective of dedication. Supervisors that noted dedication described their SCTs as willing to go the extra mile. For example a supervisor commented on a SCT that took time to learn a new content area to be more supportive of her colleagues:

> To see her understanding increase that she would volunteer to sit with grade levels and plan math, I saw. She always saw it as growth for her as well, and I think that goes a long way with teachers, too, like I know you were the [former position].

Collaboration. Collaboration was a professional quality that was mainly shared through SCTs' accounts of networks and relationships they built in their first and second careers. For example, relationships of SCTs with others reflected connections with other colleagues, parents, and students. Brittany expressed, "It was a matter of working with

parents and figuring out this is what—this is what we're gonna try to see if we can help him learn to read but it's gonna require work on your part. It'll require work on our part." Liesel described how much she enjoyed her relationships with her students, "It's that you made a difference for a child. Sometimes it's not the math instruction or the reading instruction or the—sometimes it's the simple little thing."

Collaboration was the most frequent professional quality noted by all the supervisors. Eleven of the supervisors saw their SCTs as highly collaborative. This was noted through multiple arenas within teaching from collaborating with other teachers, collaborating with the supervisor and collaborating with the community. For example, Mr. Jones description of his SCTs notes her bringing professional insight from substitute teaching that Josie did in another state "…and the experience that she had from other schools or working in different districts, she's able to really share those strategies or those ideas." In addition, they are noted for their relationships with students, Mr. Green shared, "her relationship with kids, a positive but holding kids to high expectations. There's that combination of caring and rigor, I guess that would be a way to capture that," was representative of many of the supervisors' perceptions.

Field Positions of SCTs

Drawing from the work of Bourdieu, the survey and interview datum were analyzed following methodology drawn from reflexive sociology. A field represents a collection of individuals and ideas who determine economies that regulate those participating in the field. Understanding positions within a field allowed undertsanding CESD's illusio (what is worth the effort of investment in the game based on embodied knowledge from individual location) and relations associated with positions (Bourdieu,

1990a, 1990k, 1998a, 2000a, 2000c). Interview datum analyzed for relationships betweeen SCTs responses *"being professional"* and the responses of supervisors *"being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012) drew from the objective structures identified through the analysis of the survey data. This process allowed for an understanding of SCT positions within the CESD field. As previously established in this chapter, the latent constructs and perspectives represented CESD's definitions of professional habitus.

As noted previously, SCT responses were considered perspectives of *"being professional"* and supervisor responses were considered perspectives of *"being a professional"* (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). All but two SCTs were perceived by their supervisors to *"be a professional"* as defined by the professional habitus defined by the survey (Sophisticated Views of Teaching, Collective Improvement Views of Teaching, Expert Knowledge, Dedication, and Collaboration). Additionally, SCTs stories of *"being professional,"* demonstrated that SCTs stories aligned with the professional habitus of CESD. Overall, the SCTs that were interviewed in this study were seen as aligning with the professional habitus of CESD in a positive manner both from their own self perceptions and as perceived by their supervisors. In addition, seven of the SCTs were members on leadership teams, one SCT had asked to join the school's leadership team the following year and three others were sought out as informal leaders.

It should be noted that although the objective structure were drawn from a representative sample of CESD teachers it may not fully represent the view of professionalism held by all teachers in the district. Furthermore, only SCT interviews were used to compare individual perspectives of professionalism in relation to the field.

Based on the number of respondents, the lengths of SCT interviews, I feel that the analytical process allowed the key elements of professionalism to be sufficiently captured.

SCT Skills and Multipliers from First Career

In the interviews, SCTs and their supervisors also described skills and "multipliers" that SCTs acquired during prior careers. These were of interest to the analysis of professionalism as they may represent unique qualities and perspectives that SCTs brought to the field of teaching. Multipliers were defined as actions that SCTs employed in their interactions with others that amplified other capitals such as favors, offers, and misrecognition (things exchanged in place of money but were valued and should have monetary value; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Descriptions of professionalism from SCTs and supervisor interviews provided insider awareness of SCT skills, dispositions, networks, relationships and concepts of time that were used to communicate qualities of SCTs as individuals rather than signify SCTs as a whole. In the interviews, supervisors were in general complementary of SCTs' professionalism and presence in the schools.

Prior experience noted as a multiplier. During the interviews, SCTs were asked if they viewed having careers prior to teaching as an advantage or disadvantage. They described their previous careers as providing specific skills that were relevant to their work as teachers. Figure 18 is a chart of the specific participant and her explanation of how her previous career was viewed as a multiplier.

Participant	Response
Jasmine	That [technology] kind of helped me when schools adapted later. I'm like, "Ooh, I already know how to use those." I was kinda surprised they didn't have those tools available.
Brittany	I mean I worked in student loans and people call and people are not very happy about that at all and if you can deal with any of that, you can deal with anything. That kind of thing so maybe that helps transition working back. I think that helps with kids too 'cause you realize they've all come from different places.
Astrid	I think [customer relations] really helped me in the classroom, because instead of having a student who becomes irate and mad, I'm just like, "Okay. If you need to go outside and get a break, go for it," you know. I'm not going to go tic for tac in a yelling match.
Ruth	Yeah, I think [working collaboratively in teams with adults] probably set the stage for me then being able to go out and work with all the different individuals you have to be able to work with: parents, principals, other teachers, other staff members. I think that was probably a good setting the stage for those skill sets that helped me later.
Louise	Well I think that dealing with children with special needs, I think a lot of times their parents also have special needs. I know for a fact that a lot of the parents I work with are clients that I would have worked with previously because they've told me that.
Josie	I think all those skills I learned as a bookkeeper absolutely, while it's very different work, they're very transferrable in so many ways that it has absolutely helped me to ease into this type of job so much better just my life experience alone. It's just been an easier shift for me, and I think especially the multitasking.
Libby	But perhaps you realize early on in some of those types of jobs that your expectations of who the people you're serving are, what you would be doing, how useful you are, how impactful you are, you realize your expectations are really out of whack.
Brenda	I found that my business sense, like the things that the business trained me to do, such as simple things like returning phone calls right away, or how to interact with other people to make sure they are treated respectfully—those transferred to the classroom and the school as well.

Figure 18. Multipliers from first career.

All respondents found their previous career as an advantage, but they did not all feel their prior experiences were always validated by the teaching field. Two individuals remarked that their previous experiences were dismissed by fellow educators. These

individuals noted that expertise and life experience were not recognized because in order to become a school leader an administrator needs to have specific credentials. For example, Brittany noted,

> First of all, what you've ever done in the past has no bearing in the education world. I have 20 years of management experience and I couldn't manage—I mean that's like, that's not education and you're like, 'Well, it's still management It's still. I know all how to do finance, how to do that.' If it's not in the education world it doesn't count so I can be a teacher but I would have to get another endorsement or degree to be able to manage in education which I think is kind of funny because we're all about education but it has to be the right education to do all that.

Novel experiences. Eleven of the 16 participants also highlighted novel experiences related to teaching including: busyness, orientation towards work, and concepts of time. This data was related to their individual dispositions which were considered part of how they adhered to regularites of the field (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1990g, 1986, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b). Comments such as "I loved the new experience" (P1) or "I liked the fact that I was always busy, every day was different, I got to meet lots of new people, and I usually had at least one new challenge every day" (Brittany) surfaced in many of the interivews. A desire to try new things was explained through Brittany's interest in coming to teaching,

> I was laid off and I had a severance package and called [local university] and the program that I could get my master's in three semesters or whatever. I'm like, 'Oh, let's try it,' cause that's something I've always kind of thought would be fun.

Throughout the interviews and within the theme of novel experiences, SCT perspectives of "time" was noted. How SCT reflected on what was urgent, sequences of life and work events, how time was spent and where they took time were considered part of individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1990f; 1990g, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b). Seven of the participants reflected on the importance of staying busy. For example,

Jasmine and Wanda remarked about their first careers, "I was getting kind of bored. It was getting to the point where I could get all of my required duties done by 8:00 in the morning, and then I was kinda like, 'Do da-do da-do,'" and "I just wasn't—it was one of those things where it was hurry up and wait. You stand around and don't do a whole lot and then you tend to people when they get hurt." The theme of busyness also related to their work orientation. Louise remarked in her first career she maintained two jobs, "I worked with them for about 10 years. Then simultaneously, I was a case manager for an international adoption agency."

Intentionality. SCTs reflected dispositions laden with intentionality. Intentional data reflected work attitudes and deliberate choices to come to teaching made by SCTs Bourdieu defines disposition as internalized adherence to norms and regularities of the field. An individual's disposition is also considered part of one's habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1990f, 1990g, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b). Allison directly remarked about her work orientation as she discussed her work as a teacher, "Honestly, I am not the type of person who seeks out that kind of tension [engagement in gossip and cliques among teachers]. I'm here to work. I'm here to do a job." This perspective was shared with four other of the SCTs. Similarily, Wanda remarked about a previous teaching position at a private school where the emphasis in the school was less on academic instruction and more on maintaining a day-care like culture, "I knew the first day when the director was like make sure that all of your class parties for the year are already set up; you have it on your calendar. I'm like are you serious? They don't wanna know what I'm teaching?"

As individuals that came to teaching as a second career, interview data revealed that fifteen of the sixteen SCTs came to teaching as a choice, not as a last resort. Some

noted that in their younger years, they had considered teaching but the pay deterred them. Josie noted,

> At the time when I was choosing—when I went to college when I was—before I got married, I'd considered teaching at the time as a major, and I thought, 'No, let's do business because this pays a little better,' because the pay for teaching isn't the best.

However in later years, situations changed for many SCTs and they viewed teaching as something to which they returned. Brenda noted that after time spent in the entertainment industry, she realized she desired a career that had more of an impact on others, " I always loved kids and I was a camp counselor when I was growing up. My dad's a teacher, so I grew up around it, and I just—I wanted a career I could be passionate about so I decided to go into education." Betty also commented on coming to teaching knowing that the pay would not be high,

> I always joke [chuckles] now when people are like, 'Why'd you become a teacher?' and I joke that I'm like—well, I decided like what could I—how could I spend the most amount of money getting an education and make the least amount [laughter]. You know? It's one of those things where you're like, 'I love my job. I love my job.'

Preperceptions. Embodied capital as noted in SCTs' dispositions was related to preperceptions noted as an ability to sense actions before they were needed (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1990f, 1990g, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b). Many of the SCTs' dispositions included the ability to plan ahead and manage the future with a sense of ease. This ability reflected an awareness of what and how to plan for success within teaching using forethought and prior experience. Brenda indicated, "I like to be very, very organized in my lessons; I like to know exactly what I'm presenting at what point in the lesson and when, and exactly what procedure I'm following." Another participant, Ruth had similar interests, "I love planning, so that piece always—I think that meets my creative side

because I was able to come up with ideas and plan the lessons." In addition to planning, SCTs also were able to connect concepts and ideas with larger themes. For example, Wanda remarked, "I'll go to any training that they're gonna pay for. I'm there and I can take it and I take the best of it and make it relevant." Gretta also used forethought as she transitioned from her first to second career, "Taking the career I already had and making it fit into my next career," when she used the term "recareering."

Preperceptions were influenced by previous experiences. While all SCTs had a prior career to teaching, they also were people that had had multiple experiences within education, often having taught in multiple grades, districts, or had been substitute teachers prior to their current positions. Many of the SCTs indicated that their previous experiences as mothers was of benefit to them in their teaching career. Ruth stated, "I think I would've been a different teacher if I'd have gone into the classroom at 21 or 22 years old not having had the experience of my own kids to kind of soften it out a little bit." Age also led to a more secure sense of self when entering teaching. Wanda revealed,

> I think when I come in—first of all I'm coming in with more maturity. I think education is wasted on the young. It really is. I got so much out of my second bout in master's work than I did the first time in undergraduate.

SCTs noted their age (being older) as contributing to more professional perspectives.

Relationships. A theme of relationships was not surprising for individuals that have come to the field of teaching. The theme of relationships was related to SCTs' professional cultural capital through their embodied awareness of relationships and networks (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1990b, 1990f, 1990g, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b; Swartz, 1997). For one participant, the desire for strong relationships was a reason to leave her

first career and seek out teaching. Shirley realized that she had always been a "people person" stating,

> I think relating to people. When I worked in the new home sales, I could identify with a lot of the buyers even though I didn't represent them because they were young and looking for a home they could afford.

However, many of the participants had a history of establishing relationships with others that they transferred into their teaching experience. Brittany reflected on her previous career with newfound insight,

> You know that is a good question. I don't know. I talk to my people. I guess I was out on the floor a lot, use a lot of time walking around looking at what they're doing, answering their questions, that kind of thing.

Networks that were built with others involved supporting colleagues in numerous ways. Jasmine, a gifted teacher, stated,

> I'm one of those crazy people that's here at 6:20 in the morning, and the teachers that are also here, they know that, and they'll come in. They know, 'Well I wanna do this in the next couple weeks. What should I do for my gifted kids, or what should I do for my kids?

Wanda supported colleagues by setting an example,

> I don't mind pulling the extra weight cuz that's—I'm gonna go full-steam ahead on it and they're more than happy to let me go and give me a little support and make tweaks here and there and do things. We work really well together.

While it is well noted in the literature that prototypes of teachers are often associated with mothers, guardians, and caretakers, SCTs did not consider themselves mothers or caretakers in their roles as teachers for just their students. They built relationships beyond their classroom walls. (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Cuban, 1993). Supervisors noted that many of the SCTs had strong relationships with their communities. Mr. Jones, middle school principal, shared, "She's always reaching

out to parents. We have parent teacher conferences twice a year; one in September and one in February. She has a great turn out." Likewise, Mr. Harrington noted,

> She's been connected to the different families that are in the community, or that choose to be in the community. She's aware of their needs and their strengths, their passions, their desires, especially within the special needs community…she knows those families well. Those families look to her as a kind of stable point at the school for the consistency in the program.

Collaboration. SCTs and their supervisors' descriptions overlapped in importance of collaboration. Collaboration entailed working with others based on examples set in prior career experiences. SCTs' professional cultural capital was heavily dominated with incidences of collaborating and supporting colleagues in their career in teaching. SCT commitments to group collaboration were indicated through statements such as the following noted by Jasmine "With gifted, we plan our units together. We all get together. We're spending the first week of June together to do that." What was noted in this statement was not necessarily the intent to group plan but the excitement and strong interest in this collaboration. Additionally Brittany stated,

> You're all kind of 'Oh this would be a good way to do it,' and working together to try and see how that would—how to do the best thing for your kiddos. That's been really one of the most enjoyable things is being a team that functions well, everybody's got input and works together.

Many SCTs reflected on high levels of collaboration in their first careers such as Gretta, "We kind of became—she became a really good rec therapist who could do music therapy and I became a really good music therapist who could do rec therapy," and Louise "You would have to build a case with the help of the psychiatrist to get them a payee, so at least their bills were getting paid and they weren't getting evicted." Accordingly occurrences of collaboration were also noted by superviors. Mrs. Wiley stated, "She's kind of looking for kids and helping teachers to identify students that might

be successful in the [gifted name]program." Mr Harrington noted, "She has supported other teachers who have had some challenges this year. She's been there for them, as well, trying to keep their perspective solid." Other supervisors noted how the SCTs collaborate to meet the needs of students. Mr. Williams shared,

> My whole fourth grade this year was competitive, and I think she fit right into that. They wanna do their best for the kids. They wanted the best numbers, and they work and work and work and teach their hearts out.

Supervisor interviews were coded for statements that noted supervisors' descriptions of the dispositions of SCTs (internalized adherence to norms and regularities in the field; Bourdieu, 1990a, 1990b, 1990f, 1990g, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b). Most supervisors noted that the SCTs they oversaw had an ability to assist them in areas of leadership due to their depth of perspectives and ability to think dynamically. Mrs. Smith noted,

> We have people who have taught much longer or have been in the profession much longer, and that might be why she has that perspective. I mean, this is all I have ever known, and this is how it's been, but she brings that. I often wonder if that was one of the reasons why. She has a different experience and can say, 'Hey, this is way too much.'

Mrs. Wiley noted, "Very insightful though, [SCT] really looks at what the impact is long range and not just for the kids but for the school, so it's been nice," and Mr. Harrington stated, "I can count on her as a person, just personally, to someone I can bounce ideas off of, go to for a different perspective." Mrs. Wiley noted,

> Amazing is not even the right word to describe her. She would go out of her way to set up individual systems with each kid. Okay, you want to work for a hamburger, okay. You stay out of intervention and make the choices in your classroom for three days; I'll go buy you a hamburger.

Mr. Green stated, "She tends to more—kinda come up with ideas that are a little bit more unique, creative, out of the box."

Another area that was noted among the SCTs was a directness in their collaboration via communication skills. Supervisors appeared to appreciate SCTs' ability to correspond in a straightforward manner with students, parents, and other staff members. Examples of supervisor remarks for this were Mr. Jones saying,

> She feels free to speak. Is she wants to speak her mind or if she has—we talked about her strategies or things she's doing in her classroom that might be different from others, or the ideas that she—and the experience that she had from other schools or working in different districts, she's able to really share those strategies or share those ideas.

Mrs. Daniels noted that the SCT at her school had the ability to use her direct communication skills to challenge others in a positive light.

> Self confidence, I think that is the key, because when you're in a leadership role or you're working on a leadership team, or any grade level team, you have to have the confidence to be able to just speak out. To question others, to question yourself, and to take everything just one step further, and [SCT] has that self-confidence, and I think from the beginning that is what [SCT] brought in to us.

Due to their prior experiences in careers and other schools, SCTs had built up networks of resources either with other individuals (outside teaching), other teachers, other grade levels, or other entities. Interviewees reflected reporting of these constant changes as a matter of fact, not a point of distress. Within the field of teaching, Gretta reported, "I did special ed music, so I went around to nine schools every week and taught all the special needs classes. I went to School A for their emotionally disturbed program and I went to School B and I went to School C and you name it; I was there," or Ruth, "I couldn't afford to just go to school ful time (for teaching certificate as a post bac). So because I had a bachelor's I started subbing. I was subbing and doing the post bac at the same time." Shirley explains,

> I don't think—I mean I'm 40 now, so it's like—I think it's very different than somebody that is coming into teaching straight outta college and they're 24.

> That's the type of person that I see where it's like teaching just embodies them; that's who they are.

And outside of education, Libby remarked, "I worked with them for a short time, and then I moved on to [Organization] which is a nonprofit in town." Experiences in prior careers assisted many in their teaching as they commented in ways such as these, "I had networked a lot with other people and learned to work with other people, and you need to do that very much in teaching."

Chapter 5 – Conclusions and Discussion

The main focus of this research was to understand SCTs' prior professional practices relationship to professional expectations within schools. Having been both a first career teacher and a second career teacher, I had the unique perspective of personally living through professionalism from both viewpoints. My own experiences allowed me to access a deep reflexivity between objective structures of professionalism in teaching in relation to the subjective perspectives of the SCTs' professional experiences. Going into this study, I wondered if my experiences as a SCT were isolated to my own encounters within teaching or if other SCTs had similar experiences.

An initial review of CESD's datum of professional views of teaching, business views of teaching, and professional qualities (valued individually and within schools) provided a grounding framework from which I framed my analysis of the survey and interviews. Overall, teachers in CESD favored more professional views of teaching in comparison to business views of teaching, but had less alignment with the expectations valued at work sites. Two constructs of professional views arose from the survey data that assisted in defining requisite professional capital within CESD: Sophisticated Views of Teaching and Collective Improvement Views of Teaching. Sophisticated Views in Teaching, the most valued construct, involved the following elements: "good teaching is technically sophisticated and difficult," and "good teaching requires high levels of education and long periods of training" (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). The other dominant construct, Collective Improvement Views in Teaching, entailed "good teaching is perfected through continuous improvement," good teaching is a collective accomplishment and responsibility," and "good teaching is a quick study requiring only

moderate intellectual ability" (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). In addition, professional qualities that were recognized as important among all teachers surveyed were Expert Knowledge, Caring, and Collaboration. Surveyed teachers' perspectives of school level professional expectations were Expert Knowledge, Dedication, and Demonstrated Success were found to be important. In sum, teachers who defined good teaching as complex and demanding, believed in consistent improvement, and were compassionate fell into the "professional norm" which was the dominant view for CESD.

These results did not surprise me based on my experiences in teaching as a first career teacher (FCT). As a first career teacher, I *felt* I worked hard (reaching the needs of students required diligence, complexity, and consistent review of student work), *presumed* that others worked hard in their classrooms (I was not afforded an opportunity to view others teaching), *believed* that collectively we (teachers) were doing important work (our responsibility as teachers was critical for a prepared workforce), and *identified with* constant learning as essential to build my skills as a teacher (the more I taught, the more I knew about teaching). During this time, I considered myself a metaphorical mother tending my students. When changes occurred in education that disrupted *my* view of teaching, my identity as a teacher was challenged. I did not know how to interpret the changes in relation to my practices or my point of view. I perceived I could no longer continue as a teacher, so I left the field of teaching.

During my departure from teaching, I had the opportunity to better understand broader professional perspectives through my venture into another career, which equipped me with new perspectives that were considered interesting and relevant when I returned to teaching as a SCT. Upon re-entrance to the field of teaching, I held onto my

original perspectives and beliefs but I could visualize, vocalize, and work on a broader scale than when I had been a FCT. I was less attached to "me" and more attached to "we" as a SCT.

In some ways, the SCTs were like the "Transformers,"[3] from the popular movies and tv series through their actions of conversion into a new professional field: the field of teaching. In general, SCTs were absorbed within the larger population of first career teachers at sites, seemingly unnoticed as a collective group within the district. It was unknown if SCTs' professional cultural capital developed in their prior career would benefit them in the field of teaching. In addition, were SCTs' positions within schools compromised due to their early career experiences in another career?

SCTs Professional Cultural Capital

As noted previously in Chapter 4, SCTs did not congregate in one school or one role within the CESD district. Instead, SCTs held positions in all 20 of the elementary and middle schools in every position available for a certified teacher. The SCTs were widespread across the district in small and/or isolated pockets. As newcomers to the field, determining how SCTs operated within the schools (in relation to their FCT counterparts) provided insight into their ability to impact the professional perspectives within the field of teaching, individually and collectively.

[3] Transformers were fictional aliens that became popular in several TV series and as a major motion picture. When on Earth, Transformers had the ability to transform themselves from their alien robot bodies into ordinary Earthly objects. Their transformed configuration highlighted their personality or skills, enhancing this quality to benefit both the Transformer and human beings on Earth. (Orci & Kurtzman, 2007)

Bourdieu's studies on social constructs in Algeria and France defined social fields as spaces structured by power relationships among individuals and groups (Bourdieu, 1986f, 1998a, 2008; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Furthermore people in positions of "power" within a field can hold formal and/or informal status because they are able to monitor and determine valued and circulated forms of capitals (cultural, social, and economic). As previously stated in Chapter 2, individuals who have the opportunity to develop in a field where legitimized capital(s) is as natural as the air one breathes acquire a self-assuredness that perpetuates legitimized practices and the profitability of the practices they engage in. Those who enter new social fields bring cultivated habitus developed in prior fields with different definitions of capital (cultural, social, and economic). When newcomers enter fields (such as SCTs), their presence can cause imbalances of power based on alignment or misalignment to the fields' existing definitions of capital. Thus location(s) of professional power within the field created context to what was valued and institutionalized as legitimate professional practices.

Building upon Bourdieu's reflexive methodologies, a chiasmic set of teaching views (professional views and business views) drawn from macro fields (state and national policy reflecting professional and neoliberal influences) were brought to the micro level of CESD to better understand how they operate within local contexts. These views were explored through survey and interview data that included professional views of teaching, business views of teaching and individual and perceived school level professional qualities. I used a survey to elicit the objectified and standardized views of professionalism within the district. In addition, interview data provided subjective accounts from SCTs and their supervisors as participants within the field of teaching. The

interviews allowed me to understand local context of SCTs' experiences in teaching and to learn counter perspectives. SCTs' professional cultural capital, built upon prior professional experiences in non teaching careers, providing opportunities to use professional skills that may not be as easily accessed by teachers who have only worked within the field of teaching.

The relationship between individual SCT data in comparison to SCTs' supervisor data provided insight into the field locations of thirteen of the sixteen of the SCTs (three SCTs did not have supervisors who participated in the interview, thus they were omitted from this component of the analysis). The analysis suggested that eleven of the thirteen SCTs occupied positions within schools (see Chapter 4) that aligned with professionalism in CESD.

Both SCTs and FCTs expressed differences between individual perceptions of professional qualities in relation to their school sites in the following areas: caring, demonstrated success, compliance, and innovation. However, FCTs noted an additional three areas: dedication, collegiality, and kindness where they found further dissonance between individual professional qualities in relation to the valued qualities at their sites. The collective SCTs' perceptions of valued professional qualities in comparison to professional qualities valued at school sites demonstrated insight into professional behaviors, actions, and qualities indicating access or requisite professional cultural capital. Additionally, 50% of the SCT interviews revealed professional advantages SCTs related directly to their prior career. Professional cultural capital developed in prior career(s) continued to develop and assist SCTs within their teaching career.

Fourteen out of sixteen (88%) of the SCTs interviewed from this study were in the middle stage of their careers. Their descriptions of their experiences suggested that they reached a place characteristic of middle career teachers of teachers where a sense of rhythm and routine in teaching was noted in the research (Huberman, 1989; Margolis, 2008). This was evident through their engagement in teaching, relaying how they have created routines in their classrooms and with other teachers, navigated participation within school level committees, and reflected an orientation towards coming to school to "get their work done." Additionally, Day et al.'s (2007) research indicated that teachers in mid career stages who have the ability to gain leadership roles was paramount to retention within teaching. Seven of the SCTs that interviewed were in leadership positions within their school through membership on school level leadership teams, one other had requested to join the school's leadership team for the following year, and three others, while not members on a "team," were sought out by their supervisors for advice and insight. Therefore, SCTs may have an advantage in accessing leadership roles due to their positive professional cultural capital both individually and collectively thus assisting them in further developing commitment to the field of teaching.

SCTs' professional insight resembled what Bourdieu called a "preperception," an ability to perceive through having a feel for the professional game (Bourdieu, 1998a). Unlike FCTs that went from being a student to being a teacher without other professional experiences, SCTs' professional perspectives were a reconversion from their previous careers that seem to enhance their new positions within teaching (Bourdieu, 1998a, 2000b). SCTs' abilities to transform these professional perspectives into the field of teaching indicated that they had an awareness and agreement with broader professional

perspectives of teaching. In addition, SCTs were well received by their supervisors, were well adjusted within their school campuses, and had remained within teaching into a mid-career stage.

Super Teachers or Committed Teachers?

SCTs were chosen as a counter perspective to reveal current professional perspectives that may not be as visible among teachers that have only worked in the field of teaching. SCTs were less represented in schools as a collective group and as individuals within schools. Paulo Freire (2005) stated that dominant classes have the power to differentiate themselves from the dominated classes, keeping an imbalance of power. A dominant class may do this through rejection, separation, or dismissal. I built upon Freire's interpretation of power using Bourdieu's concept of capitals, fields of power, and habitus to better understand the power relationships between FCTs and SCTs within schools. While Paulo Freire and Pierre Bourdieu are not often used in the same analysis, their perspectives of power imbalances are related. Freire's focus was on oppressive structures emphasized liberating individuals and groups towards more equitable opportunities based on relevance to local contexts. He notes that dominant groups utilize power to their advantage through various methods. Bourdieu was interested in relationships between subjective and objective structures to understand fields of power and opportunities located within fields and how this provides insight into how power structures may operate within the symbolic field. Utilizing both Friere and Bourdieu's perspectives, I gained insight into interpretations of CESD's attitudes of professionalism in teaching and how these were maintained.

This study has established that SCTs as *individuals* within schools aligned with the CESD's professional views of teaching. SCT phenomena have been featured in popular movies such as "Stand and Deliver," "Dangerous Minds," "Kindergarten Cop," and "School of Rock." SCTs in these movies demonstrated super hero qualities operating as saviors within their local educational communities. What was unknown was if SCTs were in fact the super teachers that popular culture has portrayed them to be or if they were different than this popular interpretation[4]. It was of interest to look at SCTs as a collective group to better understands their collective impact.

SCTs: Relationships, Intentionality, and Collaboration.

SCT interviews emphasized numerous qualities that reflected professional perspectives similar to teaching in general perspective might be unique to this group. SCTs were foreword thinking, engaged in their work as teachers, and added complex perspectives to the field of teaching indicating layered and complex perspectives of professionalism. SCTs arrived in teaching with a belief in making a positive impact, which was evident through their strong commitment to relationships, intentionality, and collaboration.

Relationships

As non-native teachers, SCTs seemed to have expanded actions and ideas about their relationships within. Not only did SCTs work well within their school campuses,

[4] Super teachers refer to SCTs resembling super heroes within education with an extraordinary ability to change professional perspectives. On the other hand, committed teachers refer to SCTs arriving in education as intellectuals that demonstrate an awareness of otherness via their position within schools, a dedication to changing schools in small relevant ways and a sense of conscientization through their ability to transform from a previous career (Fischman & Haas, 2013).

they ensured that their impact was felt beyond the school campuses. They saw a need to reach out beyond their own classroom to work with other teachers, parents, school initiatives, and serve on school leadership teams. Supervisors noted that they and others sought out SCTs as supportive and different from the FCTs, providing new insights or perspectives. Multiple studies confirmed SCTs as being noted as unique in the field of teaching (Priyadharshini & Robinson-Pant, 2003; Tigchelaar et al., 2010; Tigchelaar et al., 2008; Williams, 2013).

Intentionality

Additionally fifteen of the sixteen SCTs of the SCTs from this study came to teaching with an intentional purpose to be a teacher. Teaching was not a back up plan in response to a failed career or life event. Also, nine of the fifteen SCTs experienced life events that provided them the time and space to change careers. Much of the literature available on SCTs confirms that these teachers come to teaching as a deliberate choice, not as a back up choice (O'Connor, 2006; Powers, 2002; Grier & Johnston, 2009). Eleven of the SCTs from this study specifically mentioned they chose teaching with awareness that they were entering a field that did not enjoy a favorable reputation in terms of monetary compensation, opportunities for advancement, and impact on student achievement. Despite a less than favorable reputation, more than half of the SCTs that were interviewed embraced an opportunities to teach and were thankful to be part of the field of teaching. The intentional commitment to be a teacher carried with them into their school buildings.

Collaboration

Currently, schools across the nation have created internal structures to promote teacher collaboration. Typical and common structures for schools are small group meetings labeled as professional learning communities (PLC). The intent of PLCs is to ensure that teachers are afforded opportunities to collaborate and expand their knowledge in teaching. As policy mandates such as the Arizona Framework for Teacher Effectiveness and others suggest that teachers must be held accountable for student outcomes, PLCs provide teachers with symbolic space to review student data, devise plans of action, and impact student learning. PLCs have mirrored neoliberal perspectives assuming that teaching is technically simple, good teaching should be driven by hard performance data about what works and where to target one's efforts (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). Hargreaves and Shirley's (2009) research noted a continued emphasis on "presentism" in teachers as they engaged in professional learning communities. Presentism reflects what Dan Lortie's (1975) study on teachers in New Town documented; personal relevance was a prerequisite for teachers to change or shift their own teaching practices. In other words, when teachers do not see a direct connection to their own classrooms, they tend not to find value in new teaching strategies or teaching concepts on data related to student needs. A desire for short term, low impact solutions have been more relevant and supportive to teachers from Hargreaves and Shirley's research (2009).

SCTs do not fall within this line of thinking. Their perceptions of professionalism both personally and observed by their supervisors aligned with actions of committed professionals. They contributed their "voice" with an understanding and awareness that

their work is a part of a much more complex commitment (Fischman & Haas, 2013). SCTs were aware that their actions with students, colleagues, supervisors, and the community were in constant tension between what was experienced and what was necessary. SCTs drew upon experiences beyond their classroom, thus they tended not to fall into the trap of presentism.

Committed Teachers

SCTs, while all seemingly well functioning teachers, were not the super teachers that popular media portrayed them to be. Alternatively, and more productively, SCTs were committed teachers, arriving in education with an impact on their local context and communities. Their actions as teachers were deliberate and supportive both to the students they served and with the schools where they collaborated with others.

SCTs: A Unique Group within the Field of Teaching

SCTs were active participants of school communities as individuals, attracted to new experiences and committed to action, they also transformed prior professional perspectives into their current context in a manner that not only benefitted themselves as individuals but also was of benefit to the schools where they worked. Their interest in novelty and sense of urgency combined into action supported professional views of teaching such as teaching is perfected through continued improvement; teaching is a collective accomplishment and responsibility (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

A consistent interest in "every day being different" and attraction to an entirely new career supported an interest in novelty. SCTs embraced novelty as necessary to sustain their interest and attention. Earlier careers influenced this mindset either through stagnant times in prior careers or a foundation of consistent activity. Again, a heightened

awareness of what "busy" meant was unique to SCTs. Their ability to compare with previous experiences provided a depth of understanding time differently. SCTs were unphased by changing grade levels or schools, bringing forth their interest in novelty as an asset. Huberman's (1989) research on career stages indicated that changes in teaching positions could impact any teacher by resurrecting feelings of anxiety found in early stages in teaching. SCTs from this study did not appear to be impacted by change in the same manner; instead they appeared to embrace new experiences as an opportunity.

Along with new experiences, seven of the SCTs noted staying busy, a trait established in prior careers, was important and correlated well with the demands of teaching. The SCTs leveraged this capital in schools, focusing on the job of teaching as a number one priority. Comments such as "I was hired to do a job," reflected a sense of urgency for teaching and was well received within schools. Previous literature on SCTs confirms a more formalized teaching philosophy as a trait found in SCTs and an aptitude for busyness impacted teaching philosophies (Mayotte, 2003). Furthermore, having come from careers that previously provided opportunities for advancement (business, healthcare, public relations), SCTs transformed a work ethic that had provided prospects for advancement into their classroom environments and networks within schools.

SCTs in Schools

SCTs were a complex group that individually and collectively impact education in positive ways. In schools, they drew upon their individuality and previous career experiences and were seen as leaders within the field. Datum on SCTs did not reveal a homogenous group; instead they were a heterogeneous group consisting of many individuals that came to teaching with a variety of experiences, viewpoints, and strengths.

A variety of prior careers were noted in this study demonstrating many professional perspectives converging with teaching. In addition, most of the previous careers that SCTs had were dissimilar to teaching (business, law, real estate, entertainment). What was unique to SCTs was their ability to transform with success into their teaching settings.

Drawing upon Fligstein and McAdam's (2011) perspectives of fields at a group level, SCT and supervisor interview data provided an understanding of SCTs collective position within the field of teaching. While SCTs were unique individually, there were some consistencies that were noticed by supervisors regarding SCTs as a group. Specifically, directness in communication was particular to SCTs and was sought out by supervisors as a valuable resource. It was noted in multiple instances that SCTs tended to challenge other's perspectives or share their own experiences with a forthrightness that was not typical of FCTs. It appeared that SCTs provided alternative perspectives that challenged school staffs to think beyond the immediate. SCTs demonstrated a commitment to teaching as a field which Hargreaves and Fullan indicated in their 2012 book *Professional Capital* as critical to the future of teaching.

In addition, SCTs' previous professional expectations more closely aligned with professional demands currently being placed on schools. Survey data supported a more aligned personal perspectives of professionalism in relation to desired professional qualities demanded by schools. SCTs had a depth of experiences working in collaborative groups as well as working more interactively with adults on a daily basis. For FCTs who spend most of their day with students, this was a definite advantage that SCTs bring to school contexts.

Finally, SCTs' interest in teaching was less personal and more impartial. Their candor and ability to voice opinions, ideas, or oppositions suggested that they had skills that allowed them to be more objective than subjective. Many of the SCTs in their interviews had a tone of detachment to teaching that was unique. Comments such as, "This is a job," or "I was hired to do a job," were often casually woven into our conversations. These were not typical statements that one hears from a teacher. In fact, each time statements such as these were shared, I was keenly aware of the statement. These statements were not maliciously intended; instead they were simply facts. Upon reflection of these comments, I realized that perhaps this was the most important professional action that SCTs can share with others. Their ability to detach from "teacherness" allowed them insight that first career teachers lacked. SCTs were not as connected to a mothering perspective of teaching which was refreshing. SCTs' perspective that teaching is a job that requires individuals to perform tasks, meet deadlines, and enrich students' knowledge was a level of professionalism that may be lacking for teachers as a field.

A Bright Future

I was interested in learning more about the role of SCTs within schools and their impact in the field of education. This study supported the scant literature available on this group of teachers within teaching, adding to the research a perspective of SCTs that are currently working in schools. Additionally, this study focused on perspectives of professionalism in teachers. In a context when teachers are continuing to succumb to agendas aimed at de-skilling them as a group, I wanted to investigate professional perspectives. My initial instincts that SCTs were a positive impact on teaching and

transformed professional perspectives that provided them with professional cultural capital were supported in this study.

Going into this study, I was surprised by the reactions that many had when they inquired about my topic. I was taken aback by the quizzical looks and raised eyebrows many people gave me when I shared my topic. It seemed (more than I realized) that the concept of SCTs was not traditional or very well accepted. I even began to doubt that this was worth the effort of a study, thinking that I would not find any individuals who fit this category. Once I began the study, I was surprised at the response rate of SCTs within the CESD district and especially those who were interested in interviewing. I did not expect to find as many SCTs as I did and was validated that I had maintained my focus on this group.

In addition to the surprised reaction many had to the concept of SCTs, I was often asked, why? What does it matter that a teacher comes from another career into teaching? Or, among academic circles, why are you insistent on using Bourdieu? How does cultural or social capital relate to SCTs? To answer these questions I want to review my impetus for embarking on this study. First of all, teachers are currently operating in organizations that require them to produce a product that does not reflect the field they work within—a democratic society. Furthermore, many teachers believe they are professionals yet continue to operate as skilled workers or mothers (Freire, 2005). Secondly, accessing Bourdieu's concepts of capital and fields of power allowed me to look relationally at SCTs' field positions in contrast to FCTs' field positions and better understand the blind spots that may have evolved for teachers in the area of professionalism.

Investigating fields of power within schools took me back to a time in my teaching career that profoundly changed me as a professional. As I have previously mentioned, I left teaching at a time when I felt my identity as a teacher was challenged. Up until my time of departure from teaching, I had never considered challenging the status quo. It was not until I was sitting in a roundtable discussion with Dr. Mary Lee Smith and Dr. David Berliner, discussing the current state of education in Arizona, that I realized I had a voice. Dr. Smith's new book at the time, *Political Spectacle and the Fate of American Schools* had just been released and it provided interesting insight into the context of educational policy in Arizona (Smith, Miller-Kahn, Heinecke, & Jarvis, 2004). I had attended the roundtable with a colleague and as we contributed to the group discussion, mostly complaining about what we were experiencing in teaching, Dr. Berliner looked at us and said, "Why don't you tell them [the school district] no?" His words hit me like a ton of bricks. I had never considered that option. As a successful student and then a successful teacher, I had been conditioned to comply and to conform. I had never thought of "No," as an option. When I eventually tried to say, "No," I lacked expertise in professional dialogue or actions that may have assisted me in expressing myself. Consequently, I did say "no" as my first act of professionalism by leaving teaching. Unfortunately, my act did little to impact anyone other than myself.

When I returned to teaching, I had the opportunity to bring with me a different set of skills and experiences that I found advantageous as a SCT. For example, I had previously misunderstood differences between caring and professional interactions realizing that my role as a caring teacher could be separate from my role as a professional. I reflected on my previous experiences prior to leaving teaching and

wondered how I could have been so narrowly focused. Most importantly, I realized that the way I chose to say, "No," had little impact for teachers. If teachers do not partake in objective discourse and perspectives to regulating teaching within their schools, then teachers run the risk of abdicating their own position of power within the field. Ultimately, reform agendas will (and are) replace the professional knowledge that lives within teaching with prescribed programs telling teachers how to do their job. Teachers need to understand that their actions individually and collectively impact professional perspectives of teaching, which allow for more internal regulation of the profession of teaching, not the deskilling of teaching.

SCTs impacted their local contexts in unique and innovative ways. National organizations such as American Educational Association and the American Federation of Teachers work to support teachers at a national level. Unfortunately, they have been less than successful in lobbying for teachers especially considering the impact of alternative organizations such as American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) and private companies that are influencing educational policy based on business views and market economics. Accessing the insight of SCTs within school campuses was a viable beginning to shifting the attitudes of teachers locally, where I believe the most impact can be made.

This study found a group of individuals that provided professional insight to teachers and principals within schools. SCTs come to teaching with a wealth of professional cultural capital. More importantly, SCTs transform these capitals in ways that make sense within educational contexts, often obtaining leadership roles, providing alternative perspectives, and most importantly, bringing an authentic voice to teaching.

SCTs work to enhance their local context with an interest not in changing or transforming others, but with an interest in providing the best of themselves to the communities they serve.

Recommendations

It is recommended that further inquiry be conducted into the lives and perspectives of SCTs. The data from this exploratory research suggests that SCTs bring unique perspectives to the field of teaching, especially as teacher leaders. They were described to have a more universal perspective of teaching and providing valuable insight into the field. This study reflects the perspectives of SCT females that interviewed. It is unknown why males were unwilling to participate in interviews and it will not be conjectured without concrete data to understand why. However, learning more about male SCTs would provide more balance and equity in the reporting. Furthermore, the ethnicities of SCTs that were interviewed were predominantly white. It is hoped that future studies would be able to provide more insight into other ethnicities to find out if the datum from this study is reflective of the majority of SCTs or more representative of white, female SCTs.

Another area of interest that was developed within this study was the concept of professional perspectives. It was noted that there was discrepancy between individual and school level professional expectations. It is unknown why this occurred, and it would be of interest to learn more why teachers were in disagreement with professional expectations at school sites in relation to their own perspectives.

Based upon the data collected in this study, many of the SCTs came to the field of teaching with sets of skills that were unexplored or untapped at a broader level within

their preservice education. Professional development geared towards SCTs and their impact on schools may further accelerate their presence or ability to affect schools and students in more strategic ways. Further studies may provide schools with a different perspective of how to leverage these individuals as resources.

Finally, it is hoped that further research and inquiry will be done to draw upon Bourdieu's teachings and frameworks. Some studies have been conducted based upon his work, but these are not as frequent in education. Annette Laureau's (2000) work with family involvement was a catalyst for this researcher's interest in Bourdieu, and it is hoped that this research will provide interest for others to use reflexive sociology as a method of inquiry.

A Call to Action

In conclusion, I ask that the readers of this dissertation study take heed of the insight and data collected on SCTs and professionalism. The current norm in educational policy has been for education policy to precede research often putting research in a reactionary position. Left on the periphery of the discussion are the teachers. Recently, an Arizona teacher posted a post on the website, "Vamboozled, A blog about teacher education, accountability and value-added models:"

> Initially, the focus of this note was going to be my 6-year long experience with a seemingly ever-changing educational system. I was going to list, with some detail, all the changes that I have seen in my brief time as a K-6 educator, the end-user of educational policy and budget cuts. Changes like (in no significant order):
>
> - Math standards (2008?)
> - Common Core implementation and associated instructional shifts (2010?)
> - State accountability system (2012?)
> - State requirements related to ELD classrooms (2009?)

- Teacher evaluation system (to include a new formula of classroom observation instrument and value-added measures) (2012-2014)

State laws governing teacher evaluation/performance, labeling and contracts (2010?) have happened in a span of, not much more than, three years. And all these changes have happened against a backdrop of budget cuts severe enough to, in my school district, render librarians, counselors, and data coordinators extinct. In this note, I was going to ask, rhetorically: "What other field or industry has seen this much change this quickly and why?" or "How can any field or industry absorb this much change effectively?

But then I had a flash of focus just yesterday during a meeting with my school administrators, and I knew immediately the simple message I wanted to relay about the interaction of high-stakes policies and the real world of a school.

At my school, we have entered what is known as during a meeting with my school administrators, and I knew immediately the simple e of the meeting was to roll out a plan, commonly used by my school district, to significantly increase test scores in math via a strategy of leveled grouping. The plan dictates that my homeroom students will be assigned to groups based on benchmark testing data and will then be sent out of my homeroom to other teachers for math instruction for the next three months. In effect, I will be teaching someone else's students, and another teacher will be teaching my students.

But, wearisomely, sometime after this school year, a formula will be applied to my homeroom students state test scores in order to determine close to 50% of my performance. And then another formula (to include classroom observations) will be applied to convert this performance into a label (ineffective, developing, effective, highly effective) that is then reported to the state. And so my question now is (not rhetorically!), "Whose performance is really being measured by this formula—mine or the teachers who taught my students math for three months of the school year? At best, professional reputations are at stake–at worse, employment is. (Uncategorized, 2014)

This is exactly the kind of situation in which this study hopes to provide insight. Teachers, most impacted by educational policy mandates, continue to remain outside the discussion. As previously stated in this paper, the local discussion must precede the national. While online community discussions such

as these are supportive of building awareness and bridging networks, they do little on their own.

I am left curious about the colleagues in the aforementioned meeting with this teacher. What was the dialogue among teachers within the meeting and after the meeting? Why, or how can teachers reclaim their position within the field so that policy better aligns with the professional expectations we all desire? SCTs appear to be an untapped resource for the field of teaching. Perhaps their candor, heightened sense of awareness, and unique perspectives can begin to supply FCTs with the much-needed professional cultural capital to shift power structures that are currently dominating education. If teachers are to impact their own field, they must start with their own actions as masterminds of their own destiny, not victims of poorly thought out policy.

To take heed of my own advice, findings and as a SCT, I will not wait for the right time to speak on behalf of teachers, but instead recommit my efforts to the field of teaching in professional actions that will continue to value the sophistication, complexity, and collaboration that aligns with what we, as teachers, know to be true. In response to this blog, I posed the question that was once asked of me, "Why don't you say no?" I look forward to the response and continued dialogue.

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APPENDIX A

TEACHER SURVEY

Introduction

Thank your participating in this survey on views of professionalism in teaching. Your participation in this survey is your consent to participate.

Part 1

Part 1. Please submit the following demographic information.

1. What is your current age?

- ◯ 21-25
- ◯ 26-34
- ◯ 35-45
- ◯ 46-55
- ◯ 56-65
- ◯ Over 65

2. What is your sex?

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female

3. Which race/ethnicity best describes you? (Please choose only one.)

- ◯ American Indian or Alaskan Native
- ◯ Asian / Pacific Islander
- ◯ Black or African American
- ◯ Hispanic American
- ◯ White / Caucasian

4. Are you currently married?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

5. Do you have any dependents under the age of 18?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

6. Is teaching your first career (Careers are defined as occupations that are intentional choices and that typically time is spent in post secondary education to be trained and/or qualified as preparation)?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

7. Did you enter teaching through a traditional teacher preparation program or through an alternative certification program (such as Teach for America, Troops to Teachers, or Emergency Certification programs)?

- ◯ Traditional
- ◯ Alternative

8. How many years have you been (or were you) a classroom teacher?

- ◯ 0-3
- ◯ 4-19
- ◯ 20 or more

District Office

9. Do you currently work at the district office?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

District Office Assignment

10. What is your current role at the district office?

Academic Coach Assignment

11. Are you assigned to any schools within the district (please check all that apply)?

- ☐ Aguilar
- ☐ Arredondo
- ☐ Broadmor
- ☐ Carminati
- ☐ Connolly
- ☐ Curry
- ☐ Fees
- ☐ Frank
- ☐ Fuller
- ☐ Guilliland
- ☐ Laird
- ☐ Holdeman
- ☐ Hudson
- ☐ Nevitt
- ☐ Rover
- ☐ Scales
- ☐ Thew
- ☐ Ward
- ☐ Wood

Elementary School

12. Do you work at an elementary or K-8 school (as an ELEMENTARY teacher) as your primary place of work? (If you work as a MIDDLE SCHOOL teacher, click no here).

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Elementary School Assignment

13. What is the school where you currently work (please check all that apply)?

- [ ] Arredondo
- [ ] Aguilar
- [ ] Broadmor
- [ ] Carminati
- [ ] Curry
- [ ] Frank
- [ ] Fuller
- [ ] Holdeman
- [ ] Hudson
- [ ] Laird
- [ ] Nevitt
- [ ] Rover
- [ ] Scales
- [ ] Thew
- [ ] Ward
- [ ] Wood

14. What is your current position at your school?

- ◯ K-2 Classroom Teacher
- ◯ 3-5 Classroom Teacher
- ◯ 6-8 Self Contained Teacher
- ◯ Special Education Teacher
- ◯ Self Contained Special Education Teacher
- ◯ Music Teacher
- ◯ PE Teacher
- ◯ Gifted Teacher
- ◯ Other

Middle School

15. Do you work at a middle school as your primary place of work (or as a middle school teacher in a K-8 school)?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Middle School Assignment

16. What is the middle school(s) where you currently work (please check all that apply)?

- ☐ Connolly
- ☐ Fees
- ☐ Guilliland
- ☐ Laird
- ☐ Ward

17. What is your current position at your school (please check all that apply to your current assignment)?

- ☐ Language Arts Teacher
- ☐ Social Studies Teacher
- ☐ Math Teacher
- ☐ Science Teacher
- ☐ ELD Teacher
- ☐ Foreign Language Teacher
- ☐ Special Education Teacher
- ☐ Self Contained Special Education Teacher
- ☐ Music Teacher
- ☐ PE Teacher
- ☐ Gifted Teacher
- ☐ Other

Educational Experiences

18. What is your highest academic credential?

- ◯ Bachelor's Degree
- ◯ Master's Degree
- ◯ Doctorate Degree

19. What was the area(s) of focus for your undergraduate degree(s)?

- ☐ Education
- ☐ Social Sciences
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Math
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Business
- ☐ Agriculture
- ☐ Architecture
- ☐ Design
- ☐ Foreign Language
- ☐ Arts

20. What was the area(s) of focus for your graduate degree(s)?

- ☐ Education
- ☐ Social Sciences
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Math
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Business
- ☐ Law
- ☐ Medicine
- ☐ Agriculture
- ☐ Architecture
- ☐ Design
- ☐ Foreign Language
- ☐ Arts
- ☐ Not Applicable

Part 2

Part 2. Please answer the following questions on your views of teaching.

21. Good teaching may be emotionally demanding, but it is technically simple.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

22. Good teaching is a quick study requiring only moderate intellectual ability.

I strongly disgree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

23. Good teaching is hard at first, but with dedication can be mastered readily.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

24. Good teaching should be driven by hard performance data about what works and where best to target one's efforts.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

25. Good teaching comes down to enthusiasm, hard work, raw talent, and measurable results.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

26. Good teaching is technically sophisticated and difficult.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

27. Good teaching requires high levels of education and long periods of training.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

28. Good teaching is perfected through continuous improvement.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

29. Good teaching is a collective accomplishment and responsibility.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
○	○	○	○	○

30. Good teaching maximizes, mediates, and moderates online instruction.

I strongly disagree with this statement.	I disagree with this statement.	I somewhat agree with this statement.	I agree with this statement.	I strongly agree with this statement.
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

31. How much would you say you agree with the statement "what an individual does for a living says a lot about a person?"

◯ I strongly disagree with this statement. ◯ I somewhat disagree with this statement. ◯ I somewhat agree with this statement. ◯ I agree with this statement. ◯ I strongly agree with this statement.

32. How satisfied are you with teaching?

◯ I am very dissatisfied with teaching. ◯ I am dissatisfied with teaching. ◯ I am somewhat satisfied with teaching. ◯ I am satisfied with teaching. ◯ I am very satisfied with teaching.

33. What do you think is important for opportunities for advancement in teaching (such as positions on committees, grade level chair, participation in district projects)?

◯ Who you know ◯ What you know ◯ Both who and what you know ◯ Neither who and what you know

34. At your school, what's more important for advancement in teaching (such as positions on committees, grade level chair, participation in district projects)?

◯ Who you know ◯ What you know ◯ Both who and what you know ◯ Neither who and what you know

35. Personally, what do you think are the three (3) most important professional qualities needed for teaching?

☐ Expert knowledge ☐ Collaborative ☐ Kindness
☐ Dedication ☐ Demonstrated Success ☐ Independence
☐ Caring ☐ Compliance
☐ Collegiality ☐ Innovative

36. At your school(s), what do you think are the three (3) most important professional qualities needed for teaching?

☐ Expert knowledge ☐ Collaborative ☐ Kindness
☐ Dedication ☐ Demonstrated Success ☐ Independence
☐ Caring ☐ Compliance
☐ Collegiality ☐ Innovative

Thank you

Part 3. You have now completed the survey. Thank you for taking part in this survey. As stated previously, your participation in this survey is considered your consent to participate.

If you would like to have your name included in a random drawing to win a gift certificate to Scholastic, Inc. and a set of books for your class, please submit your information as directed.

37. Name (first and last)

38. Your email address

SCT Sample Interview Questions

The following questions were loosely followed during SCT interviews. At times, additional questions were included to expand upon responses.

1. Tell me about the careers you have had.
2. What were some of the things you did in this position?
3. What did you like or dislike about your previous career?
4. What brought you to teaching?
5. Tell me about your experience coming into teaching? What stood out to you during that time about teaching?
6. What do you like or dislike about teaching?
7. Do you think having a prior career was an advantage or disadvantage? Why?
8. Can you think of a metaphor to describe teaching?
9. When you are working with students or doing a lesson, is there an artifact that you must have to teach? If so, what is it and tell me about it.
10. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

SCT Supervisor Sample Interview Questions

1. Tell me about _____.
2. [Based upon Supervisor's responses] Do you find this particular to _____?
3. How does _____ contribute to the school community?
4. If _____ were to leave your school, what professional void would you notice in his/her absence?
5. Is there anything else you would like to share with me about _____?

APPENDIX B

CODING DEFINITIONS

Code	Definition
CC	Cultural Capital-- convertible in certain conditions into economic capital or institutionalized in education EmS = Embodied State-- long lasting dispositions of mind and body; innate properties and merits through acquisition IS = Institutionalized State-- education OS = Objectified State-- pictures, books, instruments, machines
CC_EmS_advantages	Described advantages and disadvantages from first career
CC_EmS_business views	good teaching simple good teaching hard but gets easier quickly good teaching driven by data good teaching comes down to effort and talent
CC_EmS_dispostions	preperceptions (ability to perceive and link to game), revealed in relationship with situations, recognition that out of flow, adherence to the norm, influenced by impossibilities and possibilities in objective conditions, a present past, routines, os dei (doing what one thinks one should)
CC_EmS_education	school experiences, family members teachers, competence in school, school awards as student
CC_EmS_gdr_female	Sexuality, female roles
CC_EmS_gusto	routines, attitudes, tastes, familiarities
CC_EmS_metaphors	metaphors
CC_EmS_professional views	Good teaching sophisticated Good teaching high level of education Good teaching perfected continuously good teaching collective responsibility goot teaching maximizes tech opportunities
CC_EmS_skills	Skills, opportunities, acquired knowledge
CC_EmS_time	Urgency, sequences, skhole/free time, time in different careers, age in different careers, plans, flow (how time is spent), taking one's time
CC_IS_certifications	professional certifications, educational certificications, endorsements, degrees
CC_IS_institutions	rankings of school label, rankings of district label, institutional recognition (such as Harvard or Cal or Community college)
CC_IS_programs	Education programs such as majored in biology or double major in education and business
CC_OS_artifacts	objects that they choose, use of objects, narratives of object necessity, material resources in pictures, misrecognition (relationship between man and artifact)
CC_OS_classroom space	classroom arrangement and descriptions of the space

CC_OS_data	student results, teacher data from evaluations or feedback from supervisor described by teacher, student demographics, misrecognition (relationship between man and data)
EcC	Economic Capital-- immediately and directly converted into money
EcC_financial	surpluses of money, money struggles
EcC_interest	intention for being in game with economic goal
EcC_salary	first career salaries, second career salaries

SCp	Social Capital professional-- occupational networks and relationships that may be converted into economic capital and may be institutionalized in power positions
SCp_disinterest	Professional titles, being a professional teacher (what I do that is professional), being professional as a teacher (how others see me), disinterest (interest without economic end)
SCp_multiplier	Favors, offers, multipliers (things that the individual does that accelerates other capitals), misrecognition (things that are exchanged in place of money but are valued and should have monetary value)
SCp_networks_career	Networks with careers outside teaching, networks with other grades or schools within teaching
SCp_networks_people	Indivdiuals outside teaching that they are in contact with, networks with teachers, networks with administrators
SCp_relationships	relationships with other teachers, relationship with administrator, relationship with district, relationship with parents, relationships with students, social recognition

how these capitals *shape and mediate action and identify social conditions of struggle* the field of teaching (Swartz, 1997; Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011; Bourdieu, 1984)

c Capital—recognized institutionally and legitimated through authority; required for the exchange and conversion of Economic, Cultural and Social capital (Carrington & Luke, 1997)

ofessional—qualities and character of an individual (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012)

Professional—how one is perceived by others in reference to quality and character (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012)

	Cultural Capital-- convertible in certain conditions into economic capital or institutionalized in education dependent upon the institutional setting Key capital in intellectual field (Swartz, 1997; Richardson & Bourdieu, 1986)			**Social Capital (Professional)** occupational networks and relationships that may be converted into economic capital and may be institutionalized in power positions (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011)
	Objectified State—pictures, books, instruments, machines	Embodied State—long lasting dispositions of mind and body; innate properties and merits through acquisition; early experiences significant to embodied state	Institutionalized State—education	
	OS_Artifact • Object • Use • Necessity • Material resources	EmS_Skills • Skills • Opportunities • Dedication • Competencies • Collectiveness	IS_Certifications • Professional • Educational • Endorsements • Degrees	SCp_Networks • Individuals outside teaching • Teachers • Administrators
	OS_Classroom Space • Arrangement • Descriptions	EmS_Gender—Female • Sexuality • Roles	IS_Institutions • Rankings ○ School Label ○ District Label • Institutional recognition	SCp_Relationships • Other teachers • Administrator • District • Parents • Students

_Data • Student Results • Teacher Results	EmS_Dispositions • Routines • Compliance • Learner • Collective • Dedication	IS_District Views from (Survey) • Views of Professionalism • Views of Business • Tchr Qualities_Site	SCp_Competence • Professional titles • Being a professional teacher • Being professional as a teacher
	EmS_Time • Urgency • Sequences • Skhole/Free Time • Time in FC, SCT • Age in FC, SCT		SCp_Exchanges/Gifts • Favors • Offers • Multipliers • Recognition
	EmS_Education • School Experiences • Family Members Tchrs • Competence • Awards • Metaphors		
	EmS_Individual Views (Survey) • View of Professionalism Tching • View of Business Tching • Tchr Qualities_Ind		

APPENDIX C

OVERVIEW OF TEACHER AND PROFESSIONAL VIEWS INDEPENDENT *T*-TEST

Overview of Views of Business and Views of Professionalism in Teaching.

Group	*M*		*SD*		t	df	*p*
	FCT	SCT	FCT	SCT			
Age							
21-25							
BUS	14.6000	0[a]	2.13140	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PROF	18.1333	0[a]	3.64234	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
26-34							
BUS	14.1569	15.1111	3.19608	3.51584	.853	58	.419
PROF	18.1961	18.8889	2.35813	2.89156	.413		.435
35-45							
BUS	14.698	14.3125	2.57773	2.12034	.568	67	.841
PROF	18.6792	17.8750	2.57035	2.60448	.790		.278
46-55							
BUS	13.7600	13.1071	3.16596	2.67137	.241	51	.419
PROF	17.9600	18.4643	3.54119	2.75523	.533		.563
56-65							
BUS	12.3846	13.0833	2.36773	1.44338	.026[b]	32.937	.271
PROF	18.3077	16.9167	2.64982	2.53090	.953	36	.136
Over 65							
BUS	17.0000	0[a]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PROF	16.0000	0[a]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Group	*M*		*SD*		t	df	*p*
	FCT	SCT	FCT	SCT			
Sex							
Male							
BUS	13.8889	13.2222	3.21557	1.30171	.020[b]	24.4	.453
PROF	17.8333	17.6667	2.77064	2.82843	.765	25	.885
Female							
BUS	13.8889	13.7500	2.82040	2.71193	.443	207	.750
PROF	18.3660	18.1607	2.76908	2.71546	.838		.634
Ethnicity							
American Indian or Alaska Native							
BUS	11.5000	12.0000	6.36396	N/A	N/A	1	.959
PROF	18.5000	18.000	2.12132	N/A	N/A		.879
Asian/Pacific Islander							
BUS	16.0000	19.0000	2.0000	N/A	N/A	4	.243
PROF	18.0000	16.0000	4.06202	N/A	N/A		.676
Black or African American							
BUS	15.5000	14.0000	.57735	2.64575	.027[b]	2.144	.439
PROF	17.0000	19.0000	1.15470	1.00000	.286	5	.062
Hispanic American							
BUS	14.1034	13.5000	2.80745	1.64317	.253	33	.617
PROF	16.9310	17.8333	3.16150	3.54495	.565		.537
White/Caucasian							
BUS	13.7481	13.6111	2.85372	2.60925	.167	183	.761
PROF	18.6641	18.1111	2.58282	2.74492	.728		.195
Married							
Yes							
BUS	13.7500	13.3469	3.15536	2.63432	.020	151	.439
PROF	18.1346	18.4490	2.88302	2.78343	.895		.526
No							
BUS	14.1045	14.6875	2.31683	2.08866	.890	81	.360
PROF	18.5821	17.0000	2.57111	2.22111	.251		.026*

a. *t* cannot be computed because at least one of the groups was empty.

b. An equal variance of responses could not be assumed. Data was analyzed for unequal variances.

* $p < .05$

APPENDIX D

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS OF FACTOR ANALYSIS

	BQ1	BQ2	BQ3	BQ4	BQ5	PQ1	PQ2	PQ3	PQ4	PQ5
Correlation										
ailed)										
Correlation	.391**									
ailed)	.000									
Correlation	.252**	.247**								
ailed)	.000	.000								
Correlation	.117	.017	.282**							
ailed)	.073	.798	.000							
Correlation	.170**	.051	.321**	.443**						
ailed)	.009	.433	.000	.000						
Correlation	-.218**	-.195**	-.074	-.037	.144*					
ailed)	.001	.003	.256	.570	.027					
Correlation	-.116	-.167*	.083	.076	.167*	.478**				
ailed)	.076	.010	.206	.243	.010	.000				
Correlation	-.020	-.205**	.195**	.224**	.236**	.127	.278**			
ailed)	.756	.002	.003	.001	.000	.052	.000			
Correlation	-.017	-.155*	.044	.054	.221**	.302**	.408**	.495**		
ailed)	.794	.017	.502	.408	.001	.000	.000	.000		
Correlation	.198**	-.001	.091	.128	.146*	.193**	.086	.092	.135*	
ailed)	.002	.986	.162	.050	.024	.003	.190	.159	.038	

s significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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APPENDIX E

SURVEY RESPONSES

Frequencies of Respondents Individual and Percieved School Qualities of Professionalism.

Professional Quality		All Respondents		FCT		SCT	
		N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Expert Knowledge	Individual	122	51%	35	53%	87	50%
	School	109	46%	30	46%	79	46%
Dedication	Individual	187	79%	46	70%	141	82%
	School	158	66%	41	63%	117	68%
Caring	Individual	100	42%	28	43%	72	42%
	School	55	23%	15	23%	40	23%
Collegiality	Individual	12	5%	7	10%	5	2%
	School	22	9%	7	10%	15	8%
Demonstrated Success	Individual	26	11%	8	12%	18	10%
	School	90	38%	26	40%	64	37%
Compliance	Individual	8	3%	2	3%	6	3%
	School	65	27%	24	36%	41	24%
Innovative	Individual	66	28%	19	29%	47	27%
	School	32	13%	6	9%	26	15%
Kindness	Individual	25	10%	5	7%	20	11%
	School	11	4%	4	6%	7	4%
Independence	Individual	10	4%	5	7%	5	2%
	School	16	6%	5	7%	11	6%
Collaborative	Individual	154	65%	40	61%	114	66%
	School	154	65%	37	56%	117	68%

APPENDIX F

PAIRED T-TESTS OF INDEPENDENT AND SCHOOL PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES (OVERALL)

Paired *t* Test All Respondents Individual and Percieved School Qualities of Professionalism.

		M	*SD*	*t*	*p* value
Expert Knowledge	Individual	.52	.501	1.829	.069
	School	.46	.500		
Dedication	Individual	.79	.406	4.035	.000**
	School	.67	.471		
Caring	Individual	.42	.495	5.978	.000**
	School	.23	.424		
Collegiality	Individual	.05	.220	-2.055	.041*
	School	.09	.291		
Demonstrated Success	Individual	.11	.314	-8.340	.000**
	School	.38	.487		
Compliance	Individual	.03	.181	-8.276	.000**
	School	.28	.448		
Innovative	Individual	.28	.450	4.656	.000**
	School	.14	.343		
Kindness	Individual	.11	.308	3.372	.001**
	School	.05	.211		
Independence	Individual	.04	.202	-1.417	.158
	School	.07	.252		
Collaborative	Individual	.65	.477	.000	1.000
	School	.65	.477		

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

APPENDIX G

PAIRED T-TESTS OF INDEPENDENT AND SCHOOL PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES (FCT AND SCT)

Paired *t* Test FCT Responses Indivdiual and Perceived School Qualities of Professionalism

		M	*SD*	*t*	*p* value
Expert Knowledge	Individual	.51	.501	1.300	.195
	School	.46	.500		
Dedication	Individual	.82	.381	4.066	.000**
	School	.68	.466		
Caring	Individual	.42	.495	5.175	.000**
	School	.23	.425		
Collegiality	Individual	.03	.169	-2.540	.012**
	School	.09	.284		
Demonstrated Success	Individual	.11	.308	-7.286	.000**
	School	.37	.485		
Compliance	Individual	.04	.185	-6.185	.000**
	School	.24	.428		
Innovative	Individual	.27	.448	3.470	.001**
	School	.15	.360		
Kindness	Individual	.12	.322	3.463	.001**
	School	.04	.199		
Independence	Individual	.03	.169	-1.742	.083
	School	.06	.246		
Collaborative	Individual	.67	.473	-.479	.632
	School	.68	.466		

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

Paired *t* Test SCT Respondents Individual and Percieved School Qualities of Professionalism

		M	*SD*	*t*	*p* value
Expert Knowledge	Individual	.54	.502	1.397	.167
	School	.46	.502		
Dedication	Individual	.71	.458	1.217	.228
	School	.63	.486		
Caring	Individual	.43	.499	3.007	.004*
	School	.23	.425		
Collegiality	Individual	.11	.312	.000	1.000
	School	.11	.312		
Demonstrated Success	Individual	.12	.331	-4.096	.000**
	School	.40	.494		
Compliance	Individual	.03	.174	-5.722	.000**
	School	.37	.486		
Innovative	Individual	.29	.458	3.185	.002**
	School	.09	.292		
Kindness	Individual	.08	.269	.574	.568
	School	.06	.242		
Independence	Individual	.08	.269	.000	1.000
	School	.08	.269		
Collaborative	Individual	.62	.490	.725	.471
	School	.57	.499		

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

APPENDIX H

EMAIL COMMUNICATION LOG

Respondent	Email Communication Frequency	Phone Call Frequency
P1	2	0
Jasmine	4	0
Brittany	6	0
Wanda	4	0
Jillian	1	2
Gretta	3	0
Astrid	5	0
Betty	1	1
Betsy	6	0
Liesel	5	0
Ruth	3	2
Shirley	2	0
Louise	3	0
Josie	5	0
Libby	3	0
Brenda	2	0

APPENDIX I

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Gustavo Fischman ED
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	01/25/2013
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	01/25/2013
IRB Protocol #:	1301008725
Study Title:	Second Career Teachers: A Fish in Water?

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.