

***The Democratic Role of Teachers in the Measurement Era
-A Critical Analysis of Corporate and Neoliberal Involvement in
the Teacher Profession-***

Kyla Noble

Graduate School of Education

Sophia University

Abstract: Teach for America (TFA) as a company has largely been responsible, either directly or indirectly, with many changes and reforms that have happened in the United States. Their role in pushing forward the neoliberal and corporate agenda, hidden in educational reforms through the prioritization of high stakes testing has assisted in creating a question about the responsibility a teacher has as an educator. Many have raised concerns about if TFA's teachers are capable of achieving the same results as an experienced educational professional or if they attribute to quality education. This research will be written in order to analyze the quality of TFA's educators with the intent of creating a democratic foundation for future studies that consider teacher quality. It will specifically exemplify Louisiana and Texas, because of their strong ties to TFA. In order illustrate this theme, this literature uses theories based in critical pedagogy to illustrate the role of a democratic teacher, followed by the impacts of the neoliberal and corporate reform on the teaching profession so that TFA's quality of educators can be effectively analyzed within the context of a democratic teaching professional. In addition, this literature will provide suggestions for future studies on this subject.

Keywords: *Teach for America, Neoliberal, High Stakes Testing, Democracy, Equity*

Introduction

It is impossible to consider how a reliance on high stakes testing has changed quality of education for students of color without questioning one of the main pieces of rhetoric that propelled the disinformation fueling the educational reform. The idea that teachers are responsible for a lack of testing achievement has been repeatedly referenced as one of the main reasons behind low quality education. While teachers themselves do not make nearly as high of an impact on students' high stakes testing achievement, as the accusations of fault imply given that out of school factors determine two thirds of student learning outcomes (Brewer & Cody, 2014, pp. 81-82), teachers are still relevant in both their role in students' lives and learning outcomes. Pedagogy that exercises critical and democratic purpose focuses on that aspect, attempting to develop the whole child, guide them towards a better future, and teach them about the society that they live in in order for them to be critically engaged citizens that are capable of functioning inside of and maintaining a democratic society.

Educational reforms are often designed by and funded through neoliberal means, frequently designing education for the purpose of benefitting corporations through developing workers rather than citizens hoping that inequity in society will be solved through a trickle-down effect. This, in addition to simultaneously attempting to achieve democratic goals in education, such as equality of education can have the effect of disfiguring, deskilling, and disrespecting the teaching profession. Corporate interests bridge the public and private spheres by training and hiring their own teachers to join the educational workforce and teach in schools as a solution for the teacher shortages, both having positive and negative impacts. Some states have a much more intimate relationship with both the teacher shortage and corporate interference in the teacher profession, like Louisiana, which has one of the worst attrition rates in the country (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017; Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2019) and Texas, that has recently started shortening school weeks as a solution to their teacher shortage (Adams, 2023). The workforce molded by corporate intervention is trained with neoliberal logic, embodying false hope and meritocracy as a teaching platform while simplifying the educational strategy into a means of simple and best practices, echoing the neoliberal belief that corporations running education would result in efficient and innovative teaching practices. These primarily inexperienced and hardly trained teachers are often placed in lower income neighborhoods, primarily serving students of color. The face of this trend is Teach for America (TFA).

This research will be written in order to analyze the quality of TFA's educators with the intent of creating a democratic foundation for future studies that consider teacher quality, specifically exemplifying Louisiana and Texas, which both have strong ties to TFA. There is existing research detailing the intervention of neoliberal and corporate impact on the teacher profession. However, research concerning TFA's effectivity rarely considers the effectivity that TFA has on their students outside of testing achievement, regardless of being a nonprofit corporation that has goals in democratic notions of equity, justice, and freedom (Teach for America, 2018). This is especially important now that TFA is regaining its footwork after COVID 19, presenting an opportunity to address some problems and concerns about TFA's functionality in addition to providing support for incoming and already employed teachers. In order illustrate this theme, this literature will

use theories based in critical pedagogy to illustrate the role of a democratic teacher, followed by the impacts of the neoliberal and corporate reform on the teaching profession so that TFA's quality of educators can be effectively analyzed within the context of a democratic teaching professional. In addition, this literature will provide suggestions for future studies on this subject.

Role of the Teacher

The role of a teacher should be understood in the terms dictated by the scope of a democratic society. That is, to be a teacher is to be reflective scholars and practitioners, acting as a leader or guide for students so that they can effectively function in a democratic society as critically engaging citizens. In this context, a critically active and engaged citizen is one that is concerned with notions of justice, ultimately encouraging students to become people who are concerned with equity, acting for the sake of a future that would not recreate the mistakes of the present society (Giroux, 2018; Freire, 1972; Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Biesta, 2011; Giroux, 2010; Eppard & Giroux, 2022). Thus, teaching as a profession is a highly intellectual career, where they are constantly making decisions for the sake of their students learning relevant information. After all, teachers would need to understand, produce, and legitimize numerous political, economic, and social interests. As a result, this education becomes one that is student centered in nature because teachers are constantly modifying their teaching to fit the needs of each of their students as individuals with personal attributes (Giroux, 2004; Hobbs et al., 2019). This also means that teachers both teach and learn alongside their students as members of a community, preparing students to become lifelong learners themselves (Biesta, 2011).

The goal of encouraging the development of critically engaged students is largely rooted in teaching students how to sustain democracy and vocalize their beliefs and struggles. Paulo Freire believed that revolutionaries or leaders often do not have the ability to transform society because they attempt to build a top-down system and approach those in the middle or lower class with views that align with their own world view, without understanding the world view of the people they are trying to convince (Freire, 1972, p. 94). He theorized that an active, structured class, guided by teachers in order to effectively construct an open discourse learning environment would repair that problem of ignorance: open dialogue allows students from various backgrounds to discuss their individual or communities' experiences, allowing students access to insight for pieces of society that they would have never ordinarily heard about or experience in their daily lives. This is one of the main purposes of education, where students are given the opportunity to become exposed to aspects of life that they would not ordinarily have access to in their immediate surroundings (Biesta, 2020; Biesta, 2015). This is also obviously represented in the effort made to have mixed classrooms and large, public schools. Giroux (2009) similarly believes that it is the undeniable responsibility of the educational institutes to speak out against economic, political, and social injustices both within and outside of schools (p. 4). Freire and Giroux's theories of education both serve to prepare future members of society to reinforce true democratic ideals, teaching them to have the epistemic ability to describe and fight injustices, understand the injustices other disadvantaged people may face, and desire to address them (Freire, 1972; Freire, 1994; Giroux, 2010; Eppard & Giroux, 2022). In this sense, even if a community does not have

the power or ability to fight against injustice, others with the power will still have the knowledge in order to provide the figurehead or assistance alike.

Gearing education towards the implementation of teacher autonomy, especially with the intention of focusing on morals in society, would propitiate the inevitability of what could be considered indoctrination in this system because not everyone shares the same moral values. Examples of this include right-wing religious groups asking for school prayer or remove certain books from school libraries, feminists, ecologists, environmentalists, minorities, and other interest groups who believe that schools should teach race or women's studies (Giroux, 2009, p. 3). Particularly in such a morally and politically divided country, the concept of indoctrination is a major point of contention. Indoctrination is known to be a direct and essential piece of communism, fascism, propaganda, and mind control that had such a strong impact in the early 1900s, that the word today is still widely defined and viewed through that historical, negative lens (McCauley, 1970, p. 1). However, as time moves forward, the word indoctrination seems to be becoming more liberal in application and understanding but is described as usually limiting a person's ability to think critically or question the world around them (Biesta & Stengel, 2016, pp. 35-50). Teachers acting as a guide for students, building students' epistemic skills through open dialogue, beyond implementing empathy and socialization into the learning environment, is building on subjectification, and by extension, is strengthening a student's ability to utilize critical thinking. Subjectification invokes the opportunity for students to question how they exist as a subject in the world and why society works in the way it does, directly opposing frequently unquestioned beliefs learned through socialization (Biesta, 2020; Biesta, 2010).

Depriving students of the opportunity to talk about and overcome their oppression is to reinforce the maintenance of a structure that was built in the interests of the dominant class (Freire, 1972), making education inherently political. Giroux similarly argues that those who make the argument that education should be neutral are "arguing for a version of education in which nobody is accountable" (Giroux, 2019). Yet educational reforms concerned with measurement frequently function under the assumption that education should be politically neutral. This is done largely through the implicit message of testing: the important information is limited to what is tested (Biesta, 2009; Giroux, 2012). This is made obvious in places like Texas, where students cannot move on to the next grade without attending mandatory supplementary education (H.B. 4545) if they don't pass their incredibly difficult and controversial test, or in Louisiana, where their schools have undergone structural changes after underperforming on tests (Gotham, 2014; Dixon et al., 2015).

The introduction of high stakes testing changes this main role of teachers from a highly technical and skillful nature into one that is largely replicable and lacking in democratic and developmental purpose. Often times, educational reforms suggest changes that ignore what could be offered by teachers in intelligence, judgement, and experience, separating concept from execution, and ultimately devaluing the critical and intellectual work that is involved with teaching in exchange for measurement-based testing achievement (Giroux, 2009, p. 1). With complete autonomy, teachers would inevitably be better or worse than teachers in other classes or schools in some or all metrics, potentially increasing the

educational gap between students of different economic backgrounds. While measurement centered education does address a valid concern about the possibility of equal and equitable education if teachers were to be given the power to shape the purpose and conditions of schooling, it seems to be guilty of often presenting ‘better’ or quality teaching as an extremely optimistic and shallow solution to the problem of education, without addressing the root cause of the inequity and inequality.

Devaluing and Deskillng Teachers

Teachers are simply not valued by society, monetarily or otherwise and being judged or punished for aspects of education that are realistically out of their control is not new. Currently, the idea of prescribed teaching methods adds to this reality by directly playing into how teachers are being treated as replaceable rather than public servants or practitioners. Through a pedagogy built on high stakes testing, the educational environment develops a culture revolving around the means of production or performance (Biesta, 2009, Ravitch, 2016). As an extension, students are not seen as people, much less children, so when teachers lose their autonomy and it becomes a revolving door for teachers, the militaristic, jaillike environment of education becomes more prevalent and simple, small student misbehavior becomes an issue handled either by the police or by security forces (Giroux, 2012, p. 3), disproportionately impacting students of color (Merkwae, 2015, p. 150). Teachers, similarly, lose their humanity and are seen as entirely replaceable cogs of that system and education becomes sucked dry of life, creativity, and passion. If there is a measurable standard that needs to be attained and a simplified, seemingly proven method that can be used to achieve results, then it seems like anyone can do this job; anyone can be a teacher.

In order to meet the measurable demands of what is frequently identified as improving education, strategies of teaching that Henry Giroux (2002; 2009) calls “management pedagogies” are often imposed upon teachers, in which teachers are to be managed; teacher behavior is expected to be standardized across the student population and education should be delivered through manageable and replicable practices so that the information learned can be measured, and teachers can push the most students to the next stage of their education. The option of utilizing prescribed pedagogies can be helpful, especially for those who are new to the field, in order to assist them through the learning curve. Similarly, it could address the teachers who are uncertified or unprepared to teach the subject they are teaching. However, management pedagogies are different from standards, which ask that students are educated up to a similar level in order to assume a kind of equality, because the intent of is to manage and measure teachers rather than students.

Teachers who refuse to implement standardized curriculum that evaluates children based on the standardized tests risk being “judged as incompetent” (Giroux, 2012, p. 3). In Louisiana, policies like Race to the Top practice teacher accountability, promising to “not let teachers off the hook” (Report to the House..., 2015, p. 202) for what they consider ineffective teaching that lead to unremarkable testing achievement. They punish teachers by withholding tenure unless their students score well for five out of six years, revoking tenure if they students don’t perform well for even a single year, and firing teachers after two consecutive years of being deemed ineffective, leading to the massive

jump in exodus rate for teachers, even ones that had been working in education for years prior to this point (Strunk et al., 2017, p. 3). Similarly, many neoliberal parties advocate for salary structures tied to test scores, increased accountability, and flexibility to fire teachers, deregulation, and privatization (White, 2016). This puts immense pressure on teachers to, before all else, prioritize high stakes testing performance, even above learning. The majority of teachers believe that state standards force them to teach particular texts and then “organize reading instruction around those texts as opposed to teaching reading skills that allow them to read any text” (Pondiscio, 2017, p. 12). As a result, teachers are often forced “to adopt an educational vision and philosophy that has little respect for the empowering possibilities of either knowledge or critical classroom practices” (Giroux, 2012, p. 3). This repurposes education, first forcing teachers to distance themselves from notions of equity, and justice, subsequently exchanging democratic notions for testing achievement.

However, teacher autonomy is frequently limited by technocratic and instrumental packages that are known for *teacher-proofing* education. In other words, they are utilizing set curriculum that is so detailed in prescription that teachers, regardless of experience, beliefs, skill, or limitation can’t prevent students from learning the measurable information that they need to. The implication that teachers are unskilled and replaceable employees has ramifications that reverberate throughout the profession beyond cheapening educational practices to address testing preparation. Deskilling teachers, framing them as unvalued and replaceable inevitably results in attributes brought to the educational environment by a teacher’s experience in the field being ignored, thus decreasing educational quality. Teachers with more experience in the profession have rates of higher testing achievement, but they also are more equipped to control their classroom while also negating negative behavior, such as aggression, and also improving social and emotional development in students (Gaias et al., 2019; Blazar & Kraft, 2017; Podolsky et al., 2019). In addition, teachers who have been educating within the same community have improved cultural awareness of the students that they are teaching. Schools with high turnover rates and teacher shortage, usually in low-income areas and servicing students of color, lack that attribute, meaning that the students who need personal and cultural understanding the most are the ones that have the least access to it.

Corporate Involvement and Neoliberal Education Modifying the Teacher Profession

The attack on education has been a carefully designed and largely neoliberal strategy that perfectly created the changes in education that supports destabilization of the teacher profession for the benefit of capitalism (Giroux, 2019; Saltman, 2014). The most famous participant of intervention in the teacher profession is TFA, which has acted as the perfect example of corporations’ problematic involvement with the public sphere since their conception in 1989. Although they are not the only company to partake in public education, their participation in neoliberal education laid the groundwork for other, for-profit companies to follow in their footsteps. Actions TFA took during their most prominent years still contribute to the propitiation of both the teacher shortage and inequity for people of color. In order to illustrate this, the following section will be broken up into two parts. The first section will explain the role that TFA has played in the market of educators. Next, their utilization of deskilled and replaceable teachers will be explained.

Corporate Intervention in Policies and Credentials

Many theories have been explored about the cause of the educational gap including uneducated or lazy teachers, a shortage of teachers in schools that service students of color and low-income schools, and more. TFA was conceived with the educational gap in mind, understanding that there is a shortage of teachers in low-income schools, leaving primarily students of color who attend those schools with inadequate education (*Teacher Recruitment, Recovery...*, 2021; Fortin & Fawcett, 2022). Their beliefs largely matched the public and reformers alike in that they assumed that inequity could be solved by placing high quality teachers in the classroom with the least privileged children. Often recruited from top universities themselves, TFA's teachers have been sent to teach low-income students in rural and urban communities under the assumption that graduates from the top universities would be able to best prepare students of color, who are well known to have inequitable access to higher education, to go to the top universities. Other likeminded companies interested in the neoliberal privatization of public education invested in educational reform and contributed to TFA through massive donations (Kretchmar et al., as seen in White, 2016, p. 7), assisting TFA in their growth, reliance, and governmental control.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) passed in the early 2000s, inspired by similar beliefs that quality education would solve systemic inequity. NCLB required that teachers should be 'highly qualified', meaning that every teacher needed to have a bachelor's degree, a full certification or teachers license, and be able to prove that teachers know the subject that they teach (No Child Left Behind Act, 2001). However, with the teacher profession being as objectively unappealing as it is in financial, social, and structural support, unsurprisingly, there has been a shortage of willing participants, making a market and necessity for additional teachers. Rather than addressing long since known concerns about improving the conditions for teachers or increasing pay, congress allowed corporations to provide a helping hand: in the event of a teacher shortage, schools would be able to employ teachers from outside that definition of 'highly qualified'. The only condition would be that schools would need to provide full transparency of the fact that their child didn't have a 'highly qualified' teacher (No Child Left Behind Act, 2001). This law also required that the non-'highly qualified' teachers needed to be evenly distributed, and not all working in low-income schools, directly opposing TFA's goals.

Requiring non-'highly qualified' teachers to be evenly distributed works to enforce a sense of equality and equity. Because schools that service students of lower economic status are more likely to have teacher shortages, putting protection in place to prevent the least qualified and least experienced teachers from being sent exclusively to low-income schools was necessary. In 2002, thanks in large part to the lobbying parties of TFA, the Department of Education agreed that 'highly qualified' teachers could include teachers-in-training who are university graduates, working towards their certification for up to three years (Butrymowicz, 2010; Honawar, 2008), also bypassing the law that barred sending under-experienced teachers into low-income schools with large populations of students of color. In 2010, because it was unmistakably unethical to write laws in order to give special permission for TFA to inconspicuously send under-qualified teachers to low income schools, the option to define teachers working towards their certifications as

already ‘highly qualified’ was overturned, with the understanding that schools needed to notify families about the teachers in their schools being uncertified (Butrymowicz, 2010), but congress allowed the pre-2010 rules for ‘highly qualified’ teachers to apply until the end of the 2013-2014 school year. In 2015, the term ‘highly qualified’ was scrapped by the Every Student Succeeds Act entirely, leaving teacher qualifications up to the state (Every Student Succeeds Act, 2015).

The corporate intervention goes much deeper than lobbying in that TFA has an entire benevolent neoliberal network dedicated to corporate ownership of public education, with many even rooted inside the government itself, intending to see their “ideas through the halls of congress” (Layton, 2013). By 2007, TFA had created a 501(c)4 named Leadership for Educational Equity and branch off organizations to provide in support for any TFA alumni a future in elected office (Leadership for Educational Equity, n.d.). Also co-founded in 2007 by a TFA alumni is Democrats for Educational Reform (DFER), which spends massive sums of money on supporting TFA alumnus’ emergence in politics and the reform movement, even going so far as launching slander campaigns against political opponents (Ravitch, 2020) whom had a history of criticizing TFA. Kira Orange Jones, for example, served as the executive director for Louisiana’s TFA branch before getting elected as a member of Louisiana’s Board of Elementary & Secondary Education in 2012, thanks in large part to generous financial support that completely eclipsed her opponents from DFER (Ravitch, 2012; Baxendale, 2020). John White is also a TFA alumni whom became superintendent of Louisiana’s school district comprised entirely of charter schools, Recovery School District, and then similarly served as state superintendent in 2012, pushing bills to support the charter school takeover of New Orleans (Act 91, 2016). Their reach even extends to the national government, staffing over 7% of Barack Obama’s political appointees to the educational department and 40% of the appointees with classroom experience were TFA alumni, among them was Arne Duncan, whom DFER supported financially and by producing a slander campaign against Darling-Hammond (Baxendale, 2020, p. 246). During Obama’s presidency, Duncan passed Race to the Top, accelerating the growth and power of TFA and charter schools.

Deskilled and Replaceable Teachers as a Solution for the Teacher Shortage

The South has been shown to have higher teacher turnover rates in Math, Science, and English (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2019, p. 5). Although both Texas and Louisiana used to rank as some of the worst teacher attrition rates in the country (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017, p. 11), Louisiana still does (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2019, p. 8). Although Texas hasn’t been ranked as highly in attrition, their teacher shortage is enough to justify shortening school weeks. Both Louisiana and Texas, predictably, cite workplace stress and low pay as key motivators for their departure from the teaching environment (Muller, 2022; Admin, 2023), although this is a known concern over time after both recessions and COVID 19 (Darling-Hammond et al., 2023; Sutcher et al., 2016). During the 2020-2021 school year, “more than one third (34%) of newly entering teachers were not certified for their assignments—a reflection of shortages, since state rules allow such teachers to be hired only if fully qualified individuals cannot be found” (Darling-Hammond et al., 2023, p. 2). In Louisiana’s 2019-2020 school year, almost a quarter of their teachers are part of the uncertified statistic (Teacher Recruitment

and Retention... (2021). In New Orleans where the vast majority of students are black, over half of their teachers are uncertified (Waguespack et al., 2022, p. 16). Texas, on the other hand, has shown that in addition to only half of their school districts requiring certifications (Dugyala, 2018), between a third and a fifth of their new hire teachers are uncertified (Richman, 2022; Richman, 2023). There have been changes to the educational calendar to remedy the teacher shortage, particularly in Texas involving over 75 of their school districts having four-day school weeks in hopes of attracting teachers to the classroom with shorter workweeks (Adams, 2023). Because this is a new and growing trend, there needs to be more research done on the short and long term impacts of a shortened school week on especially the students of color. We do not yet know the extent of the financial or social impacts on working parents' childcare necessities in light of this change. While it is said that efforts are being made to alleviate the impacts of the teacher shortage, especially in schools that service students from financially limited backgrounds, the efforts are consistently targeting the immediate problem rather than the sources of the problem.

While teacher certifications are still preferred, they are not necessarily required. In an attempt to alleviate the teacher shortages, many states offer alternate certification programs, run by for-profit businesses. For example, in 2002, Texas was the first state that authorized the use of for-profit corporations to certify teachers and now has the largest alternate certification program that accounts for almost 70% of their teacher preparation programs (King & Yin, 2022, p. 16). 90% of the alternate certifications are granted through for-profit organizations. Louisiana is one of the other 10 states that offer for-profit, alternate certifications. Although Louisiana is one of the two states that had increased rates of teacher certifications reported, showing slight success in for-profit certification programs, it may come at the cost of enrollment in the programs of other providers that had "higher of completion" (King & Yin, 2022, p. 15). The decreased rate of completion in these programs indicates that privatized and for-profit certification also isn't a solution for the teacher shortage.

TFA cannot be a solution to the teacher shortage because their business model is to make money through the teacher shortage. Retention rates for TFA teachers are scarce, especially when compared to non-TFA teachers (Houston Independent School District, 2018). While low retention might sound alarming, the low retention rate in TFA teachers is largely by design. Their occupational model, in fact, was crafted to resemble the government-run Peace Corps where participants do two years of community service before their time is served. TFA does not rely on the expectation that teachers are willing to remain permanent employees of the public educational system, thus making their contribution of teachers a solution that is in constant need of upkeep. Teacher shortages, deskilled teachers, and the neoliberal logic of corporate owned public spheres incorporating their efficient and innovative practices that better serve the public than the government are all notions that need to be nourished for them to continue to stay in business.

Retention, skill, and experience are not considered problems for TFA's educational model because their employment philosophy functions under the belief that anyone can teach if they know the 'best practices' to most effectively teach students. Defining 'best

practices' depends largely on measurable results and conceptually insinuates that these practices can and should be replicated as standardized teaching instruction packages, fitting the criteria of deskilled teachers (Giroux, 2012; Giroux, 2002). Because TFA's instruction is entirely prescribed, their argument is that teachers don't need skill or experience; de-skilled teachers with best practices are completely interchangeable. They have a continuous stream of new employees to take the place of the ones who were not retained, taught the same teaching practices, and have very little variation in credentials or skills, making TFA the embodiment of the goals of teacher-proof education. De-skilled teachers with 'best practices' would address many of the immediate symptoms of the teacher profession and the educational gap, but without addressing any of the root causes.

Moreover, TFA's involvement in the public sphere can encourage and profit from the problems attributing to the teacher shortage while also working in conjunction with their network of like-minded neoliberal organizations to retain the teacher shortage. Several of the primary network partners and donors of TFA have endorsed or funded the protection and creation of policies supporting high stakes testing, charter schools, school choice, and other market-based initiatives have been tied to competition, merit-based promotions, and pay structures that are reliant on testing performance. Many of these same organizations are associated with attacks on teacher unions and bargaining rights (White, 2016; Baxendale, 2020). Furthermore, many of those residing inside TFA's network of corporations have been found to advocate for policies related to the support of stricter accountability practices on teachers and students, more flexibility when hiring and firing teachers, teacher evaluations, salary cuts, and layoffs (White, 2016; Jones, 2015), contributing both to the teacher shortage and the devaluing or unappealing environment of the teacher profession. In places that are experiencing teacher shortages, there are schools unable to hire teachers because they are required to hold spots open for TFA in addition to providing special hiring fairs and recruitment events (Brewer et al, 2016, p. 23). TFA contributes further to the teacher's weakening power through their own employees' replaceable and deskilled image: when there is such low retention, there is little reason to have concerns of employees unionizing, tenure, salary improvement, burnout, or urgency to make working conditions and support better for teachers. Most importantly, education's conversion to a privatized public space has made financial decisions and business deals a central concern when hiring teachers: contracts between districts and TFA leaders have been reported to restrict principals' ability to negotiate whom they hire and hiring TFA novices with short term commitments could save money during a recession (Brewer et al., 2016, p. 23). This indicates that rather than teachers becoming replaceable, they are becoming disposable.

This is not to say that TFA is a horrible organization with no practical use in education, in spite of their financial influence over the law, exclusion of non-TFA teachers from the educational environment, or manipulative tactics to get inexperienced teachers into classrooms, especially in schools that service students of color and lower economic wealth. In fact, it has been reported that most of TFA's participants are not protagonists of the pro-reform, corporate-takeover movement (Conn et al., 2020). Their selection process for their teachers is known for being quite rigorous, especially in comparison to other private companies. This indicates that, although there is a necessity to address previously outlined criticisms, at the very least, they are putting forth their best effort to provide highly

educated teachers to teach their students. They do serve a purpose in that many of the schools with a teacher shortage are schools that serve lower income populations, which have more difficulty in retaining and attaining teachers. However, they are not a permanent solution for the teacher shortage.

The Quality of Equity Through TFA

Functioning similarly to neoliberal reforms themselves, there seems to be a trend in utilizing neoliberal logic to fuel the interventive measures taken by corporations like TFA while they fight for notions of equality, imposing their privatized support where the government fails. The relationship featured mimics an interesting phenomenon that has been occurring within companies that utilize capitalistic or neoliberal behavior for the sake of attaining what are usually considered liberal values. Thus, it is important to contextualize TFA's effectivity through their achievement in their stated goals: TFA first hoped to address the teacher shortage before shifting stated purpose in 2008 to focus educational quality through solving inequity in public education for students of color and "closing the achievement gap" (Document #75, as seen in Kraemer-Holland, 2019; Winfield, 2014). More recently, TFA has added information about their goals involving democratic notions of equity, freedom, justice, and developing students' ability to become advocates for themselves (Teach for America, 2018). Concerns detailing TFA's involvement in disruption of the teacher profession, reforms, and the length TFA spends training their teachers have long since been introduced to the discussion. In addition, COVID 19, and teacher preparation programs that bypass traditional coursework, have all taken part in contributing to TFA's recent staffing cuts, limited teacher placement, and reduced new teacher employment. As TFA is regaining its footwork, this is the perfect time to address some problems and concerns about TFA's functionality and provide support for incoming and already employed teachers. This section will discuss and expand upon the effectivity that TFA has had in these areas in comparison to experienced teachers, before finishing with suggestions for research that can be conducted in the future.

TFA's efforts to better educational quality have been primarily directed at the reformation, replacement, and management of those within the educational system, without directly acknowledging the social, political, and economic inequity that exist within society, regardless of their stated desires of addressing inequality and inequity. Reasoning for this can be sourced to what TFA seems to believe solve inequity, including access to higher education for students of color and positions of leadership or power for their alumni. As such, the most important aspects to TFA are to act as a professional launchpad for their many alumni and improving test scores, contrasting with the teacher's democratic purpose that was described previously. Thus, TFA's search for equity is one that mainly centers teachers as educators and employees in the fight for equity rather than students as future democratic citizens.

In order to achieve equal results in education, it is of course necessary to close the educational gap between students. TFA's teachers may not hinder students' measurable performance in school, regardless of their inexperience in the teacher profession. Impacts on educational results displayed through testing has been studied, but because findings tend to differ by study, by state, and by year, it is difficult to definitively state if TFA has better, worse, or equal results than other teachers as a corporation. In Texas, TFA

affiliated teachers have been shown to have better results than other non-TFA teachers throughout the 2011-2012 school year to the 2016-2017 school year (Wright et al., 2019). An important note is that the bulk of the benefit from TFA affiliated teachers seems to come from their experienced alumni, rather than their teachers that are in their first or second year, emphasizing the importance of teacher retention (Wright et al., 2019, p. 28). Louisiana shows positive correlation in math achievement but shows comparable reading performance for students with TFA teachers (Penner, 2016). However, this study also highlights a concerning distributional difference when comparing TFA's worst performers and their peers in classrooms with experienced teachers (Penner, 2016, p. 25), once again highlighting the importance of teacher retention. TFA teachers' achievements or lack thereof in this context are the most frequently researched contributions to students' education because testing achievement is the pillar relied on to attain societal equity for both TFA and the reform movement in general. As an extension, TFA relies heavily on meritocracy. It is important to recognize that, although this is not necessarily the fault of TFA, the concept of meritocracy functions in conjunction with TFA through its operation being constructed on the notion that testing achievement will essentially protect a successful student from the systemic inequity in the United States. A silent addition to the belief in the effectivity of meritocracy is the expectation of accountability for people who fall short.

When analyzing democratic aims in education, it is important to also analyze factors outside of testing, specifically that contribute to the growth of the whole child. Effective classroom management techniques result in increased development in students' social and emotional learning (Simosen et al., as seen in Gaias et al., 2019). Experience in the profession, thus, largely improves a teacher's ability to develop the whole child and provide quality education. Positive classroom environments encourage structure and student engagement, often resulting in improvements in student learning and growth, allowing for students to have a better experience with subjectivity as well. Classroom management extends to the enjoyment of the classroom setting in which seasoned teachers have more success with keeping students on track and addressing emotional needs of what would often be seen as troubled children. Multiple studies have suggested a correlation between cultural responsiveness and classroom management (Gaias et al., 2019, pp. 8-9), although this particular study found the correlation to be insignificant (Gaias et al., 2019, p. 22). Although, regardless of how that contributes to classroom management, students' formation of culture and need to be understood in that context are necessary. This is explained through the dynamic interaction that happens between subjectification and socialization in which students are understood as unique individuals while and should be taught considering their role in broader social and cultural contexts (Biesta, 2010; Biesta, 2020). Yet, cultural understanding has often been neglected in the conversation about educational assets for teachers in large part because high stakes testing encourages the narrative that qualitative, measurable knowledge is the only purpose of education. However, in order to combat the systemic gaps in society, students should be able to function outside of an educational setting; it is not an overuse of the imagination to assume that a teacher that has been present in a community for their whole career can would have insight on that community.

This is an especially important question when TFA's selling point for their teachers relies on the reality that they come from outside that community, often from ivy league universities. Schools are treated in many communities, especially in urban areas, as cultural hubs in which teachers perform a role as both part of the community and a piece of history (Dixson et al., 2015) through educating generations of students and their families. TFA, on the other hand has much lower retention, thus indicating a disconnect from a community's history and limiting a teacher's cultural understanding moves to erase at least some of the opportunity for students to be understood as people and individuals. As an extension, 'best practices' as a concept openly embrace colorblind and impersonal education. The insinuation that there is a 'best practice' for every subject negates that students have needs, experiences, emotions, struggles, cultures, and individual differences, often leading to a discriminatory, abusive educational environment. Lacking classroom control also contributes to inequity in the classroom. Historically, TFA has seen these elements firsthand with their involvement with No Excuses and Zero Tolerance charter schools through teacher supply and growth of the schools themselves (Baxendale, 2020, p. 10). No Excuses charter schools largely compensated for their unseasoned teachers' lack of classroom management with educational practices that were built on absolute control over students (Smith, 2015, p. 3) and harsh punishments that took especially students of color out of the classroom (Sullivan & Morgan, 2010; Vanacore, 2014), often resulting in students learning to submit to authority rather than advocate for themselves (Graham, 2019; Golann 2015). None of the previously stated aspects are positively associated with the democratic goals that TFA outlined.

Very little is known about the steps that TFA's teachers take in order to achieve justice, freedom, and advocacy skills in students. Thus, further research will need to be conducted in order to analyze their process and the effectivity that TFA's teachers have in achieving those goals. TFA's teachers are frequently placed in charter schools, including those that practice no-excuses and zero tolerance policies that are known to effectively work against the development of skills oriented with democratic literacy, particularly in students of color. In addition, places like Texas have outright banned essential material to shape students' understanding of equity like critical race theory. Future research will need to address how TFA educators placed in states, school districts, and schools with inequitable and undemocratic policies that are geared toward inequity are prepared to teach for equity.

Conclusion

The purpose of teachers in the measurement age drastically differs by the purpose described by critical pedagogues, regardless of all parties describing the same end goal of ending inequity. This difference in strategy seems to be the result of tackling the problem as it appears in two different areas. Democratic education hopes to develop the student as both a human and democratic citizen, preparing them to understand and battle the inequities of society, targeting them at the societal origin, as opposed to the reform and corporate movement that seem to be under the impression that high testing performance, and by extension college education will make them exempt from inequity (Giroux, 2018; Freire, 1972; Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Biesta, 2011; Giroux, 2010; Eppard & Giroux, 2022; Giroux, 2004; Hobbs et al., 2019; Freire, 1994). The opposing nature of these two beliefs can be rooted to a clear difference in ideology in which the prior party believes education is highly political and the latter believes that education is purely the development of

students' qualification. The delusion that the political realm has no impact on student learning has inspired the recognition of high stakes testing as an unbiased scale to measure a students' worth, resulting in the development of a culture based on reproduction and performance (Giroux, 2002; Giroux, 2009; Giroux, 2012; Report to the House..., 2015). Such clear and simple elements of judgement often encourage de-skilling teachers, limiting the freedom a teacher has to create democratically inspired education while supporting the reality that teachers are not valued by society, monetarily, professionally, or otherwise.

The teacher shortage, largely caused by insufficient wages and unsupportive work environments (Muller, 2022; Admin, 2023) is bandaged with the help of corporate interests that have fully embrace de-skilled teachers and teaching for testing, most famously TFA. It must be emphasized TFA is not and was never designed to be a solution for the teacher shortage, regardless of their teachers being treated as such. This organization is designed to encourage a consistent flow of short-term hires and lobbied for the covert ability to send their inexperienced, de-skilled, fresh graduates to the schools that are hit hardest by the teacher shortage: low-income schools that service majority students of color. Changes made by ESSA allows individual states to decide the qualifications that their teachers need in order to become teachers. This combines with contracts and financial concerns that leave many schools with little other choice than hiring from TFA, even if they are not suffering from a teacher shortage in that area. While this problem was encouraged by TFA and their neoliberal network that is largely focused on reform, testing, and privatization of public education, the government has done very little to prevent or reverse the teacher shortage. TFA's educators' performance of displayed testing competencies is overall dependent on the state, although performance drastically differs between TFA's first and second year teachers and TFA's more experienced teachers (Wright et al., 2019; Penner, 2016). However, TFA's educators' attributes that contribute to student growth typically go unmeasured and are usually associated with seasoned teachers and cultural responsiveness. Historically TFA has not had much success in developing the whole student, regardless of democratic values being part of their goals for providing equity in education, thus future research will need to analyze TFA's strategies and effectivity in encouraging student growth in those areas.

References

- Act 91, Senate Bill No. 432, Louisiana State Legislature, 2016 Regular Session, <http://legis.la.gov/legis/Law.aspx?d=1016578>, 2016.
- Admin: *Is There a Teacher Shortage in Texas?*. Chelle Law. [https://www.chellelaw.com/is-there-a-teacher-shortage-in-texas/#:~:text=Even%20more%20concerning%20is%20the,and%20lack%20of%20a%20adequate%20support,2023,May 31](https://www.chellelaw.com/is-there-a-teacher-shortage-in-texas/#:~:text=Even%20more%20concerning%20is%20the,and%20lack%20of%20a%20adequate%20support,2023,May%2031).
- Adrienne D. Dixson, Kristen L. Buras, Elizabeth K. Jeffers: The Color of Reform: Race, Education Reform, and Charter Schools in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), pp. 288-299, 2015.
- Amanda Merkwae: Schooling the Police: Race, disability, and the Conduct of School Resource Officers. *Mich. J. Race & L.*, 21, 2015.
- Andrew Vanacore: *Charter Schools' Discipline Policy Under Fire*, NOLA, https://www.nola.com/news/education/charter-schools-discipline-policy-under-fire/article_683ac11a-805d-5b95-b02c-18055ff88aab.html, 2014, June 11.
- Angela M. Kraemer-Holland: Framing Teaching in Retrospect: A Qualitative Study of Educational Philosophies and Teacher Socialization through the Teach for America Experience, DePaul University, 2019.
- Anne Podolsky, Tara Kini, Linda Darling-Hammond: Does Teaching Experience Increase Teacher Effectiveness? A Review of US Research, *Journal of Professional Capital and Community*, 4(4), pp. 286-308, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPC-12-2018-0032>, 2019
- Annie Wright, Dylan Farmer, Yusuf Kara, Yetunde Zannou, Anne Ware: Texas Impact: Evaluation Report for Teach for America, https://www.smu.edu/-/media/Site/Simmons/Research/CORE/PDFs/TFA_TXImpact_Final-Report_February2019.pdf, 2019.
- Barratt A. Smith: "If you Cannot Live by our Rules, if you Cannot Adapt to This Place, I can Show you the Back Door." *A Response to New Forms of Teacher Education: Connections to Charter Schools and Their Approaches. Democracy and Education*, 23(1), 2015.
- Brian Jones: Keys to the Schoolhouse: Black Teachers, Privatization, and the Future of Teacher Unions. In Bree Picower & Edwin Mayorga (Eds.), *What's Race got to do With It: How Current School Reform Policy Maintains Racial and Economic Inequality*. New York: Peter Lang. https://www.academia.edu/12445045/Keys_to_the_Schoolhouse_Black_Teachers_Privatization_and_the_Future_of_Teacher_Unions, 2015.
- C. Hobbs, D. Paulsen, Jeffrey Thomas: Trauma-informed Practice for Pre-Service Teachers. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*, 2019.
- Christopher Adams: *75 Texas school districts have moved to 4-day weeks, affecting almost 90,000 students*. <https://www.ketk.com/news/texas/75-texas-school-districts-have-moved-to-4-day-weeks-affecting-almost-90000-students/?ipid=promo-link-block2>, 2023, June 23.
- David Blazar, Matthew A. Kraft: Teacher and Teaching Effects on Students' Attitudes and Behaviors. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 39(1), pp. 146-170. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373716670260>, 2017.
- Desiree Carver-Thomas, Linda Darling-Hammond: *Teacher Turnover: Why it Matters and What we can do About it*. Palo Alto, CA: Learning Policy Institute, 2017.

- Desiree Carver-Thomas, Linda Darling-Hammond: The Trouble with Teacher Turnover: How Teacher Attrition Affects Students and Schools, *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 27(36). DOI: 10.14507/epaa.27.3699, 2019.
- Diane Ravitch: *Outside Cash Flooding into New Orleans School Board Race*. National Education Policy Center. <https://nepc.colorado.edu/blog/outside-cash-flooding-new-orleans-school-board-race>, 2012, November 5.
- Diane Ravitch: *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education*. Basic Books, 2016.
- Diane Ravitch: *Linda Darling-Hammond says she does not Want to be Secretary of Education*. Diane Ravitch's Blog. <https://dianeravitch.net/2020/11/09/linda-darling-hammond-says-she-does-not-want-to-be-secretary-of-education/>, 2020, November 9.
- Elizabeth Sullivan, Damekia Morgan: Pushed Out: Harsh Discipline in Louisiana Schools Denies the Right to Education, 2010.
- Every Student Succeeds Act, S. 1177, 114th cong. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/BILLS-114s1177enr/pdf/BILLS-114s1177enr.pdf>, 2015.
- Gert Biesta: Good Education in an Age of Measurement: On the Need to Reconnect with the Question of Purpose in Education. *Educational Assessment Evaluation and Accountability*. 21. 10.1007/s11092-008-9064-9, 2009.
- Gert Biesta: What is Education For? *Good Education in an Age of Measurement: Ethics, Politics, Democracy*, Boulder, C: Paradigm Publishers, pp. 11–27, 2010
- Gert Biesta: *Learning Democracy in School and Society: Education, Lifelong Learning, and the Politics of Citizenship*. Sense Publishers, 2011.
- Gert Biesta: What is Education For? On Good Education, Teacher Judgement, and Educational Professionalism. *European Journal of Education*, 50(1), 75–87. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26609254>, 2015.
- Gert Biesta: Risking Ourselves in Education: Qualification, Socialization, and Subjectification Revisited. *Education Theory*, 70, pp. 90-104, <https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12411>, 2020.
- Gert Biesta, Robert Lawy: From Teaching Citizenship to Learning Democracy: Overcoming Individualism in Research, Policy and Practice. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36(1), pp. 63–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057640500490981>, 2006.
- Gert Biesta, Barbara S. Stengel: Thinking philosophically about teaching. *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 5, pp. 7-67, 2016.
- Graham, Eliot: “In Real Life, You Have to Speak Up”: Civic Implications of No-Excuses Classroom Management Practices. *American Educational Research Journal*, 57, 2019.
- H. McCauley: Education and Indoctrination. *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Eireannach an Oideachais*, 4(2), pp. 127–138, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30076707>, 1970.
- H.B. 4545 – 87th Regular Legislative Session: Supplemental Accelerated Instruction. (2021, June 25).
- Helen Baxendale: Teach for America as institutional subversive. *New agents in the Contemporary Politics of American Education Reform*, 2020.
- Henry A. Giroux: Teachers as Transformatory Intellectuals. *EDucate*, 1(2), pp. 46-49, https://www.itacec.org/afed/document/henry_giroux_2_ok.pdf, 2002.
- Henry A. Giroux: Critical Pedagogy and the Postmodern/Modern Divide: Towards a Pedagogy of Democratization. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 31(1), pp. 31–47, 2004.

- Henry A. Giroux: *Teachers as Intellectuals : Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning*. Symposium on Understanding Quality Education. Conference on Re-envisioning Quality in Education, 2009.
- Henry A. Giroux: Rethinking Education as the Practice of Freedom: Paulo Freire and the Promise of Critical Pedagogy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 8(6), pp. 715–721. <https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2010.8.6.715>, 2010.
- Henry A. Giroux: In Defense of Public School Teachers in a Time of Crisis. *Counterpoints*, 400, pp. 1–12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981517>, 2012.
- Henry A. Giroux: Rethinking the Boundaries of Educational Discourse: Modernism, Postmodernism, and Feminism. *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope*, 17(2), pp. 183–233. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429498428-8>, 2018.
- Henry A. Giroux: *Dossier CCCB Interviews*: Those Arguing that Education Should be Neutral are Really arguing for a Version of Education in Which Nobody is Accountable, <http://lab.cccb.org/en/henry-giroux-those-arguing-that-education-should-be-neutral-are-really-arguing-for-a-version-of-education-in-which-nobody-is-accountable/>, 2019.
- Honawar: *Court Upholds “Highly Qualified” Teacher Rules*. Education Week. <https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/court-upholds-highly-qualified-teacher-rules/2008/06>, 2008, February.
- Houston Independent School District. Research & Accountability: *Teach For America Program Evaluation, 2017. Research Educational Program Report*. Houston Independent School District. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED596956>, 2018, January 18.
- Jacey Fortin, Eliza Fawcett: *How bad is the Teacher Shortage? Depends Where you Live*. The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/schools-teacher-shortages.html>, 2022, August 29.
- Jacqueline E. King, Jessica Yin: The Alternate Teacher Certification Sector Outside Higher Education. <https://aacte.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/AltCertification-report-062122-UPDATED.pdf>, 2022.
- Jameson T. Brewer, Anthony Cody: Teach for America: The Neoliberal Alternative to Teacher Professionalism. In *Effective or Wise? Teaching and the Meaning of Professional Dispositions in Education*, 447, (77-94). New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2014.
- Jameson T. Brewer, Kerry Kretchmar, Beth Sondel, Sarah Ishmael, Meghan M. Manfra: Teach for America's Preferential Treatment: School District Contracts, Hiring Decisions, and Employment Practices. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24(15), n15, 2016.
- Joanne W. Golann: *I Spent a Year and a Half at a ‘No-Excuses’ Charter School – This is What I Saw*. Princeton University. <https://press.princeton.edu/ideas/i-spent-a-year-and-a-half-at-a-no-excuses-charter-school-this-is-what-i-saw>, 2021, May.
- Kathrine M. Conn, Virginia S. Lovison, Cecilia Hyunjung Mo: How Teach for America Affects Beliefs About Education: Connecting Classroom Experience to Opinions on Education Reform. *Education Next*, 20(1), pp. 58-66, 2020.
- Katharine O. Strunk, Nathan Barrett, Jane Arnold Lincove: *When Tenure Ends: Teacher Turnover in Response to Policy Changes in Louisiana*. Education Research Alliance, <https://educationresearchalliancenola.org/files/publications/022217-Strunk-Barrett-Arnold-Lincove-When-Tenure-Ends-Teacher-Turnover-in-Response-to-Policy-Changes-in-Louisiana.pdf>, 2017, February 22.

- Kenneth J. Saltman: Neoliberalism and Corporate School Reform: “Failure” and “Creative Destruction”, *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 36(4), pp. 249-259, DOI: 10.1080/10714413.2014.93856, 2014.
- Kevin F. Gotham: Racialization and Rescaling: Post-Katrina Rebuilding and the Louisiana Road Home Program. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(3), pp. 773-790, 2014.
- Larissa M. Gaias, Sarah Lindstrom Johnson, Jessika H. Bottiani, Katrina J. Debnam, Cathrine P. Bradshaw: Examining Teachers’ Classroom Management Profiles: Incorporating a Focus on Culturally Responsive Practice, *Journal of School Psychology*, 76(5), pp. 124-139. DOI: 0.1016/j.jsp.2019.07.017. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/journal-of-school-psychology/vol/76/suppl/C, 2019>.
- Lawrence M. Eppard, Henry A. Giroux: *On Inequality and Freedom*. Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Leadership for Educational Equity*. Ballotpedia. https://ballotpedia.org/Leadership_for_Educational_Equity, Accessed 2023, September.
- Leib Sutcher, Linda Darling-Hammond, Desiree Carver-Thomas: *A Coming Crisis in Teaching? Teacher Supply, Demand, and Shortages in the U.S.* Learning Policy Institute. <https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/coming-crisis-teaching>, 2016, September 25.
- Linda Darling-Hammond, Michael A. DiNapoli Jr., Tara Kini: *The Federal Role in Ending Teacher Shortages*. Learning Policy Institute. <https://doi.org/10.54300/649.892>, 2023.
- Lindsey Layton: Education Reform Advocate John White: We’re in Danger of Becoming the Enemy. *Washington Post*. http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/education-reform-advocate-john-white-were-in-danger-of-becoming-theenemy/2013/10/01/d752c372-2ad1-11e3-97a3-ff2758228523_story.html, 2013, October 1.
- Michael J. Waguespack, Ernest F. Summerville, Karen LeBlanc: *Teacher Qualifications and Pay Impact on Teacher Retention and Student Performance: Louisiana Public School Teachers*, Louisiana Legislative Auditor, <https://app.lla.state.la.us/Publicreports.nsf>, 2022, May 25.
- Muller, W. (2022, August 29). *Low Pay, Safety Concerns, Gender Gap Fuel Low Interest in Becoming a Teacher in Louisiana*. *The Courier*. <https://www.houmatoday.com/story/news/education/2022/08/29/why-such-low-interest-in-teaching-in-louisiana-here-are-a-few-reasons/65462069007/>
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. (2002). P.L. 107-110, 20 U.S.C.
- Paulo Freire: *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972.
- Paulo Freire: (1994) *Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Continuum, 1994.
- Penner, E. K. (2016). Teaching for all? Teach for America’s Effects Across the Distribution of Student Achievement. *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*, 9(3), 259–282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19345747.2016.1164779>
- Rishka Dugyala: *More Than Half of Texas Public School Students are in Districts Where Teacher Certification Isn’t Required*. *The Texas Tribune*. <https://www.texastribune.org/2018/02/07/texas-school-districts-hiring-uncertified-teachers-has-some-worried-ab/>, 2018, February 7.

- Robert Pondiscio: Louisiana Threads the Needle on Ed Reform, *Education Next*, 17(4), pp. 8-15. <https://www.educationnext.org/louisiana-threads-the-needle-ed-reform-launching-coherent-curriculum-local-control/>, 2017.
- Report to the House and Senate Committees on Education of the Louisiana Legislature*, Louisiana Believes, 2015.
- Sarah Butrymowicz: *Federal Court Rules that Teachers-in-Training Don't Count as "Highly Qualified."* HechingerEd. http://hechingered.org/content/federal-court-rules_2821/, 2010, September 28
- Takirra Winfield: *Teach For America Welcomes Most Diverse Talent in 25-Year History*, https://www.teachforamerica.org/sites/default/files/2014.national.corps_.announcement.final_.08.13.14.pdf, 2014.
- Talia Richman: *1 in 5 new Texas Teachers Were Hired Without Certification Last Year*, Dallas News, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2022/09/22/1-in-5-new-texas-teachers-werent-certified-last-year/>, 2022, September 22.
- Talia Richman: *Inside Texas' Explosion of Uncertified new Teachers Filling Shortages*, Dallas News, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/education/2023/10/15/inside-texas-explosion-of-uncertified-new-teachers-filling-shortages/#:~:text=Roughly%201%20in%203%20new,the%20COVID%2D19%20pandemic%20hit>, 2023, October 19.
- Teach for America, [Video], Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szoDChv8W-o>, December, 2018.
- Teacher Recruitment and Retention Targeted as Priority for State Education Boards*. Louisiana Believes. <https://www.louisianabelieves.com/newsroom/news-releases/release/2021/12/15/teacher-recruitment-recovery-and-retention-targeted-as-priority-for-state-education-boards>, 2021.
- Teacher Recruitment, Recovery, and Retention Task Force*, Board of Regents - State of Louisiana, 2021.
- Terrenda C. White: Teach For America's Paradoxical Diversity Initiative: Race, Policy, and Black Teacher Displacement in Urban Schools. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24, 2016.