# SHAPING PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF FEDERAL EDUCATION POLICY: AN INTERACTIVE-HERMENEUTIC EXAMINATION OF ROD PAIGE'S SPEECHES IN SUPPORT OF NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

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A dissertation
Submitted to
The Temple University Graduate Board

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In partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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August, 2010

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# ABSTRACT

An analysis of President George W. Bush's first Secretary of Education Rod Paige's speeches in 2001 explains the way in which the Bush Administration articulated its educational policy agenda. Literature on *No Child Left Behind* tends to focus on the specifics of whether the law helps children learn better or worse without recognizing or engaging with the broader policy agenda. This study attempts to bridge connections between No Child Left Behind and the broader Bush Administration ideology. A major connection this work highlights is between welfare policy and education, and by doing so utilizing George Lakoff's theory of moral politics examines highlights an overarching philosophy of governance, which shapes educational policy, perhaps even without regard to classroom outcomes.

This analysis utilizes an interactive-hermeneutic model to crunch the text of Rod Paige's speeches. By coding and explaining major themes from the speeches, analyzing the language and rhetorical choices against itself and then comparing it to extant research on education policy and welfare rhetoric, this study provides a different way to examine political maneuvering on educational policy, which positions politics and language at the center of educational policy rather than efficacy and policy.

This analysis finds by applying Lakoff's theory and work that Rod Paige's rhetoric, on behalf of the George W. Bush administration, is about reducing Federal responsibility for social problems and reducing the government's role overall. This is a "slippery slope policy" aimed at eliminating public responsibility for schools and privatizing education in service to the goal of creating an "ownership society" of privatized services and personal responsibility for success.

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# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Understanding the way an administration views a problem by understanding the way it describes and discusses it is the first step towards understanding the policies, which that administration will pursue. Put another way: "the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers" (DuBois, 1903). Understanding the "vision" of political "seers" also provides guidance for understanding how an administration will execute extant law in service to that vision. By linking policy discourse in one policy domain, education and the No Child Left Behind Act, with policy discourse of the past and present in that or other domains (such as welfare) a researcher might be able to effectively predict the shape of policies an administration will pursue and which outcomes are more or less likely to be sought. Such grounded predictions could be powerful tools for politicians and other policy actors to use when shaping media messages and anticipating policy outcomes and reactions in a broad array of policy domains.

## *Problem*

The No Child Left Behind Act has been subject to widespread criticism since its implementation in early 2002. Given the amount of criticism of this statute, by the National Education Association (2008) and American Federation of Teachers (2008), by Frederick Hess (Peterson, 2003) and Jonathan Kozol (2005), by educational measurement researchers like W. James Popham (2005), one would expect to find significant vocal opposition or at best only narrow support of this law at its inception because these criticisms, as Peterson (2003) showed, were not unanticipated consequences. One might even expect close votes in Congress to enact this statute to reflect a divided electorate, which had just elected a minority president (President

Bush won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote), and a divided Congress (with the Senate possessing a 50-50 split between the two parties for most of the year). However, this is not the case.

During the first year of President Bush's presidency, the educational reform, which became No Child Left Behind, was a leading policy priority. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was overdue for reauthorization and so the proposals for what eventually became No Child Left Behind were actually the first bills introduced in both the Senate and the House at their first conventions in 2001. By the time the negotiated and reconciled conference report passed both houses of Congress in December it enjoyed the bipartisan sponsorship of such leading Congressional figures as Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. John Boehner (R-OH), and passed the House by a vote 381-41 and the Senate by a vote of 87-10. Such overwhelming vote tallies indicate a law, which enjoyed large support across the political spectrum in a narrowly divided Congress. Such high vote tallies in Congress also imply the acceptance of a large portion of the general population, since widespread and vocal (if not numerically significant) public opposition to a policy can lead to troubles as the first TARP vote in 2008, the stalled immigration reform proposals, and the current health care reform bills debate demonstrate adequately. Such overwhelming Congressional support should only occur if the public was equally enthusiastic in its support for the proposals or else trusted that their legislators were doing the right thing by supporting it. Congress seldom can run against a public tide of opinion, except through procedural motions or filibusters. Neither of these seemed to occur with No Child Left Behind's late fall passage and reconciliation, with the exception of a temporary Sen. Feingold "hold" on the bill in the fall when an issue developed with Special Education funding.

Politicians frequently attempt to sell their major policy proposals to the public, and President Bush dispatched his Education Secretary Rod Paige to sell this particular policy to the public during the course of 2001 in speeches given at University commencements, Union conventions and at other research and political organizations. Given the Rod Paige's speeches articulating the administration perspective on educational policy and the long span of time over which congressional members debated and discussed the provisions of the law, one would expect that the members of Congress who voted for or against the law to have broadly understood the implications of this policy change as well as a sense of their constituents' opinions regarding the proposals. Despite this, Democrats and some Republicans who had voted for it in December 2001 contested the statute after its enactment.

Given the later controversies with Secretary Paige relaxing the statute's requirements, Utah and Virginia attempting to condemn the law legislatively and Connecticut suing, along with the current promises to reform the reform, the question of what Paige said was significant. Often, policy researchers analyze a statute based upon whether or not it achieved its objectives or what the unintended consequences of the statute were, with the logical conclusion that a statute that did not achieve its objectives would be unpopular and in need of reform whereas one that had achieved positive outcomes would be more popular and enjoy political support. This logical formulation has not stood up to the scrutiny of researchers for many reasons. As some researchers have shown, support or opposition to political policy often rests not upon the implementation of the policy or even necessarily the goals of the policy, but upon other reasons such as perceptions of the people whom the program is explicitly serving like the unemployed or those on disability (Soss, 2000), beliefs about what groups the program is serving regardless of those beliefs' confluence with reality (Gilens, 1999), general political dispositions towards

government (Lakoff, 2002), the lived experience of policy at the "street-level" (Lipsky, 1981), and even a mix of factors related to perceptions and beliefs of a program's efficacy regardless of the data (Mucciaroni, 1990). These findings suggest that the "setting the stage" part of policy development, also called "priming the pump," "defining the problem," "setting the agenda" etc., wherein politicians in one of their roles as "opinion leaders" explain the public "problem" their policy wants to address and how their proposals will address it, warrants significant examination.

By evaluating Rod Paige's speeches researchers can gain a better understanding of policy priorities articulated by the executive branch which bore responsibility for executing the law after Congress passed it as well as understand the administration's definition of significant policy concepts as evidenced by their frequency and prominence in the discussion. In recent years, presidential signing statements by President Bush and then President Obama shed light on the difference between passing a statute and executing the law, especially in circumstances where language itself is wrought with contested political meanings. First President Bush and now President Obama have issued signing statements in which they explain how they will follow the law and abide or ignore provisions of statutes passed by Congress. This practice, well documented by Charlie Savage (2007) of the *New York Times* (who won the Pulitzer prize for his coverage of this issue), has come under fire from many quarters by those who consider it a violation of the Constitutional system of checks and balances and yet the phenomenon itself demonstrates how statutory law is often not the same as executed, judicial or political law (Savage, 2007).

Another important facet of this derives from an understanding of what Gilens (1999) and Lakoff (2002) show in their work, which is that political "opinion leaders" can either speak to an audience's core values, shape the audience's perceptions of a policy's impact, including naming

recipients of policy, or else selectively emphasize particular aspects of policy in service to their or their constituents' political ideology and/or prejudices (Gilens, 1999; Lakoff, 2002).

*Purpose of the Study*

This study is an interactive-hermeneutic exploration of the content of speeches, which Rod Paige made in 2001 while the Bush administration and members of Congress were negotiating the statute, which is today's No Child Left Behind. An interactive-hermeneutic exploration codes and explains major themes from a body of texts, analyzing and defining the language and rhetorical choices within the body of texts against itself to uncover major motifs, and then explains or analyzes those motifs in light of extant research to make meaning of the body of texts and contextualize it in a broader sense. This study uncover themes in the discourse which link educational policy to other policy areas, like welfare policy and Federalism, and explains the political priorities expressed in the speeches in relation to the Bush administration's overall political agenda and ideology. By doing this the study defines the broader Bush Administration ideological agenda, as articulated by Rod Paige, and demonstrates how this policy agenda is at work beyond just the policy of No Child Left Behind and must be considered a factor in analyses of No Child Left Behind and its educational efficacy or its policy efficacy, which are two different things. Researchers in education have studied the efficacy of No Child Left Behind quite well, but less work has been done analyzing its policy efficacy, in terms of how it advances a vision of society the role of the Federal government in education, while advancing its vision of school practice and method.

*Significance of Study*

This study will begin to illuminate a particularly potent administration understanding of education and the role of schools in society as articulated by Education Secretary Rod Paige

before No Child Left Behind became the law of the United States. It is potent because President George W. Bush's presidential administration passed the No Child Left Behind Act through Congress and was responsible for enforcing its various provisions for the first eight years of the statute's existence. Although there was criticism of the statute, it passed with large margins in Congress, indicating a large political understanding of the Federal government's role in education. By more fully understanding the Bush administration's perspective researchers and politicians can more fully understand what the actual intended impacts of No Child Left Behind were. This is because the impact of a law is not in its formulation or necessarily even in understanding all of its provisions but in its actual execution and administrative prioritization. (Peterson, 2003; Vinovskis, 1999; Schattschneider, 1960; Popham, 2005) Understanding the Bush administration's priorities and proclivities is important because even though Congress passed this statute and appropriated funding for it, it was the Bush Administration and Rod Paige's Department of Education, which was responsible for executing the provisions of the statutes. Savage's (2007) work on signing statements shows that presidential interpretations of the law matter and shape the execution of the law despite what Congress might desire or intend when they pass a statute and send it to the president's desk for his signature.

*Research Questions*

What were the major themes in Rod Paige's speeches in support of No Child Left Behind? How do these themes suggest a general policy orientation beyond just the educational policy domain?

*Definitions*

**Frames, Framework, Framing-** for the purposes of this study, variations on the word Frame will refer exclusively to an understanding of issue framing or policy framing derived from

George Lakoff's work on language and metaphor in policymaking. This is significant because there are several other slightly different understandings of these words in the social sciences. Lakoff understands framing to be mostly a rhetorical device which defines a political field of action along with the management of policy expectation by political leaders and others. (Lakoff, 2002) This study will analyze and explain these "frames" using the interactive-hermeneutic exploration approach. Klaus Krippendorff (2004) articulated and normalized methods for the use of computer applications like ATLAS.ti to carry out such a study and as a result, this study draws heavily upon that articulation. This methodology derives from ethnography with all the inherent limitations of that method, to uncover major themes and ideas in communicative content, along with evaluating the meaning of key words and ideas contained therein in light of an established theory, like Lakoff's, which is rooted in Cognitive Linguistic studies of language.

**Other Key Terms**- Because this is a study which focuses on Rod Paige's speeches, the definition and understanding of particular important terms such as accountability, soft bigotry, etc. will be of critical importance, yet the meanings of these terms is data contingent and is actually a major focus of interactive-hermeneutic exploration in part one of the data analysis section itself. This is important because any attempt at pre-definition can potentially contaminate the objectivity of this study.

*Limitations and Delimitations of Study*

This study will be strictly limited to data in a body of texts from a one year time period for the interactive-hermeneutic exploration. This limits it generalizability only to the ideas articulated by Rod Paige, which as Secretary of Education can fairly be assumed to represent the Bush Administration priorities and ideology, about the statute which became No Child Left Behind, even though others have articulated problems with the statute which Paige did not

address. For example, Popham (2005) and McNeil (2000) wrote books critiquing the use of standardized testing in educational practice and/or in No Child Left Behind specifically, but because Paige does not address this topic very often or particularly, this study will not deal with the issue of standardized testing, only Paige's discussion of standardized testing in its very limited form within this content. It does not explain how NCLB is working or failing to work since its enactment.

This study also falls into the major limitation of qualitative research generally which is that "researchers… are unable to share among themselves the coding/conceptual schemes that emerge during their interactive explorations of text, or to apply those schemes to other texts of different situations [which] prevents researchers from testing the reliability of categorizations." (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 306) Despite this limitation, qualitative research is still an important and accepted part of the research paradigm because of the rich data it furnishes. One way in which this study addresses this concern is by utilizing only readily available texts which other researchers can explore to validate or challenge the claims made within this research, as well as to judge the accuracy of the coding scheme.

This study does have broad implications in that it will furnish important data about the Bush administration aims and priorities with regards to No Child Left Behind which go beyond the accountability, testing and highly-qualified teacher provisions which receive much attention. By examining the polished and prepared language of posted Rod Paige speeches, this study will illuminate a perspective on policy and government that goes beyond just educational policy and helps define the Bush administration's dominant ideology and governing agenda. In doing so it also demonstrates how many of the controversies which arose after President Bush signed the bill into law could have been anticipated.

This study's primary contribution is that it provides an interactive-hermeneutic exploration of Rod Paige's speeches. Its secondary contribution is in supplying a rigorous application of the interactive-hermeneutic approach to George Lakoff's theories which can be applied to other data sources and policy studies. An important part of this study will be its attempt to link educational policy speeches to a broader ideological agenda. This will enable researchers to build a broader set of understandings about the Bush administration agenda and ideology of government which is not entirely representative of conservatism but definitely a significant sub-set within the broader conservative movement and certainly still relevant under the current presidency of Barack Obama. Such broad understandings are essential to analyses of presidential administrations and can help to understand and perhaps eventually predict the probable course of policy events. This relates to what Peter Schwartz (2009) and others define as "futurism," which is a system of anticipating future events to best shape the outcomes of events and policies. Part of the goal of policy research is not only to evaluate policies to craft better policies but to better anticipate trends in society which will enable the implementation of particular polices through the opening of what Kingdon (1984) calls the "policy windows."

It is a large task to account for the relationship between language, perceptions, politics and policy-making. This is especially true, because as Fowler (2000) explains, "since about the 1970s scholars in every branch of the social sciences have devoted much attention to the study of language, or discourse, in society." (p. 28) As a result of this broad multi-disciplinary focus and the concurrent diversity not only of studies but methodologies of policy analysis, this study will only be able to convincingly illuminate a small part of the complex relationships involved while providing guidance for future research. It does this by deeply engaging with the speeches Rod Paige gave in his capacity as Secretary of Education and analyzing and explaining what he was

saying as the Secretary of Education for the Bush Administration regarding educational policy during a time, one year, when No Child Left Behind was still an idea and a series of proposals. Why the year 2001 is essential is because the discussions of the policy that year were all hypothetical, but were nonetheless tied to real congressional negotiations about the shape and form the law would take and what the Bush administration and Congress hoped to achieve through their policy prescriptions. This will help to serve as a starting point for a more developed and intensive study on the passage of No Child Left Behind and potentially all educational policy in the past and future.

Studies on educational policy are particularly instructive ones because education is the only compulsory system in the United States. Beyond the special character of education which makes content analysis instructive, this study has the potential to elaborate the connections between policies in diverse policy environments, where the universality of citizen experience is less applicable, to better define an overarching political agenda as Lakoff (2002) suggests is possible. Better and more developed studies of discourse on education in comparison with other policy arenas can potentially lead to more predictive policy studies and outcomes across a broad breadth of policy.

This study is borrows from comprehensive and multi-layered studies of educational policy in the United States (Vinovskis, 1999; Katz, 1995; Tyack, 1974; Urban, 2009; Peterson, 2003; Spring, 2008; Rousemaniere, 1997; Conant, 1963; Fowler, 2000; Levin, 2001; Freire, Giroux, & Macedo, 1985; McNeil, 2000; Callahan, 1962; Meier, 2004). No Child Left Behind is the largest and most important piece of educational policy since the statute was originally formulated as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in the 1960s, and so is a natural place to begin inquiry on contemporary educational issues.

The present study, taken with other studies, such as growing number of statistical studies of perceptions and opinions regarding education, school and No Child Left Behind, along with studies of media and media language, as well as political science studies of Congressional voting patterns can hopefully begin to explain the large majorities which supported the passage of No Child Left Behind. Further studies of the more traditional kind about the enactment of the policy and its impacts can explain the erosion of support for this policy and hopefully account for the gap between Congressional support before and support after No Child Left Behind became statutory law (Bushaw, 2008). Furthermore, the combination of these studies into larger studies can begin to help researchers understand the policy formation and enactment process in a way that accounts for many more factors than previously studied in the policy literature, as well as potentially make predictions about the shape of educational policy to come based upon the adherence to policy themes and ideologies when discussing potential policy changes and reforms.

*Theoretical Frame*

This study is an interactive-hermeneutic exploration of Rod Paige's speeches during the first year of President Bush's administration when the Administration and Congress were negotiating and formulating what became the No Child Left Behind Act. By using this method of investigation, a researcher can apply George Lakoff's theory of moral politics to understand the underlying morality articulated by Rod Paige and by extension the Bush Administration. Lakoff's theory of moral politics suggests that politicians articulate their visions of policy and the role of government based upon a metaphorical understanding of the United States as a family and government as a sort of parental figure. Liberals and Conservatives understand this metaphor differently and, consequently, articulate different roles for government and different policies.

# CHAPTER 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review surveys several important literature areas which are relevant to this study. Policy analysis is a multi-disciplinary endeavor and thus this literature review will explore policy literature from several disciplines, which is relevant to education and educational policy. This literature is from education, political science, anthropology, history and sociology. It deals with the difficult nature of policy analysis and helps with justifying this present study by explaining the theoretical frameworks which policy researchers use in their multidisciplinary endeavor. It also surveys literature on No Child Left Behind to understand the major ideas which concern researchers in education. It then surveys the literature on welfare reform, since it is a social policy which underwent major change and which exhibits certain parallels to educational policy and juxtaposes with educational policy in a relevant way, when viewed through the Lakoff moral politics framework.

Klaus Krippendorff (2004) has clearly articulated the many methodologies for analyzing and explaining the content of written communications, speeches, articles, etc. This study is what he calls an interactive-hermeneutic exploration. Such studies in educational policy are lacking, though Jennifer Hochschild's contribution to Peterson (2003) comes closest to this type of study. Other researchers have studied political discourse and public opinions like Martin Gilens (1999) and Laurence Mead (2005) who have studied welfare policy communications and attitudes, while George Lakoff (2002) has written about the political mind and its relationship to political discourse while utilizing many examples from a broad variety of policy arenas. It is the task of Political Science researchers to understand and describe the ways in which political actors formulate and execute governmental policies as well as the execution and impacts of those

policies in society. This is a monumental task in any area but within a universal system such as education, which encompasses every US citizen for at least twelve years and which is fraught with emotion and contention about the very molding of a person's character and knowledge-base, the task is especially important.

Understanding a policy's impact is a reactive enterprise which enables policymakers to better understand policy consequences with the goal of formulating better policy. However, understanding the outcomes of policy does not fully explain the policy formation process, nor does it explain the larger role of policies in society's thoughts, beliefs, and actions. In the United States, attempts at understanding the formation of, reactions to, and consequences of welfare policies constitute a large and ever-growing body of political science literature for a policy which directly impacts only a small minority of the population and yet at times constituted a major portion of the policy discourse. Education is a social function as well and as a result can be useful when conceiving of educational discourse studies educational policy problems.

Welfare policy literature has provided researchers with tools for analyzing other policies enacted by the government and understanding governing practices. Interestingly, even understanding the way researchers frame the results of these studies could be quite indicative of a general policy orientation and a way in which the researcher will use the data to advance a predetermined agenda. Given recent reappraisals of the positivism which dominated the fields and re-evaluations of how "objective" researchers can truly be, in part because of the proliferation of ideologically-driven research institutes like the Manhattan Institute, Heritage Foundation, and Center for American Progress, understanding a way to identify researcher bias through understanding their word choices can be quite useful.

Education, properly done, is often considered a solution to the problem of poverty and welfare dependency, or for creating loyalty and nationalism, and yet the literature analyzing the formation of educational policy (as opposed to its outcomes) is lacking. Education in an institutional sense, either public or private, is a universal reality for citizens of the United States who are compelled into one institution or another until the age of sixteen. This makes understanding education policy formation essential since every citizen will feel the impacts of these policies and the impacts can potentially reach society as a collective whole, though on a depersonalized and more general basis.

*Theoretical Framework*

An important area of policy research relates to political messages and the transmission of these messages to the public, a process which Schattschneider (1960) first illuminated and defined as "mobilization of bias." Journalist Norman Solomon decries the "spinning" of political messages in service to what Schattschneider called the "mobilization of bias" for policymaking, but also for the post hoc justification of implemented policy in general. These politically oriented writers have been conducting such analyses since the 1980s era of President Ronald Reagan, "The Great Communicator," because of the importance of "communication" to the presidency of Reagan. They utilized basic techniques of content analysis to examine the behavior of media outlets along with the politicians who "manipulate" them (Solomon, 1994; Solomon, 2004). They did so to specifically critique the policies implemented by Reagan and other national-level politicians, but did not engage in research aimed at developed theory or predictive capacities.

Brazilian theorist Paolo Freire (1985) has discussed the "hegemonic discourse of power." For Freire this hegemonic discourse means the way in which powerful people in society (political leaders, business leaders, the media etc.) control the very language which the public

uses to discuss important issues in our society. His analysis even posits that the "power elite" (Mills, 1958) do so while suppressing alternative discourses and alternative language, thus creating this hegemony.

Despite his work researching and debunking many of the claims made by politicians Solomon has thus far failed to explain just why the public is "deceived" by these messages, or how it is that these messages work on the public. This limits how useful the work will be when defining study parameters or developing generalizable theory. It serves a much more limited function, to justify one policy or attack another. Solomon's lack of academic rigor limits how theoretical his findings can be though the particular challenges, problems and activities around particular policies he critiques are quite clearly articulated. Despite these limitations, his work is a useful starting point because it unambiguously illustrates the importance of "message" when analyzing politics and politicians.

Unlike Solomon, Freire's (1985) work functions in a sociological and philosophical realm where he theorizes about society based upon many factors, not the least of which was his Brazilian society, but language is only a piece of his complex puzzle not the primary focus of his analysis. His concern is not so much with the specific language of those in power, but the power with which their language dominates the discourse and maintains a status quo of power relations. His homeland, Brazil, experienced a decade of military dictatorship and thus the application of force to suppress dissent was much more prevalent. The reality of martial law and unaccountable military power in his homeland seems to influence his perspective strongly and leads to diminishing utility in the different US context where citizens enjoy a voice in their government to which politicians must respond or a bias which they must mobilize to accomplish their objectives. Freire's argument rests on the power of those who shape language and how this

enables their dominance of discourse, rather than analyzing how their particular discourse might actually enable their power. This in no way discounts his work, but it does leave the question unanswered about how politicians can use "soft power," the power of persuasion and inspiration through rhetoric and discourse choices, to maintain their power and shape the evolution of society.

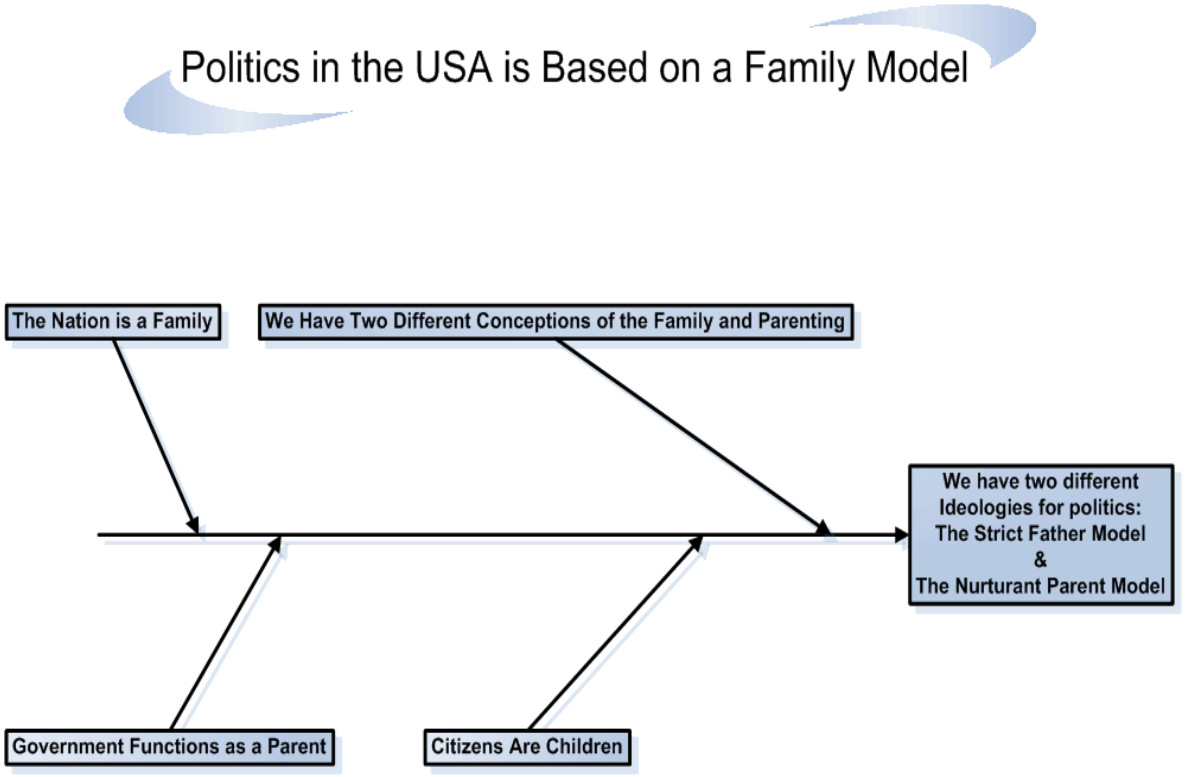
George Lakoff, a cognitive linguist from Berkeley, believes that he has an answer which explains the interpretive nature of political discourse and the shrill partisanship which can come to define debate around particular issues. He believes that his research into the nature of linguistic categorization, metaphor and the thought process, along with the relationship of both to language sheds some essential light on this question. He articulates a political theory based on his cognitive science work in *Moral Politics* (2002). This theory of moral politics derives from his earlier theory of language development and cognition.

Lakoff, in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987) and *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), suggests that individuals develop their language and structure their understandings through the use of increasingly complex metaphors which initially derive from their physical experience of the world. Humans developed more complex and abstract language through the development of metaphors which are nonetheless still rooted in this physical human experience. As language grew more complex so did the human brain's ability to think, in essence positing a symbiotic relationship between human language and human thought. A lasting result of this symbiosis is that sensual experiences are mapped onto concepts and thus become inextricably connected to particular words and concepts; love feels hot, as a result of the biological processes of arousal, like blushing, so many human languages use "hot" words when discussing ideas related to love, and the inverse "cold" in things related to hatred or negativity. These webs of

meaning shape human thought and play a role in the decision-making process, including policies people support and politicians for whom they will vote.

This theory of the relationship between language and human thought alone is not a political one but more of a psycho-social one, but Lakoff takes this theory of metaphors, thought, and language and applies it to the US political situation in his work *Moral Politics* (2002). By his reckoning, the United States has a shared metaphor by which its citizens conceptualize their nation as a sort of traditional nuclear family. See Figure Below.

Figure 2.1. Illustration of Lakoff's Theory .




Beginning from this metaphor and American "folk knowledge" experiences of the family Lakoff explains not only the liberal and conservative mindsets but also explains how people with predispositions towards one or the other mindset can be swayed using talk which fits their particular set of understandings regarding the "United States Family."

The two ideologies for politics suggest different orientations towards policy and the appropriate role of government. There is the Stern Father Family, characterized by patriarchy, physical punishment to promote discipline and counteract "evil," disciplined pursuit of self-interest, and wealth as a sign of goodness. The other familial model is the Nurturing Parent Family. In this model the gender roles are unimportant, but the parent's concern is nurturing the growth of the born-good children to help them improve themselves and to protect them from misfortune. Lakoff explains that these two models are not stark black and white contrasts but simply large useful frameworks and he also explains that people operate under both of the models in different situations and in the different roles they assume during their lives. Nonetheless these two broad models can help map American attitudes towards policy, their votes for policymakers, and their perceptions of policies onto the contemporary political scene.

In Lakoff's theory, those who often describe themselves as Conservatives tend to react positively to Stern Father policies, which "reward" discipline, punish the lack of discipline, and maintain the dominant position of the patriarchal male. Meanwhile, those who describe themselves as Liberal or Progressive tend to react positively to the nurturing parent model that promotes equality of gender, protects and feeds people without judgment, along with promoting the responsibility for and understanding of all people. He sees these familial models and tendencies in policies as diverse as education, tax policy, foreign relations, abortion, and health care.

As one delves into his theory on the morals of conservatives and liberals, one can see the way it can inform people's reaction to educational policies, particularly with regards to discipline, punishment, outcomes and hierarchy in education, and particularly the policies which impact these areas or even define these areas. One can even see in the larger policy provisions of

No Child Left Behind the policies which Lakoff in *Don't Think of An Elephant* (2004) explained as morally conservative "stern father" policies. Policies such as firing teachers, cutting off funding to failing schools, giving children the opportunity to leave for another school depriving the school of its students are all policies which suggest punishment and disciplining stemming from a focus on deficits with schools rather than with rewarding assets in successful schools in difficult circumstances.

Lakoff (2004) contends that conservatives have been the masters of using evocative language over the last twenty years. He contends that this mastery of language has greatly contributed to making many of conservative policies seem more palatable than they would have otherwise been if the voting public understood the policy details, rather than simply the broad moral pronouncements about the policy. This is another way to account for the disconnect between much policy that our government has enacted and opinion polling data which seem to indicate the public would not support such policies. Lakoff explains that politicians and other "opinion leaders" tailor their word choices to fit their audience's metaphorical understanding of government, policy and education, even if the pronouncements are not precisely indicative of the policy's expected outcomes. He argues that by defining the linguistic terrain, the rhetorical ground, on which both liberals and conservatives publicly discuss policy and social problems conservatives have managed to win many political battles. By defining the framework for both sides of the theoretical family models, conservatives have managed to constrain the field of acceptable policy action and thus make certain policies seem natural or "common sense."

Lakoff (2004) cites President Bush's use of the phrase "tax relief," and example of this control of the linguistic terrain. By framing taxes as a burden from which Americans need relief President Bush automatically cast taxes in a negative way. According to Lakoff, once the

Democrats, Bush's opposition, began to use his framing of the issue and his language about the issue they had already lost the authority to maintain tax levels for the wealthy (who went unmentioned in Bush's formulation) or push for more equitable taxing strategies. This was because they too were speaking of taxation as a generalized burden, rather than the unequal burden it has become because of Bush's tax policies (Lakoff, 2004).

This suggests that this interactive-hermeneutic exploration will have to examine the language which Paige used to see if his word choices were tailored to appeal to Stern Father and/or Nurturant Parent models. If there is a seeming appeal to both models then one can deduce that Rod Paige deliberately appealed to both sides. If there is a definite swing towards one side or the other than one can either hypothesize that Paige and the Bush administration controlled the debate, or that there was something of a consensus about educational policy and practice to which Paige had to merely appeal or in which the Bush administration was specifically embedded. The precise answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this study. However, the results of this exploration can suggest a clear direction for future research.

Lakoff explains that very little research has actually been done applying his theory on the nature of cognitive linguistics to political analysis, though a politically-minded think tank called "Cognitive Policy Works" now exists which is beginning to do so. He has, however, done exhaustive scientific research, at least thirty years worth at this point, into the metaphorical nature of thought, language and interpretation on which he bases his political theory of moral politics and language. He points to the success of his protégé Deborah Tannen in examining relationship and conflict issues by exploring communication style differences between say men and women or parents and children. Tannen's (1990) work extends his initial theory beyond cognitive linguistics to more of an applied cognitive linguistics, conducting work in human

relationships and interaction using the initial theory of human categorical and metaphorical language and thought processes. This provides evidence of the theory's use beyond just the academy but into the realm of daily life and by extension the governmental policy which impacts upon the daily life of a nation's residents.

Given this dearth of applied models on which to base a study it is the researcher's responsibility to define and develop methods by which Lakoff's theory of cognitive metaphors and their political implications can be applied to descriptive and deductive research. Tannen's work represents a significant amount of work applying his research into human relationships, but beyond this there is no large corpus of work in any discipline on which to draw. This suggests that one must consider other disciplines in which language is an object of study.

Lakoff's theoretical framework lends itself well to the Linguistic Anthropology work which focuses upon cultural socialization through language. For example, there is the work of Don Kulick, whose work in Papua New Guinea focused upon how natives have adapted the pidgin language, Tok Pisin, as they have transformed their very ways of living and understanding the world (Kulick, 1992). Kulick's ethnography helps in understanding how metaphorical understandings of the world become hard-wired into the human brain through the process of learning and socialization. He also demonstrates how language patterns and even the selective adaptation of language can reflect or perhaps even influence a profound transformation in lifestyle and culture. This work augments and supports Lakoff's insights into the relationship between language and politics since politics is a function of culture, however his studies in Papua New Guinea leave a large cultural chasm between his specific work and the specific US context. They do provide strong evidence of the viability of Lakoff's claims about language, metaphor and US politics.

Shirley Brice Heath's ethnography of "Trackton" demonstrates the connection between the language that students speak and their performance in schools, but does so in a specifically US context bringing linguistic anthropology closer to home so to speak. She also further demonstrates the clear connection between language, race and socio-economic status, thereby linking class, race, language and educational culture in a way that could be very suggestive of the public's and consequently some Federal legislators' reaction to the Bush administration's educational plans and rhetoric. Lakoff posits a different linguistic orientation towards politics based upon familial metaphor, and Heath's work enriches this perspective by demonstrating the different linguistic patterns at work in different socio-economic communities. These demographically distinct sub-communities often display bloc voting patterns and are often the subject of political analysis. Heath provides all these nuances for a political study despite the fact that her work was not about media messages and political messages (Heath, 1983).

While providing compelling evidence for the basis of Lakoff's theory and providing a different look at the differences which exist in American society across groups, ethnography is not an effective way to analyze the designed and polished messages of political operatives like Rod Paige, or even print media outlets. This is because neither of those data sets would represent the natural, spontaneous speech, which ethnography documents and describes. Instead political operatives deliberately construct and refine the messages in advance of the speech event along with sometimes even reconstructing the speech of others through reporting and anecdote. However, ethnography is definitely the right track since Krippendorff (2004) explains that interactive-hermeneutic exploration is rooted in ethnography.

Although the two previously cited examples relate in many ways to the object of this study, their methods would not shed sufficient light on the question and would be limited in their

deductive utility by the leap of faith required by a pure ethnography. Consumers of ethnographic research must trust the researcher to take diligent notes of observed behavior and speech often without the benefit of seeing the researcher's raw notes, or the researcher in the field. Even less often do consumers of ethnographic research observe the same or similar behavior among the ethnographers' informants and subjects. There are legitimate and important reasons for accepting these limitations which do not apply in a study such as this one, which means that a researcher studying the prepared speeches of politicians or edited articles of journalists can be more transparent, but also must be more transparent to establish credibility. Ethnographic methods aim to capture the natural behavior and language of the people and situations studied. Such studies are often descriptive and while sometimes applicable politically, in many cases they are not necessarily political in orientation. A researcher studying political messages would not be able to claim the trust and leap of faith which ethnographers can fairly claim and as a result cannot produce a study justified on the grounds of ethnographic methodology with its concomitant trade-offs. It would be wonderful to be able to conduct a genuine ethnography of say the White House culture, but such a thing does not seem possible at the current time and so researchers must instead accept that studies of political messages will not be of natural behavior and language and must be conducted on "vetted" press releases and prepared statements. Because of this limitation this study requires much more transparency with regards to its source material and it provides it.

There are sociological studies which deal with language and discourse (Tannen, 1990; Tannen, 1984; Tannen, Kendall & Gordon 2007; Tannen, 1993; Schiffrin, 1994; Schiffrin, 1987; Schiffrin, 2006) though not necessarily the policy which results from that discourse. Sociological studies which deal with symbolic interactionism, such as those of Erving Goffman (Drew, 1988),

recognize the importance of symbolism in accounting for the dyadic and triadic interactions of individuals and the way in which words and language not only structure interaction but also the ways in which language helps to structure and organize individual experiences. This evokes Lakoff's theory of language development itself. However, like with the anthropologists, sociologists' who study symbolic interactionism are concerned primarily with social situations existing between two or more people who are in each other's presence. This is different from the vicarious interaction between a politician and the public at an organized speech event, or a person reading a speech online which a politician has posted. Thus, although Goffman's lens draws heavily on what Lakoff would call the "metaphorical language of thought," that is the symbolic and representational systems that structure our interaction and understanding of both the world and others, it does not directly address how vicarious interactions, including how what a president or education secretary would write to the public about education, will shape public understandings and/or resonate with the pre-existing symbolic concepts held by members of the public or the media entities transmitting the messages. Political Science concerns itself with these vicarious interactions, devoting time to studying political speeches, events and interest groups (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Sabatier, 1999).

Policy analysis designs in political science often focus upon describing and analyzing the behavior of policy makers and policy interest groups. The goal of these is explaining the development, implementation and impact of policies and hopefully also predicting the course of future policymaking given certain conditions in society and government. The political science researcher will study such data as voting patterns on legislation, political donations, actions and activities of interest groups and the text of legislation in an attempt to describe either the entire

process of policy development, passage and implementation, discrete parts of that process, or the impact of the policy on particular or general communities and society.

Policy analysis casts a potentially broad net and as such provides a researcher with great latitude in developing and tailoring the study within useful bounds. Political Science makes use of scientific designs, quasi-scientific designs and even qualitative and content design methodologies to better understand politics, policy-making and the political environment. Given what this dissertation intends to study, a policy analysis design grounded in a political science framework which covers a discrete portion of the process is useful. This broad net allows one to examine education policy not just for its use in reflecting educational knowledge and practice as anthropological or sociological models might, but in examining the relationship between educational policy and other policies concerned with other arenas like welfare, environmentalism and the like. Political Science models more effectively account for broad policy agenda which politicians bring to their offices, but because this study analyzes the political discourse originating from Secretary of Education Rod Paige, a discourse analysis like that of an interactive-hermeneutic exploration is quite appropriate.

The part of the NCLB process where Bush "primed the pump"- that is setting the stage for a policy change by "defining a problem," placing it in his policy agenda, and elevating it to a high level in the public's consciousness- (what Schattschneider called the "mobilization of bias") means that the flexibility provided by political science is most appropriate. A policy analysis design can provide an understanding of the relationship between Bush administration definitions and priorities of educational "problems" as well as what they consider to be appropriate "corrective" policy. A hermeneutic-interactive exploration allows the researcher to deeply investigate Rod Paige's language and its implications for the policy he is discussing. It is

primarily a rhetorical analysis, but guided by Lakoff's theory which puts words and language at the center of the political discussion, it becomes much more than a personal interaction between researcher and data.

*Literature About No Child Left Behind*

When surveying the literature a researcher will find that an overwhelming majority of this literature concerns itself with evaluating the various provisions of the law now that they have been put into practice. (Peterson, 2003; Popham, 2005; Beveridge, 2010; Hess, 2006; Irons, 2007; McGuinn, 2006; Sadovnik, 2008) These studies examine the methods used by particular policy actors to implement the policy, like the States, various school districts or the Department of Education or they provide evaluations of the total policy on a national level in terms of whether it is succeeding in meeting its stated goals or not.

Renowned educational researcher Paul E. Peterson and Martin R. West's edited volume of essays and research *No Child Left Behind? The Politics and Practice of School Accountability* (2003) collects just this sort of work and displays the typical preoccupations of educational policy research which is attempting to define practices based upon large ideas and assessing their educational effects. Focusing on the notoriously vague notion of "accountability" the authors in the volume discuss how politicians viewed the idea of accountability, the various forms which accountability can take and how the provisions of the law either succeed or fail to hold schools "accountable." There is, in this volume, only one chapter about the creation of this law, which will be the focus of this particular study, whereas the rest focus on outcomes and methods attached to the idea of "accountability."

Andrew Rudalevige contributes that one short piece about the formulation of the law which explains its overwhelming passage by Congress, a fact which helped to motivate this

study. Rudalevige cites Kingdon's theory about political policy formulation in contending that "the provisions of NCLB were assembled from various proposals offered up by members of the education issue community over time" (Peterson 27). He further states that the law was crafted to be specifically vague enough that New Democrats (those Democrats whose politics neatly coincide with or are informed by the policy prescriptions of the Democratic Leadership Council organization) and Conservative Republicans could together support the law without violating their stated ideologies and also while appearing to give States abundant leeway in interpreting the strictures of the law in ways that each State saw fit. He attributes the pressure on Congress to produce a reauthorization of ESEA, which had been delayed since the Clinton administration, and especially for the Republican majority to assist a Republican president in "delivering" on a promise after he was elected, as enabling Congressmen on both sides of the aisle to compromise on their previous positions regarding just what the Federal government should be encouraging in national education. They also softened their otherwise rigid stands on such issues as school choice, federal involvement in "local" issues and just what truly constituted accountability.

On the issue of "accountability," which dominates the book's other essays, Rudalevige is basically arguing that there was no agreed-upon definition in the minds of Congress and the President. Each legislator and the president had his/her own interpretation of what it meant and that each who supported the bill did so with their own definition and interpretation of what "accountability" would mean when the law was enacted. Without this definition it would be up to the Department of Education in its rules-making and enforcement of the enacted statute to define which State educational policies constituted sufficient "accountability" and sufficient compliance to warrant further Federal funding for the States and schools. It also means the Department of Education would determine which actions or omissions constituted non-

compliance- a situation which would trigger penalties for the states and schools. His essay does not say whether or not the Bush administration, whose executive authority would enact and enforce the provisions of the law, provided any indication about how it would behave given the length and breadth of the actual statute which Congress so broadly supported. He also does not concern the essay with explaining whether politicians with diverse ideologies were able to square the policy with their votes and if, by doing so, they developed contending narratives about the effect of this policy as Rudalevige implies is likely, given the broad ideological support for this law from liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans. His primary concern is with a theorizing about the support for the law and filling in a piece about the ways in which politicians support or oppose policies.

Many writers simply assume a narrative of "choice and accountability," without unpacking the meaning of this, or the potentially contradictory meanings. Many researchers also seem to have a clear definition of the meanings and policy prescriptions associated with these terms, though they do this as education experts and not necessarily as politicians. This is part of the importance of this study because it will examine whether Secretary Paige actually alluded to what interpretation of "accountability" and other educational issues the Bush Administration would use in enacting and executing No Child Left Behind. This is important because, although Rudalevige contends that legislators each had their own interpretation of "accountability," ultimately it was the Bush administration's interpretation which mattered after the statute entered the law because Bush administration education department officials would be making decisions about interpretation, enforcement and directives under the statute's expanded Federal role, and it is quite possible that such officials would be political appointees, who earned their jobs for their political connections and core beliefs and not necessarily their expertise and body of research.

Despite this, Rudalevige and others did not devote significant space to analyzing the Bush administration's interpretation of the proposed statute until the effects of new law were apparent after 2001 (Peterson, 2003).

In the same volume with Rudalevige is a piece by economist Frederick Hess of the American Enterprise Institute which argues that NCLB will start off strongly in trying to enforce accountability but then will weaken considerably in the face of public pressure and compromises between various individual States and the Federal government. He contends that this is the fate of all statutes which threaten entrenched interests with penalties for failure to maintain some sort of externally mandated standard. One thing he shares in common with Rudalevige is in his contention that the ideas and policy prescriptions in NCLB are not new. His contention is that NCLB is the end result of "a decade of concerted activity across the states…. That were gradually grinding toward implementation" (Peterson, 2003, p. 55). In other words, Hess believes that Gore and Lieberman would have enacted much the same law, a perspective that is potentially accurate and yet the policy process is much more complex, especially in terms of personnel and policy execution, and surely the much compromised Bush proposal would have been at variance with a Gore administration proposal. Hess' analysis fits neatly within the traditional input-output study of policymaking and thus provides answers which are quite predictable and consistent within his framework. Hess uses a Rational Choice theoretical perspective to make predictions about the future development of No Child Left Behind. However, his contention about the development of the policy puts him squarely in the Kingdon (1984) mindset regarding policymaking. John Kingdon's (1984) theory of multiple streams argues that government policies do not arise from any individual institutional actor, but from the convergence of multiple streams of ideas, politics, and policy.

Kingdon's theory of multiple streams focuses on the policy formation process and attempts to account for a large number of factors, often utilizing a historical perspective. This theory suggests that at any given moment there are multiple ideas for public policy generated by citizens, politicians, academics etc. These policy ideas are always in the general political consciousness but that circumstances of pre-existing policy, the contemporaneous state of politics, and the nature of the ideas in circulation all converge to explain the enactment of any particular policy (Sabatier, 1999). An example of this is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act itself. Without previous policies which tied the provision of Federal money to State actions this act could not have passed the Congress, but the idea that the Federal government could tie financial incentives to specific actions by the individual States was an established political reality dating back to at least the Whig politics of the 1830s, the so-called "American System" of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. However, the "American System" does not alone lead to the ESEA. It is that plus the actions of the New Deal, the circumstances of Lyndon Johnson's accession to the presidency, the Civil Rights movement, and the economic situation of the 1960s that all converged in opening a policy window for the original ESEA.

Kingdon's formulation is almost Functionalist in its perspective in that it does not explain how individual politicians can shape this policy environment. Instead it takes the broader perspective, examining the socio-political environment and connecting it to other factors and the specific policy under consideration. This policy theory leans heavily towards a view of history as "making the man" in the sense that no particular actor is privileged for imposing himself or herself on history, but instead describes policy developments as almost independent externally-driven changes which occur practically inevitably and without strong human intervention. It does not literally do this, but its focus cannot help but imply this. This means that though Kingdon's

theory explains historical policy development it does not address how the public process of crafting policy, which leads to public discussion of developing policies, can sell, undermine, or influence policy development. He assumes the discourse as one of his factors, but does not analyze it. Instead he correlates it with other factors in a way that is largely historical, substituting breadth for depth, and de-emphasizing the role of any one particular factor or actor. This breadth is important in the education field of because it provides balance to the research which focuses on the particulars (Fowler, 2000).

Terry Moe, in the Peterson (2003) volume, argues that the largest problem with NCLB's accountability provisions are teachers' unions and that they will sabotage any attempt at meaningful reform which would hold them accountable. Unlike Hess and Rudalevige, he couches his analysis in a rational choice perspective arguing for the "self-interest" of the teachers' unions as weighed against that of parents, teachers, and the business community. Like Rudalevige and Hess he contends that the movement for accountability "over the last ten years or so… has taken the nation by storm," (Peterson, 2003, p. 80) meaning the NCLB act just enshrines an idea already in play in the educational policy arena, but only stretching back for ten years. He then proceeds to define NCLB as an attempt to get around a "control" issue in the schools. This "control" issue aggravates an already existing problem of perverse incentives for entering the teaching profession which he contends reward mediocrity and lack of effort while punishing success and achievement. His villains in the story, the teachers' unions, are important players in supporting accountability throughout the preceding decade when the idea was dominating the discourse (a policy stream, as Kingdon would contend).

However, Moe contends that teachers' union support for accountability was only so that they could sabotage it when it was eventually implemented by claiming that the accountability

provisions in any statute were carried out in the wrong way. This was, Moe contends, the teachers union's role during that critical year when Congress was shaping the accountability provision of the legislation. His account engages with the discourse to a degree, and suggests motivations for adopting or rejecting parts of a political discourse. For Moe, this acceptance and adoption of accountability discourse comes from his own "rational choice" theory perspective in which policy, discourse, and all issue actions derive from cost-benefit analyses on the part of actors in society. His major assertion about unions embracing a concept to sabotage it does not come from Teachers Union position papers or even the words of Union leaders themselves but from subsequent complaints by the Union after the statute's enactment. In other words, he presents no evidence of the sabotage conspiracy which he contends existed. Since his analysis focuses on a non-governmental actor, the Union, it does not account for the about-face done by so many in Congress who supported and now oppose many of the provisions of the law, and he does not ascribe motivations to those politicians the way he does to the Union (Peterson, 2003).

Despite these seeming limitations of evidence, Moe did accurately predict the complaints lodged against the act by the various States as the regulations created by the act, and enforced by the Education Department began to impose upon the States and individual school districts. Moe's work is still a basic input-output model except that he focuses more specifically on teachers' union inputs and the reaction to the policy proposal along with the outputs of the statute with specific regard again to the teachers union and not the Bush Administration or Congress. Moe's analysis seems to bear a bias against teacher's union which damages its objectivity. It is, nonetheless, more sophisticated than a simple input-output model and places him within the advocacy-coalition framework of policy analysis (Peterson, 2003).

The advocacy coalition framework, developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, focuses on explaining policy in terms of external and internal actors within government and tracing the movement of scientific research from the academy into positions of government policy. Rather than just studying policy by examining the nature of the inputs and outputs, it focuses upon those doing the inputting and those reacting to the outputs. This framework is useful in explaining the organizations and institutions which provide the research and lobbying groups which use this information, but it does not deal with political leadership, whom these advocates must ultimately convince to get policy action (Sabatier, 1999).

Political leaders, in this framework, are simply individuals convinced by various advocacy coalitions. There is little to say about politicians who pick and choose from the available research to shape their own agenda because this model attempts to see how change emerges from the bottom up to the highest levels of government and does not engage with matters of policy execution. It also does not address how politicians use the "facts" of the research in their speeches and public pronouncements to sell the policies they support to the public or to their political peers, since earning the support of just one coalition does not seem like a winning political strategy. Politicians, in theory, must ultimately convince a large portion of the general population to support or accept a policy to give it legitimacy, particularly in democratic societies (Sabatier 1999).

Jennifer Hochschild's contribution to Peterson's (2003) volume draws upon Baumgardner and Jones' (1993) theory of "issue expansion" which theorizes about the momentum of policy "issues" even in environments which suggest no action is necessary or sought. She talks about the reality of schools before NCLB and public attitudes towards public schools during that same time period. She suggests that increasing accountability measures do

not have easily-explained causes. Most schools in America have improved, except for inner-city minority-dominant schools. If the drive for school reform was based upon school failure than the reform efforts would be targeted very narrowly towards these urban schools, but they are not. Instead the accountability impetus is broad and non-specific. Besides this, Hochschild suggests that parent perspectives on education have not changed since the early 1970s, so mass discontentment cannot account for this change. She instead suggests that incremental change items: first there is a call for higher standards in a vague sense, which then lead to public "experts" filling in definitions for these "high standards," which is then followed by politicians seizing upon an issue to use in partisan politics. Once politicians begin to use the issue for partisan purposes there is a gradual growth of institutions dedicated to "high standards." These institutions become self-perpetuating and lead to policy action despite the public's or even politicians' indifference (Peterson, 2003).

This is a useful way for examining issues beyond the old formation-outcome model, but this does not explain how politicians seize upon the issue, and shares the limitations of Kingdon's theory. Hochschild takes each of these gradually expansive issues as givens, almost like forces of nature, and utilizes them as postulates rather than examining how political leaders and experts defined say "high standards." It is clear that politicians concern themselves with particular issues, but their public pronouncements and even the "experts" they cite all shape the nascent institution which "issue expansion" suggests will become self-perpetuating. It is important to understand this discourse, because if "issue expansion" depends upon public indifference or at least acquiescence then there must be a way in which politicians are able to speak to the public to attain these outcomes. A public which is roused up against a policy would not fit into the "issue expansion" model as the initial defeat of the first bailout package (TARP)

demonstrated, yet it eventually did pass after what Hochschild would call indifference, yet there is no study of how a roused up public later acquiesces or even how they can be so quickly and effectively roused or lulled. Somehow, Hochschild argues, NCLB enjoyed a similar indifference or acquiescence of the public; without this passivity or acquiescence Congress could not have enacted it at the particular time they did, yet Hochschild's model just assumes the eventual acquiescence to ever expanded versions of issues after they have already expanded into policy, as if public unrest and/or discontentment cannot occur or cannot derail legislation and policies (Peterson, 2003).

Her perspective does however force researchers to recognize that educational policy or any particular policy in other issue areas is not necessarily aimed solely at the claimed legislative objective. In other words any one issue or policy is not any more special than any other issue or policy, but can be part of a comprehensive partisan agenda to hold and/or maintain political power, or transform society broadly and in multiple areas, like President George W. Bush's articulated vision to create an "ownership society." This is a useful idea because policy researchers can fall too easily into chauvinism, considering their own issue as somehow special or unique, and the policy actions they study as somehow more precise or reasonably considered, rather than seeing politics as a fluid process of competing agenda, competing ideologies of government, and the pursuit of power. In this process any particular issue might seem momentarily "special" in that it is a subject of discourse, but that the opening of that policy window for that issue might have nothing to do with the urgency of that seemingly "special" issue, but indeed be the result of factors seemingly unrelated to the stated goals or expected outcomes of the particular policy.

An example of this would be Rudalevige's contention that Congressional Republicans wanted to deliver a victory for a Republican president (Peterson, 2003). In other words, if one believes Rudalevige, passing No Child Left Behind was a political act not an educational one, and the expansion of Federal role in local educational policy was more a result of political forces and partisan concerns than educational ones. In this way Rudalevige and Hochschild are in dialogue, and "issue expansion" connects with Kingdon's multiple streams theory with all the concomitant strengths and limitations. This demonstrates the ways in which different policy analysis lens and theories are not necessarily competing or exclusive but often are in dialogue with each other.

Educational policy acquiescence, which plays such a large role in Hochschild's thinking, is not necessarily apparent when considering testing measures imposed to measure the "high standards" for which teachers and schools are held "accountable," or maybe it does; it depends upon whom one asks. Hochschild (Peterson, 2003) cites a study in Texas in which Latino parents supported the TAAS test even though they believed it was biased against their own children. This could suggest a certain amount of confusion regarding testing, a situation wherein people can consider scientifically designed tests to be biased against their own children, thereby disadvantaging them, and yet still support the usage of those same tests in the schools. This confusion and contention regarding measurements motivates an entire other literature on No Child Left Behind to which Hochschild alludes, and which addresses that other part of policy research, research on implementation of educational policy.

W. James Popham's book, *America's "Failing" Schools: How Teachers and Parents Can Learn to Cope with No Child Left Behind* (2005), takes aim at the testing provisions of the law more specifically than the vague "accountability" idea under discussion in Peterson (2003).

Popham, who is an educational measurement specialist, contends that the law misuses educational measurement both in the interpretation of the results and in the sanctions applied based upon those results. He draws upon his expertise in this area to posit that the law will not function and even concurs with Hess' opinions in Peterson (2003) that the same statistics used to enforce "accountability" can be used to dodge the negative consequences associated with failing to live up to the statute's standards. For much of the book he criticizes the assumptions that he argues politicians made when creating the testing provisions in the policy. He also points out how the provisions which Congress inserted and which the Department of Education will use to achieve the desired outcomes will fail or will be easily subverted.

Although cynical of the statute and seemingly accurate in his analysis of the statute's flaws given years of hindsight, his concern is not with why this statute, which he and others greeted with concern because of its seeming dependency upon standardized testing (at least according to him), was nonetheless voted into law overwhelmingly by Congress and lauded by Federal politicians of both major parties. His focus on testing assumes that testing means "accountability" as described by Hess in Peterson (2003) but does not in engage with the reasons why this might be the case. He keeps his focus on the methodology of standardized testing and outcomes attached to test results which No Child Left Behind articulates and mandates.

He implies the dominance of the testing provisions of No Child Left Behind, but does not explain how such methodology seemingly dominates this policy, or why he considers testing to be the dominant provision of the extensive and complicated statute. Perhaps the inconsistency in Texas Latino opinions regarding testing, which Hochschild cited (Peterson, 2003), is an important component of this. According to Popham, educational measurement specialists had grave reservations about the proposed stakes involved in the testing. They were also concerned

that the policy was based on an idea of a perfectly useful "standardized" test. Despite this, these concerns do not seem to have shaped the policy other than the allowance that the individual States can select their own evaluative exam.

Popham concludes that individuals like him needed to write books like his to better educate the public about the flaws in No Child Left Behind because the public did not "understand" the provisions and impact of the statute sufficiently, nor did American political leaders who vested so much power in standardized testing. He posits that public ignorance accounts for the lack of that public opposition which might have derailed that law. There are many books which attempt to account for educational failings, such as the general lack of scientific knowledge (Mooney, 2009) for example, but few, if any, focus on how a misunderstanding about "standardized testing" could have led to the passage of No Child Left Behind, though Popham takes this *a priori.* Popham implies, but does not address, questions of public ignorance and political motivations in his study, seemingly because they are outside of his area of expertise, yet these are important and potentially interactive in terms of political discourse with the public. It would no doubt be a very important study to discover how much the public understands or fails to understand standardized testing but that is beyond the scope of this study. Similarly, a study of Congress members' knowledge of the same might also be important, especially since so few members of Congress come out of the educational field, but that is also beyond the scope of this study and potentially any others given political realities. Perhaps the question of testing just was not as important to those who shaped and passed the law despite how important it was to the many commentators, including Popham who have addressed it (McNeil, 2000; Popham, 2005; Peterson, 2003; Levin, 2001). This is where a study of Paige's discourse can be important.

Given the textual design of this study, it seems appropriate that this dissertation consider the historical perspectives brought to bear on educational policy because of the textual nature of historical research and writing. This is appropriate because interactive hermeneutic explorations always bring other texts and external academic research directly to bear on the body of texts in question for the insights which they can provide. Historical studies are increasingly very rigorous, yet they are considered more like liberal arts than social science. However, history brings a lot to bear on social science by suggesting broad themes and relationships which more narrowly construed studies can examine. Stephen Jay Gould (2008) has addressed the flawed nature of intelligence testing and its development into standardized testing. David Tyack (1974) has addressed the historical development of the testing paradigm as well, and Raymond Callahan (1962) contextualized the earlier mania for testing by embedding it in a scientific positivistic paradigm, a "cult of efficiency." Maris Vinovskis is one of the leading historians of educational policy and has written extensively on the historical development of educational policy in the broader sense of goals, agenda, and the larger society.

Vinovskis contends that, historically, a large part of the problem with contemporary educational policy analysis is that policy analysts largely abandoned the use of history in favor of social science to describe and study educational policy. This trend continued from the Progressive Era of intensive schools reform until the late 1960s when many disciplines began to reconsider their methods in light of the contemporaneous reappraisal of scientific positivism. This means that most of America's political leaders, given their advanced ages, fifty-seven in the 110$^{th}$ Congress (Associated Press, 2007), were already schooled and degreed by the time historical analyses, with their broader scope, were returning to the academic and policy toolbox. For example, President George W. Bush, attended Yale College in the 1960s and had graduated

by the time David Tyack's essential history of urban school reform, *The One Best* System (1974) was published. Since those days, perhaps because of the older nature of American political leadership, historical theories of policy analysis in general and educational policy in particular have remained largely academic. The new insights brought to educational policy by educational historians remain largely unused by policymakers, whom Vinovskis contends were often undergraduate history majors and thus should know better.

Vinovskis believes that history provides evidence of patterns and interactions in policy, rather than a narrowly social scientific analysis of factors and outcomes. He interprets policy as a long historical process. He sees historical writing on education as writing which traces and connects one policy to a previous one within different historical contexts and explains the similarities, as he does. He does this so that contemporary educational researchers can examine current contexts and guide their thinking about possible policies and policy outcomes.

Vinovskis sees educational policy as a product of historical forces and part of the historical narrative of nation-building, and not the more scientifically quantifiable issue of "what works best in education." His perspective is useful for all disciplines because it provides guidance and theories, starting points for verifiable and potentially less contentious scientific analysis, but he does not provide this scientific analysis as such. His point is that an over-emphasis on science, discovering and describing measurable factors and measurable outcomes, limited the development of the historical field of educational policy analysis, at least in the government arena. This led to limited ahistorical perspectives among educational policy leaders and inhibited their ability to devise solutions or anticipate problems with their policy prescriptions (Vinovskis, 1999).

Popham's charge that Congress and the public did not understand the science of measurements coupled with Vinovskis' contention that policymakers use ahistorical "scientific" models is quite an alarming juxtaposition. It suggests that Congress and the public depend upon limited scientific models for making policy without fully understanding how those models work, how limited they are, or the historical contexts in which they were developed. What is startling is that these historical contexts, of which policy researchers might be completely unaware, might have unknowingly introduced bias into their policy and analysis designs, which diminishes their utility, particularly in changing societal circumstances or crafting effective solutions to recommend to policy-makers.

Taking Vinovskis' point that history is a useful guide, this research examines what happened in the past, 2001, regarding deliberately constructed messages so that researchers can better predict the course of future policy development and understand the forces which shape it in the immediate present. This research also provides great rigor to an analysis of the language and context of this political "issue expansion" so that researchers can better understand how the public acquiesces to policies which it does not understand and how the Administration assisted in pushing this outcome. There are works in other policy areas which attempt to account for pieces of these answers, particularly when one considers that the phenomenon of "issue expansion" is the result of political calculation. This political calculation derives from political ideologies and complete all-encompassing agenda which policymakers and administrations hope to pursue while winning elections and while hoping to continue to win elections. It is the realization that administrations pursue multi-issue agenda while in power that provides added weight to historical analyses as well as examinations of other historical policy initiatives like, for example, welfare reform in the mid-1990s. Understanding that multi-issue agenda often derive from

certain fundamental political ideologies along the lines articulated by Lakoff suggests that it is a useful exercise to examine other policies whose discourse and development might relate to No Child Left Behind, like for example welfare reform in the mid-1990s. Since an interactive hermeneutic approach brings external research to bear on the body of texts, in this case, literature on welfare reform, it is worth examining this literature to judge its applicability to the issue at hand.

*Literature on Welfare Reform*

One of the most significant public policies which researchers have subjected to an analysis similar to that which this dissertation does is welfare. This was a classic "wedge issue" which eventually resulted in systematic reform after the wholesale redistribution of political power in the 1994 "Republican Revolution," (Lakoff, 2002) even though Charles Murray's book *Losing Ground*, which attacked welfare, was initially published in 1974. Like No Child Left Behind, studies of welfare policy abound from Murray's (1974) to Katz's (1996) to Soss' (2000). It is quite likely that Vinovskis' observations about ahistorical studies of education are applicable to studies of welfare, particularly as far as reaching the ears of policy-makers was concerned. This is despite the fact that historians educated in the late 1960s like Vinovskis himself and Michael Katz have written extensively on historical notions of welfare and poverty policy, and even its connection to education (Featherman, 2001; Katz, 1990; Katz, 1995; Katz, 1996).

Although welfare programs take many forms and encompass multiple programs like unemployment insurance, social security, social security disability insurance and such, "welfare" came to mean mostly one program in particular. This particular income transfer program, which became synonymous with "welfare," was originally called Aid to Dependent Children under Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, then became Aid to Families with Dependent Children and is

now called Temporary Aid to Needy Families, which the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act authorizes as a step towards the ultimate goal of getting recipients of welfare off of the welfare rolls (Lakoff, 2002).

The linguistic transformation of AFDC to TANF under PRWORA provides a lot of evidence of changed circumstances in welfare discourse and more directly the actual direction and prescriptions of the policy. Analysis of the rhetoric, discussion and reform of this historic policy provides clues which can guide analysis of what happened with No Child Left Behind, particularly since many of those legislative and political actors from 1996, when PRWORA passed Congress, were still in Congress in 2001, as was the persistent Republican majority. Martin Gilens' work on welfare, *Why Americans Hate Welfare,* (1999) takes the position that the public's perceptions of policy require study to understand the dynamics of the policy's implementation and, in this case, the widespread support for the overhaul of a policy, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), or as most politicians called it, and its successor, welfare. Gilens surveys the span of opinion polls regarding welfare since AFDC's inception to develop theories explaining the widespread hostility to "welfare."

Gilens elucidates the racial perceptions that Americans have and had towards the AFDC while contrasting these with the reality of the program, in terms of recipients and fiscal expenditures, to provide a cogent explanation for the title of this book. He hits upon the intriguing and, perhaps, unsurprising notion that support for welfare programs closely correlates with people's feelings about African-Americans despite the fact that African-Americans never constituted even half of all AFDC recipients in the country and an even smaller percentage when considering all the many forms of welfare provided by the Federal government. Gilens' work underscores the influence that the "American People's" perceptions of a policy's goal as well as

the policy's target groups or beneficiaries has on determining either support or opposition to policy. The long history of literature critical of welfare dating back to Murray (1974) also suggests that "setting the stage" or "priming the pump" for policy overhauls can be a long-term process, in which little change occurs leading up to a massive overhaul, once politicians have convinced the public of their perspective on a particular policy or issue and secured the right political circumstances, a process which punctuated-equilibrium theory (Sabatier, 1999) theorizes as prime in understanding policy.

Although Gilens does not discuss NCLB per se, his work is suggestive of one factor that may have been in play when Congress developed and passed the NCLB Act. If race can shape the public's perceptions of a policy, it is reasonable to ask how the public would think various census-defined racial groups would fare under any particular policy. This idea relates to the use of 'code-language' which politicians often use to inform their constituents of whom they are speaking. An important example of this, which Gilens discusses, is President Reagan's use of the term "welfare queen" in the 1980s, which his listeners took to mean young, unmarried, African-American urban-dwelling women (Gilens, 1999). It is possible that such 'code-language' was in use during the discussion of NCLB, which might have created a racial component to the law and to the political discourse about the law.

Lakoff (2002) suggests that understanding any potential frame, including a racial one, is important before analyzing a policy's creation, implementation and "failure" or "success." Gilens (1999) work suggesting the importance of racial perceptions to drive policies with clear connections- welfare and education- coupled with Hochschild's contention (Peterson, 2003) that only inner-city schools with heavily minority populations were actually declining, leads to some curious questions about the statute and why NCLB was not narrowly targeted at those actually

declining schools when the perceptions of the public might very well have been just as narrowly targeted. This study explores the texts for any signs of a racial discourse in the administration's discourse to see if one can make an argument about race in regards to the passage and implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act. However, racially-charged language is not the only potential finding, nor is it a guaranteed finding.

Gary Mucciaroni (1990) provides different potential answers in terms of how an institution created by "issue expansion" and subsequent policy enactment maintains its relevancy and power in *The Political Failure of Employment Policy, 1945-1982* (1990). Mucciaroni discusses the political failure of the job programs created after World War II and significantly expanded under Lyndon Johnson. He gets at the issue which emerges when taking Hochschild's contentions (Peterson, 2003) with Gilens' (1999) policy findings. Mucciaroni suggests how policymakers can craft public policy programs to draw in either a limited or the largest possible constituency. He suggests that programs which serve, or at least appear to serve, larger, broader constituencies are more durable, and because they are acceptable to enough government officials because of this broadly served constituency, that they will continue to receive funding and support year after year. This would create the institutional durability which many theorists, including Baumgardner and Jones (Fowler, 2000), suggest is so essential in creating lasting policy change. If a program recipient is easily pigeon-holed as a "welfare queen" then the program supporting that pigeon-holed recipient is easy to undermine, in terms of public and then political support, since public indignation supports, or perhaps creates, political indignation. However the process can also work in the reverse since it was Ronald Reagan's constant use of the term "welfare queen," his framing of welfare recipients as undeserving, entitled "queens" which helped undermine support for welfare with the public (Gilens, 1999).

Mucciaroni (1990) further suggests that this concept of constituency is independent of and often more influential than actual program efficacy. He contends that job programs were actually successful in terms of their implementation, often achieving their stated goals, which is not as common an outcome as many would like to believe or achieve. This was not relevant though because the constituencies served, like those of AFDC, were constituted of individuals who the broader public and consequently the government were able to marginalize and minimize. This minimization of program recipients led to the political failure of the program though it had been a policy success (Mucciaroni, 1990). This work suggests the importance of appealing to a broad constituency if one wants to create a durable policy institution, or the utility of pigeon-holing a policy if one wants it to be of limited duration or if one is attempting to abolish it. This means that this study will examine how or if the language could appeal to a broad or narrow constituency, or pigeon-hole the constituency that No Child Left Behind serves.

What is fascinating here is that this policy literature about welfare suggests that a broadly applicable and politically popular policy of No Child Left Behind would mean happy constituencies. No Child Left Behind was broadly criticized after its enactment, particularly as schools and parents began to feel the broad scope of this policy, although there those in the public in favor of the law and certainly in Washington. However, if such a broadly applicable and broadly unpopular statute exists, how was it enacted (Bushaw, 2008)? Literature in other fields suggests that narrowly tailored laws become unpopular because of race or other concerns, but in this case it might very well have been the broad application and reach of this statute which led to problems.

Researchers who might attempt to connect No Child Left Behind with other social legislation are left with a conundrum because No Child Left Behind defies the patterns mapped

out with other social policies by other policy analysts. Somehow Congress overwhelmingly supported No Child Left Behind, a broadly applicable and not narrowly tailored law and then encountered significant opposition (Bushaw, 2008). Hochschild suggests that only inner-city and minority-heavy schools were in need of repair (Peterson, 2003). Despite this, a policy targeted only at inner-city and minority-heavy schools would seem likely to face resistance before passage because of the information Gilens (1999) and Mucciaroni (1990) provide about welfare reform and hostility to policies with a perceived racial focus and limited constituency, respectively. This means that something happened with No Child Left Behind which enabled its passage but which did not maintain the support or acquiescence of the public for long after its passage, and there are several explanations drawn from the welfare policy research which might shed light on this phenomenon.

Robert Lipsky's *Street-Level Bureaucracy* (1980) attempted to fill the gap and account for these inconsistencies before Gilens (1999) and others had even fully elaborated upon them. His research addresses that process after policy enactment when the contours of the policy are becoming apparent to those executing and experiencing the policy, in other words that same time in which support for a policy can turn into hostility towards it. His research did not focus on a particular policy but instead examined policy in a broader sense, looking at several different social programs to understand how policy impacts people on the "street-level." His insights might provide guidance or further clarification on the inconsistencies highlighted by the aforementioned literature.

Lipsky (1980) explored the role of "street-level" policy workers in interpreting and implementing policy. He found that regardless of the policy the people at the "street level," be they social workers or simply entry-level employees of government agencies, charged with

executing the policy often have very different concerns and intentions than those which motivated the higher level policymakers who developed the policies. Not only this, but they might understand their mission or a particular policy's goals in very different ways from policymakers as well. These different attitudes and understandings of "street-level" workers were a significant factor in policy outcomes, both successes and failures, and explained the need to understand not just the policymakers, but the policy actors to more fully understand how government policy impacts upon society. It also is important when considering how much local control and flexibility a policy provides because of how determinative these "street-level" workers might be, or even how much might be promised by legislators before the bill becomes the law.

Lipsky's work was limited in its predictive capacity at the time, since systematic studies of "street-level" policy actors had not yet been conducted, and his work was not process-oriented which could cause problems for many social scientists. Lipsky investigates and explains basic lawmaking processes, and policy implementation processes but does not elaborate upon the hidden processes beneath the surface, such as motivations or prejudices which might influence the "street-level" actors. These are of course areas which many have subsequently attempted to address like Moe's essay in Peterson (2003) which suggests motivations for the Union's behavior regarding No Child Left Behind, which he deduces by analyzing aspects of contemporaneous Union behavior along with making predictions about how that motivation will influence their reaction to the enacted policy. Despite Lipsky's limitations, which are a function of its age, the dominant idea, that policy researchers cannot limit their lens to policymakers alone and their political considerations, seems to have influenced the newer understandings of policy

and policymaking, with their focus on motivation, rational choices, and biases of policymakers, policy actors, and policy stakeholders.

Given the various levels at which No Child Left Behind works- Federal, State, District, School and Classroom- Lipsky's concern suggests something quite important. At each level of the stages of policy implementation, individuals have different perspectives, beliefs and challenges regarding the policy. Hess (Peterson, 2003) suggested that these many levels of mediation would lead to the watering-down of standards and a diminishing of "accountability" but he did not really explain just how this happened, nor did he suggest the possibility that at certain levels certain individuals might have an interest in tightening "accountability" requirements. By the letter of statute, States were given the authority to select the standardized statewide exams and thus, by design, the statute varied as it descended from the Federal level down towards the "street-level." Lipsky explains that any policy must account for the permutation of the policy through these levels, though he privileges the "street-level" above the other levels, suggesting that the Federal government might not have ultimate authority over the changes the statute would create, nor over the outcomes it would produce. This does not mean that the Federal government was disinterested in controlling those outcomes, however. Given the interest the Federal government has generally in how it spends its money and especially given the importance of No Child Left Behind to President Bush's stated policy agenda, this would seem to be a problematic hypothesis, and so researchers might look to see if the Bush Administration was concerned about controlling the execution of the statute, and if so how they would have planned to do so, or if they were content to leave policy implementation to "street-level bureaucrats," or district-level or State-level for that matter.

Lipsky's insights suggest that research should legitimately interest itself in understanding the administration's stated intentions with regard to the implementation of the Federal statute. Studies must ultimately address whether the change in support and perceptions of the statute's success are the result of too much or too little freedom at the more local levels of implementation. However, this requires an understanding of what the administration's intentions were regarding that freedom of implementation. The issue becomes whether the administration explained how they would implement the legislation, which mechanisms they would use and what their priorities would be in implementing this exceptionally long and detailed statute. This means that researchers must understand exactly how the Bush Administration communicated its intentions about this law, how much freedom they intended to provide, or said they would provide, and also how much accountability they expected to demand of the various levels charged with implementation of the various provisions of the statute. Thus far none have studied the Bush administration's stated intentions, only the actual implementation, but States, school districts and other affected parties must have reacted to the statute based upon their understandings of the Bush administration's intentions. This is why understanding stated intentions can add another level of evidence for predictive theories of policy outcome.

A review of Rod Paige's speeches during this first formative year sheds light on the administration's priorities, which parts of the law were most important and which were crucial to the Bush administration's plans for Federal involvement in education through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. However, simply examining Paige's word would not be sufficient because the proposals were part of an entire administration agenda and as Gilens (1999) has shown, words can often mean much more than a cursory examination will reveal. Language in fact, as Krippendorff (2004) explains, has both manifest and latent meanings, thus requiring

more depth and interaction with texts on the part of the researcher. By examining the stated intentions behind the law researchers can understand which parts of the statute were considered of greater or lesser importance to the Bush Administration and predict the way in which the Education department would implement that statute. This study also explains whether the administration communicated how much freedom they expected to provide to the policy actors at various levels of policy implementation all the way down to those actors at the "street-level."

By understanding the ways in which the Bush administration proposed implementing the law this study suggests reasons to explain the collapse in support for the law after Congress and President Bush enacted it, either because of support for his goals or opposition to them, or perhaps ignorance of Bush's stated agenda. This is where George Lakoff and his Theory of Moral Politics and cognitive linguistics provide essential guidance and understanding, by providing a means to understand just how the Bush administration explained the proposed statute and how the language used connected to an understanding of education, law and government.

Lakoff's (2002, 2004) ideas neatly support many of the other policy analysis frameworks earlier discussed, and can potentially fill in some of the gaps and inconsistencies between several of the policy analysis methods. His work is directly relevant to the "Ideas" stream of Kingdon's multiple streams theory (Fowler, 2000), and can help explain seemingly "irrational" choices by rational people. His work also suggests how the punctuated equilibrium theory, often associated with Baumgartner and Jones (Sabatier, 1999), works. The sudden change in policy occurs after a long-term process by which politicians incrementally transform the discourse on a particular issue, until change seems inevitable, the "policy window" is open. Lakoff's ideas fit within multiple theories and provide valuable insights into all of them. They supplement these theories.

Despite this Lakoff does argue that understanding policy creation procedures is not as important as issue definition and consequently "issue expansion," which does undercut some of work of some policy theorists, who devote a great deal of effort to understanding the mechanics of policy creation and execution. His work does not devalue their work but places it in a secondary position, because governments must first enact policies and these policies must persist before researchers, politicians and the public can judge them as successes or failures, or as Mucciaroni (1990) implied, success or failure might even be a matter of policy articulation on the part of those same actors: researchers, politicians and the public.

As discussed earlier, the ideas enshrined in No Child Left Behind are not new ideas, but obviously had become prominent because Congress passed the statute and the federal government tapped into a legacy of funding programs and school proposals to shape the public schools without contravening the 10th Amendment to the Constitution. This dissertation addresses the way in which Rod Paige, speaking on behalf of the Bush Administration as the Secretary of Education rhetorically defined the proposals which became No Child Left Behind.

In practice, Lakoff's theorizing suggests that the public and sometimes even the politicians themselves do not fully understand the details of particular policies. These details, as Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith suggest, are often the work of advocacy groups and coalitions who influence politicians who in turn influence their constituents generally (Sabatier, 1999). This means that to understand the details of the statute is not as important in the formative stage as understanding the way politicians rhetorically framed it is. The importance for understanding the reaction to the statute is not in understanding the public's reaction to the details but instead their reaction to the rhetoric, once and if such rhetoric is fully explored and analyzed.

By examining the Bush administration's rhetoric with regard to the nascent law this dissertation shows how the language used in each fits within Lakoff's theoretical understanding of American politics. By fitting the rhetoric within this framework and understanding the context of the various speeches, this dissertation predicts for whom this rhetoric is appealing and how it could have appealed to both understandings. Along with this is revelation that the Bush administration in many cases did not tailor the message to match both sides of Lakoff's moral politics divide but instead Rod Paige clearly communicated the administration's intentions with regard to the statute. These intentions are at odds with liberal/progressive understandings of schools and the role of government, and are clearly synchronized with the Stern Father Family understanding of the Federal government's role.

This survey of literature and ideas suggests that though there have been many perspectives on No Child Left Behind none have fully addressed the rhetoric which set the stage for, and enabled, the policy as Congress enacted it, nor fully addressed just how the Bush Administration expressed its intentions regarding the policy. By expanding the view to welfare policies this review shows how methods and ideas in use for analyzing welfare are potentially applicable in understanding NCLB. This is despite the fact that the literature on welfare and jobs policy suggests that No Child Left Behind should have been a non-starter as policy, but today it is the law of the land despite widespread hostility to its means, methods and goals. (Bushaw, 2008)

This is an especially salient point when considering that Jennifer Hochschild, a faculty member in Harvard's Department of African-American Studies, the one scholar who did speak about the intentions and rhetoric for No Child Left Behind, is a scholar primarily concerned with race in US society. Despite this clear concern about race from her body of work and

departmental affiliation, her essay on No Child Left Behind rested on theoretical foundations which are not primarily concerned with race, but policy-making in the broadest sense, suggesting that even when race is not a clearly communicated issue it might still be an issue, a latent issue even if race language is not manifest in the discussion (Peterson, 2003). Evelyn Brooks-Higginbotham described this phenomenon of latent meaning in another way, as a "metalanguage of race" wherein race continues to exist even above a seemingly race-free discourse (Brooks-Higginbotham, 1992). Hess spoke of the "inevitable" weakening of statute's provisions after enactment, but he must not have been the only person to predict this, yet the statute passed overwhelmingly anyway (Peterson, 2003). Lakoff provides researchers with an essential theory to perform an interactive-hermeneutic exploration of Bush Administration policy rhetoric. This can help with understanding the inconsistencies in policy analysis evident in this review and with analyses of No Child Left Behind which describe small portions of the policy's problems yet do not seem to capture the full scope of the statute's problems along with the problems of a US educational system which many agree is inadequate (Bushaw, 2008).

Having examined policy analysis literature, No Child Left Behind literature, and other social policy literature, it becomes clear that there is a place for the sort of study which this present study conducts. The multidisciplinary nature of policy analysis lends itself to multiple study iterations and this present study, an interactive-hermeneutic exploration, contributes to a better understanding of the multifaceted vision of educational policy and schools which motivated and drove the Bush Administration. By understanding this multifaceted vision, educational researchers, the "experts" as DuBois (1903) called them, can better formulate research questions and target their studies of policy particulars in a meaningful and educationally relevant way, as Vinovskis (1999) explained.

# CHAPTER 3

## DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative design known as an interactive hermeneutic exploration because the practical application of Lakoff's theory of moral politics requires this method of analysis to elaborate on the connections between direct verbal meaning and metaphorical understandings inferred from the texts. Krippendorff (2004) describes an interactive hermeneutic exploration as "a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter." (3) Since this study is a textual content analysis it will utilize computer software to analyze large volumes of textual data from Rod Paige's speeches "to make valid inferences from text" (Weber, 1990). These procedures- close reading and thematic coding- are necessary to analyze the rhetoric and the discourse presented by Secretary Paige. Because inferences derived from texts can be the subject of dispute this study draws from publicly available raw source material, in a way similar to historical studies, though coded in the way that anthropologists would code their private field notes when conducting an ethnography. Discourse analysis is "defined as the text above the sentence" and rhetorical analysis "describes how messages are presented," and this study conduct both an analysis of the discourse and the rhetoric to provide a complete picture of the Bush Administration vision for educational policy as Secretary Paige articulated it during the critical first year of the Bush Administration (Krippendorff, 16).

This present study examines Rod Paige's speeches about No Child Left Behind to understand how Rod Paige described the Bush Administration's proposals for education, which eventually became the No Child Left Behind Act, including policy priorities and goals. By doing this and applying George Lakoff's theory of moral politics this study explains the general Bush Administration policy orientation as evidenced by the way Paige described Bush Administration

educational goals. An interactive-hermeneutic exploration is a systematic analysis of a set of texts and follows several specific steps, particularly when using ATLAS.ti to assist in the analysis.

1) The researcher defines the parameters for which texts will be part of the data set.
2) The researcher collects the texts into a hermeneutic unit within the ATLAS.ti software.
3) ATLAS.ti then runs a word crunch which provides data on the number of occurrences of every single word in the text. This data provides a quick look at which words and ideas are of importance based upon their sheer number of occurrences.
4) The researcher then reads the entire text while specifically noting the contexts of the major words identified by the word crunch.
5) Using the results of the word crunch and the insights derived a complete reading of the text, the researcher then codes the body of texts for major themes the way an ethnographer would code his/her notes. The researcher often, though not always, will define the unit of analysis as one paragraph for the purposes of coding to insure the full context of major words and codes will be apparent and will be better analyzed for confirming and disconfirming evidence.
6) After coding the data, ATLAS.ti can then conduct an analysis of co-occurrence of codes. Because the body of texts is so large, researchers coding particular themes will not be able to necessarily recognize the relationship between the multiple themes which are individually identified and coded. The analysis of co-occurrence provides quantitative data about how the various researcher-determined codes co-occurred

within the units of analysis of the body of texts. This information allows the researcher to draw even more valid conclusions.

7) Once the data is coded and the co-occurrence of codes is evident, the researcher then begins to examine means and derive inferences from the texts, drawing conclusions and making observations, sometimes aided by the use of external studies or texts.

In terms of inferences, an interactive hermeneutic exploration begins by analyzing a surface-level phenomenon in the data, like a repeated block of text, or an over-represented word, and then uses that word or phrase as an entry point to delve deeper into the text to uncover deeper meanings within a body of texts. Among the ways to do so are by examining instances of major words from within that initial block of text outside of it, examining the co-occurrence of ideas represented in dominant words and themes to see how the body of texts juxtaposes these important ideas. It also examines the phrasing and terminology identified through coding, co-occurrence of themes and major blocks of texts in light of external research, using the findings of such research to interrogate the text and further elaborate upon the major themes and rhetoric.

*Data Sources*

To aid the rigor of this research the research must have strictly defined parameters for which texts will be part of the hermeneutic unit. In this present study the body of texts is exclusively speeches from one source, the Department of Education website in 2005, and thus could be trusted to represent the Bush Administration's official position on Education. These speeches were on the website in 2005 but were from a strictly defined time period. They almost exclusively those given by Secretary of Education Rodney Paige during the time between President Bush's inauguration as President in January, 2001 and up to the Rose Garden signing ceremony in which No Child Left Behind became law. It, ironically, did not include a single

speech given by President Bush or any other administration official outside of the Department of Education, and all but one speech were given directly by Secretary Paige himself. Given that Secretary Paige was Bush's appointee to head the department of education, these speeches should nonetheless be an accurate representation of the Bush Administration perspective regarding educational policy. The speeches are listed on the table below for the use of other researchers. They are prepared speeches which, given the nature of politics, are fairly assumed to not be Rod Paige's original thoughts, but instead the work of several contributing individuals including speechwriters. They are "groupthink" and thus are capable of providing a fair estimation of the Bush Administration's perspective on major issues, in this education and the Federal role in educational policy. They are currently located on three distinct URLs, which are specifically for archival purposes. One is for January, 2001 to June, 2001- http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/2001/2001-1.html- one is for July, 2001 to December, 2001- http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/2001/2001-2.html- and the final speech on the day the bill was signed is located at http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/2002/2002-1.html. (Education)

Table 3.1

*Speeches by Secretary of Education Rod Paige from January 24, 2001 to January 8, 2002*

| **Date** | **Title of Speech** | **Location of Speech** |
|---|---|---|
| January 8, 2002 | Remarks by Secretary Paige at signing of *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* | Hamilton, OH |
| December 19, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Improving America's Schools Conference | San Antonio, TX |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| December 7, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the National Council of Negro Women—50th National Convention | Alexandria, VA |
| November 20, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the release of *The Nation's Report Card: Science 2000* | Washington, D.C. |
| November 8, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the National Center for Educational Accountability Conference. | Austin, TX |
| October 31, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the release of *Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2001* showing a drop in crime and victimization in U.S. schools | Washington, D.C. |
| October 30, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the release of the *Blueprint for Management Excellence* | Washington, D.C. |
| October 24, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Blue Ribbon Schools presentation | Washington, D.C. |
| October 17, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the ACT Annual Meeting—21st Century Standards: Strategies for Achievement | Iowa City, IA |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| October 4, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on the over-identification of minority students under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce | Washington, D.C. |
| October 3, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Association of American Publishers' Math Summit | Washington, D.C. |
| September 4, 2001 | Secretary Paige delivered the annual Back to School Address at the National Press Club | Washington, D.C. |
| August 27, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Learning Disabilities Summit | Washington, D.C. |
| August 15, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the 2001 Back-to-School Event | Albuquerque, NM |
| August 11, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the University of Alabama Commencement Ceremony | Tuscaloosa, AL |
| August 2, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the release of *The Nation's Report Card: Mathematics 2000* | Washington, D.C. |
| July 31, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the annual conference of the Urban League | Washington, D.C. |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| July 27, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the White House Summit on Early Childhood Cognitive Development | Washington, D.C. |
| July 24, 2001 | Deputy Secretary Hansen testified before the House Subcommittee on Select Education Committee on Education and the Workforce | Washington, D.C. |
| July 17, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at a news conference on Department of Education Management Issues | Washington, D.C. |
| July 13, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the American Federation of Teachers' Quality Educational Standards in Teaching (QuEST) Biennial Conference | Washington, D.C. |
| June 30, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the National Education Association Bargaining and Instructional Issues Conference | Los Angeles, CA |
| June 29, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Black Ministers Council of New Jersey Conference | Newark, NJ |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| June 27, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Verizon Growth Initiatives For Teachers (GIFT) Recognition Dinner | Washington, D.C. |
| June 22, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Southeastern Character Education Conference | Chattanooga, TN |
| June 20, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Department of Labor Summit on the 21st Century Workforce | Washington, D.C. |
| June 14, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Manhattan Institute | New York City, New York. |
| June 12, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Standards-based Teacher Education Project (STEP) Conference | Washington, D.C. |
| May 31, 2001 | Secretary Paige commented on the *Condition of Education, 2001* report | Washington, D.C. |
| May 20, 2001 | Secretary Paige delivered the commencement address at Grambling State University | Grambling, Louisiana. |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| May 19, 2001 | Secretary Paige delivered the commencement address at the University of Connecticut | Storrs, Connecticut. |
| May 18, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the NAACP Daisy Bates Education Summit | Alexandria, Virginia. |
| May 12, 2001 | Secretary Paige delivered the commencement address at Jackson State University | Jackson, Mississippi. |
| May 10, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on the FY 2002 budget request for the Department of Education before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education | Washington, D.C. |
| May 10, 2001 | During April and May, Department officials testified before Congress on the President's Fiscal Year 2002 Budget for Education. | Washington, D.C. |
| May 1, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke before the International Reading Association | New Orleans, Louisiana. |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| April- May 2001 | Officials of ED and of special institutions funded in the ED Appropriations Act testified before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education on the FY 2002 ED budget request. | |
| April 27, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke to the Education Writers Association | Phoenix, Arizona. |
| April 25, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on the FY 2002 budget request for the Department of Education before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education | Washington, D.C. |
| April 20, 2001 | Secretary Paige announced initiatives to address past mismanagement and fraud at the Department of Education | Washington, D.C. |
| April 9, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke about the President's FY 2002 budget request for the U.S. Department of Education | Washington, D.C. |

| Date | Location of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| April 6, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the release of *The Nation's Report Card: Fourth-Grade Reading, 2000* | Washington, D.C. |
| April 4, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the National Press Club on the TIMSS 1999 Benchmarking Report | Washington, D.C. |
| March 23, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke before the National Newspaper Association | Washington, D.C. |
| March 13, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on *No Child Left Behind* before the House Budget Committee | Washington, D.C. |
| March 8, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on *No Child Left Behind* before the Senate Budget Committee | Washington, D.C. |
| March 7, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on *No Child Left Behind* before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce | Washington, D.C. |
| February 28, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke before the EMPOWER.org/Pacific Research Institute Education Summit | Santa Clara, CA |

| Date | Title of Speech | Location of Speech |
|---|---|---|
| February 20, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke before the American Council on Education | Washington, D.C. |
| February 15, 2001 | Secretary Paige testified on *No Child Left Behind* before the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions | Washington, D.C. |
| February 12, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at the Emerging Issues Forum | Raleigh, NC |
| January 30, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke before the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities | Washington, D.C. |
| January 24, 2001 | Secretary Paige spoke at his swearing in ceremony as the seventh Secretary of Education | Washington, D.C. |

This large body of texts contained 3009 lines of text and 55816 words. Such a large body of data required the use of analytic software to facilitate the coding and analysis of the days. Although not every speech is quoted in this analysis, the occurrence of themes and words within each of the speeches helped build up an objective understanding of dominant ideas and themes. Furthermore, by examining each speech for the co-occurrence of the independently coded themes, this research was able to deduce meaning from the way in which Rod Paige juxtaposed major ideas and themes. Those speeches which are quoted most often in the analysis are those for which the composition of the audience was more readily deductible or general, such as at the

National Council of Negro Women, University of Alabama commencement, or Urban League. Although this research found that major themes directly related to the law were stable across the body of texts (except where noted in the results section) regardless of audience, Paige discussed additional topics when appearing before more general audiences like college commencements, as opposed to specialized audiences like the American Federation of Teachers or the Conference of Educational Journalists.

*Analysis*

This study is an interactive-hermeneutic exploration using ATLAS.ti software to facilitate the exploration. This research "tradition originated in ethnographic, cultural-anthropological, and interpretive scholarship" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 303). In this tradition, "categories of analysis and the choices of analytical constructs are not fixed" (p. 303). In this method of "content analysis categories become apparent to the analysts in the process of reading, if not actively interrogating the texts…. The process of analysis is directed by the analyst's growing understanding of the body of texts" (p. 303). In this case the "body of texts" were assembled by collecting the speeches from the Department of Education website which fit the pre-determined objective criteria and assembling them into a hermeneutic unit in the ATLAS.ti software to facilitate later analysis and ease the process of coding dominant themes and ideas in the body of texts.

Several steps were involved in developing the coding scheme for this data to empower the analysis. The first step involved conducting a "word crunch" of the entire data set. A "word crunch" is a total count of the occurrences of every single word in the data set. After the "word crunch" was completed the data were regrouped. Several of the word counts combined to account for plurals and other word forms/tenses which were counted separately by the program

but which were actually the same word or references to the same person, place or idea, like for example test and tests, school and schools, or President, President's and Bush. This yielded a much smaller list of words and more clearly significant word counts. The purpose of conducting this "word crunch" and combining of terms was to provide initial guidance for search terms to use when conducting searches for themes when coding the data.

After conducting the "word crunch" the analyst had to read the entire body of texts to identify major themes of the text and locate significant blocks of text, along with using the search function to examine each occurrence of the major words from the "word crunch." If there were any blocks of texts which identically reoccurred, they were then scrutinized for key ideas and terms which were then sought in the entire text individually as search terms, as with the "word crunch" words. This study coded themes based upon locating those key words, including those identified as important by their reoccurrence in the text from the word crunch and those from any large repeated blocks of texts.

Using ATLAS.ti the text was searched for key words and when identified, the entire paragraph was flagged for analysis making the paragraph the unit of analysis in this study. Using the entire paragraph as the unit of analysis provided an effective context for the key words and ideas and enabled a clearer explanation and analysis of the major themes. Examining the paragraphs in which key terms appeared and writing attached preliminary memos enabled the development of newer search terms, which further facilitated the examination of the actual juxtaposition of words and themes within the paragraphs. This "hermeneutic circle" (Krippendorff, 2003, p. 303) of search, examination, identification of new search terms, new searches, and the further refinement and checking of codes allowed for the development of a vigorous coding scheme along with the elimination of inappropriate usage of analytical units

wherein the search term appeared but with a different meaning and context. Using the paragraph as the unit of analysis, and repeatedly refined searches and coding schemes, the following major themes appeared in the data. As is apparent some of these codes are identical to major reoccurring words from the text as identified by the "word crunch," but this is not necessarily the case for all themes since some themes encompassed multiple instances of certain key words.

Table 3.2

*Major Coded Themes and Number of Occurrences within the Data Set.*

| **Code Name** | **Number of Occurrences in Body of Text** |
|---|---|
| Accountability | 167 |
| Assessment | 71 |
| Choice | 67 |
| Consensus | 11 |
| Expectations | 88 |
| Flexibility | 104 |
| Grant | 77 |
| Local Control | 289 |
| NAEP | 28 |
| Naming the Law | 145 |
| Neighborhood | 120 |
| Pillar | 24 |
| Punishment | 13 |
| Race Talk | 330 |

| **Code Name** | **Number of Occurrences in Body of Text** |
|---|---|
| Reading | 115 |
| Repair | 8 |
| Science | 167 |
| Special Education | 62 |
| Students and Children | 1361 |
| Teacher | 235 |
| Test | 174 |
| Tools | 26 |
| Teachers Union | 22 |
| Voucher | 153 |
| **Total Code Occurrences** | **3860** |

ATLAS.ti also enables the rapid examination of the co-occurrence of codes within the units of analysis. Examining the co-occurrence of codes, along with the primary examination of units of analysis within the coding scheme helped the researcher to illuminate major themes and juxtapositions within Rod Paige's (mostly) speeches and develop valid inferences from the body of texts. This makes it easier to identify important themes by examining the instances in which they co-occur and particular which themes co-occur more frequently with each other as opposed to off-handed references to say "students and children" which are numerous but do not co-occur in any significant pattern but co-occur across the rest of the code scheme fairly numerically evenly. This analysis of co-occurrence has simplified the analysis by illuminating major themes and connections between major coded ideas which will constitute the majority of analysis for the

remainder of this work. Furthermore, Lakoff's theory of moral politics provides a framework for understanding the texts based upon the coding scheme and accounting for the co-occurrence of many of the themes. His theory also helps to connect these themes to the broader Bush Administration political agenda, as articulated in other, secondary, sources.

*Role of the Researcher*

This study uses an ethnographic approach to data to facilitate a rigorous analysis of the data. However, unlike in ethnographic research where the reader must make the leap of faith since he or she is not privy to the ethnographer's field notes, in this case the complete body of texts posted on the website, the "field notes" are readily available providing a level of rigor which is often missing with ethnographic research. The speeches which constitute the body of texts are readily available and in the public domain. This enables skeptical inquirers to fact check the body of texts. It also requires that the researcher practice exceptional diligence to insure that personal biases and beliefs do not skew the analysis of the data. Since the researcher is working from an externally created body of texts, the risk of bias in the creation of field notes, which is a challenge of ethnographic research, is minimized. The analysis ultimately rests upon the tools provided in ATLAS.ti and the researcher's ability to define and explain the meaning of the body of texts under analysis and juxtapose it with relevant literature in the academic world, in much the same way as it does in ethnographic and historical research. This means there is a level of objective rigor missing in the analysis, but the systematic nature of the data collection and public domain nature of the body of texts allows this study to be easily replicated by other researchers, who may not arrive at the same conclusions.

# CHAPTER 4

# RESULTS

This chapter presents the findings of this research based upon a computer-aided interactive hermeneutic exploration of the defined body of texts. The analysis answers the two research questions in a brief way and then further elaborates on the major themes examined in research question one in great detail along with explaining the many inferences which the researcher derived from the analysis of the body of texts. It then elaborates in greater detail on the answers to the second major research question including the important inferences and their relationship to other literature in the field of policy analysis.

1) What were the major themes in Rod Paige's speeches in support of No Child Left Behind?

Rod Paige's speeches focused upon using tests and the provision of data from those tests to increase the power of local authorities to hold teachers, schools and State governments accountable. Accountability for results, as measured by tests, at the local level, but enforced by Federal government which would sanction failing schools, is the secret to improving the quality of education in the United States.

2) How do these themes suggest a general policy orientation beyond just the educational policy domain?

As per Lakoff's theory of moral politics, Paige's speeches orient Federal policy towards outcomes, discipline, and against involvement in process. There is an evident hostility towards an increased Federal role in social policies like education or welfare, epitomized by Rod Paige's repeated assertions about community responsibility and the virtues of local control, along with his specific declaiming of Federal responsibility for certain policies. The Federal government's

role is to enforce educational outcomes and to insure that schools remain on task by improving test scores ahead of all other roles which schools have filled.

The codes which emerged from the interactive-hermeneutic exploration were already described in Chapter 3 and this chapter will discuss major themes which were in evidence in Paige's speeches organized by coded units of analysis. This reflects Krippendorf's concept of gradually deepening analysis based upon the researcher's interaction with the text. At first this paper will provide the results of the "word crunch," particularly highlighting those words which played a role in developing the coding scheme and formulating search strategies for that coding scheme. This is the surface level of analysis which provides a sense of how the research began delving deeper and devised major search terms. It then goes deeper by analyzing this large block of text which, uniquely, reoccurred in its entirety several times in various speeches. This block of text, combined with the literature and the "word crunch" helped generate a coding scheme as discussed earlier by listing major ideas and serving as a framework or summary of the Bush Administration position and understanding of the proposed No Child Left Behind. From this coding scheme the analysis of co-occurrence which examined how often the codes co-occurred with each other in the units of analysis identified clusters of themes which themes will constitute the categories discussed below. At each step the analysis becomes narrower and more particular, eventually focusing upon an issue, Special Education, which emerges from a unique cluster of themes and chronology.

This dissertation applies George Lakoff's theory to the analysis to help answer the question about how the Bush Administration rhetorically described the story of educational reform during this year when Congress and the Bush Administration sculpted and passed No Child Left Behind. His theory helps with understanding the importance of engaging closely with

the language and understanding of language and issues, which important policy actors use to explain the policies they support. This is particularly important when dealing with policies as extensive and detailed as No Child Left Behind. In some printings, this particular statute goes over a thousand pages. Because of this length and detail, political speech about the statute will be necessarily reductionist in character since it is likely that the statute has more unique phrases in it than the body of texts this dissertation studies. Politicians will either attempt to summarize the proposals, emphasize the proposed provisions that they consider key or most important, or in the case of the Bush Administration, it seems apparent that Rod Paige was informing and persuading since the No Child Left Behind Act had not yet passed and was a cornerstone of the Bush political agenda in 2001 as Paige directly articulates. This suggests that understanding just which provisions politicians emphasize or summarize might actually be more important in understanding a statute's impact, or potential impact, than an analysis of all the minute details within a thousand-page statute.

There were forty-six speeches posted on the Department of Education website which, mostly, Rod Paige delivered between President Bush's inauguration day and the Rose Garden signing ceremony for No Child Left Behind on January 8, 2002. This means he delivered almost one speech a week during the year. This high frequency means that Paige (and his subordinate once) had many opportunities to define and clarify the Bush Administration's message, as well as deliver changed and adapted messages to meet changing circumstances, challenges or political realities.

The following are word counts of significant words in declining order from the Paige data set. Important words are those nouns and verbs that are informational as opposed to articles and conjunctions and such, which independently do not convey any significant meaning. Words have

been grouped to account for singular and plural forms as well as related meanings such as “we” and “our.” The following significant words constitute the most common and informational in the data set, by absolute number and percentage of the entire body of texts:

Table 4.1

List of significant code-generating word, their count, and percentage of entire word count

| **Word** | **Word Count** | **Percentage of Whole** |
|---|---|---|
| Reading/Read | 391 | 0.51% |
| State(s) | 363 | 0.47% |
| Teacher(s) | 330 | 0.42% |
| Learn(ing) | 261 | 0.34% |
| Achievement | 214 | 0.28% |
| Parents | 205 | 0.27% |
| Federal | 182 | 0.24% |
| Accountability | 180 | 0.23% |
| Programs | 171 | 0.22% |
| Standards | 163 | 0.21% |
| Results | 161 | 0.21% |
| Public | 156 | 0.20% |
| Reform | 152 | 0.20% |
| Work | 147 | 0.19% |
| Districts | 141 | 0.18% |
| Gap | 138 | 0.18% |

| Word | Word Count | Percentage of Whole |
|---|---|---|
| Math | 125 | 0.16% |
| Test(s) | 125 | 0.16% |
| Progress | 120 | 0.15% |
| Flexibility | 117 | 0.15% |
| Local | 104 | 0.13% |
| Testing | 98 | 0.12% |
| Improve | 96 | 0.12% |
| Failing | 95 | 0.12% |
| Budget | 95 | 0.12% |
| Congress | 89 | 0.11% |
| Funds | 89 | 0.11% |
| Teaching | 86 | 0.11% |
| Quality | 81 | 0.10% |
| Research | 80 | 0.10% |
| Money | 76 | 0.09% |
| Science | 72 | 0.08% |
| Government | 71 | 0.08% |
| Grants | 70 | 0.08% |
| Choice | 70 | 0.08% |
| Disadvantaged | 69 | 0.08% |
| Skills | 67 | 0.08% |

| Word | Word Count | Percentage of Whole |
|---|---|---|
| Funding | 67 | 0.08% |
| Success | 66 | 0.08% |
| Community | 63 | 0.07% |
| Data | 56 | 0.06% |
| Charter | 55 | 0.05% |

These data are a simple demonstration of priorities by the mere number of mentions of particular words. For example based upon sheer number of mentions it seems that schools and states were more important to Rod Paige than parents, teachers or districts. Learning and achievement appear to go hand in hand by the near equality in the number of mentions of each. Also worth noting is the cluster of standards, accountability, and results near the top. The vast gap between mentions of teachers and mentions of teaching also is an interesting finding because it seems teachers as people were mentioned more often than teaching which is their method and their job.

These numbers of words however only tell part of the story, especially when some of the important words mentioned have contested meanings like testing, accountability, standards and results. (Peterson, 2003) They lead to questions but do not provide many answers. Devoid of full context many of these words are only suggestive of meaning not precisely indicative. These words, however, serve as a great first look at the information and effective guides for coding the entire body of texts, by expanding the unit of analysis from word to paragraph. By fleshing out these numbers with context, this dissertation will be able to draw more important conclusions about what the message was and what the Bush administration prioritized, through Rod Paige, while discussing and shaping the No Child Left Behind Act. It also makes it easier to apply

George Lakoff's theory and make broader meaning of the body of texts in this exploration. Below begins the broader discussion of themes and context within the Rod Paige speeches as organized by major codes from the body of texts, originally guided by the initial "word crunch" and the one large paragraph repeated six times in the first few months of the year, this study then follows up with an analysis of the coded major ideas in that body of text guided by the co-occurrence of these codes within the body of texts.

*Paige's Repeated Formulation About the Law*

While exploring the data for codes and themes finds that on six occasions over a four-month period at the beginning of the year Rod Paige's prepared remarks contained the exact same block of text:

> Taken as a whole, these proposals reflect what I believe is a strong consensus, both within the Congress and among the American people, that States, school districts, and schools must be accountable for ensuring that all students, including disadvantaged students, meet high academic standards. At the same time, we recognize that it is unfair to demand accountability without enabling success. This is why the other major components of No Child Left Behind are aimed at giving States, school districts, schools, teachers, and parents the tools and flexibility to help all students succeed (February 15, 2001; March 7, 2001; March 8, 2001; March 13, 2001; April 25, 2001; May 10, 2001).

This block of text is instructive about the administration's sales approach to the statute, and this comes as close to a "mission statement" for the statute as one is likely to find within as diverse a collection of sources as a year's worth of speeches given to diverse audiences. This is especially true given that no block of text of this size was repeated as often at any other time during the course of the year in this body of texts. The significance lies in the size of this block quotation along with the number of times it appeared.

This block of text represents a prepared sales pitch but also is a prepared negotiating position for the administration as it attempted to shape a bill that was largely in Congressional

hands because of the checks and balances built into the US system of government. Three of the times Paige repeated this text was at Congressional hearings in March and April, underscoring its formulation as a sales pitch. An important part of this pitch is Paige's assertion about "consensus," and requires separate examination, but many of the major codes this research examines like accountability, flexibility, local control, enabling success, and disadvantaged students, to name a few, make prominent appearances in this block of text as will become obvious.

*The Four Pillars*

Although there was that important sales pitch which was so useful for guiding the exploration of the body of the text there was a smaller but often repeated formulation which re-occurred frequently throughout the year and warrants special examination, not just for how it changed but also for the ideas it introduces. These ideas constitute major themes of the body of texts this dissertation explores. Secretary Paige spoke of there being "four pillars" to the Bush Administration educational proposal twenty-four times during the year, or seemingly in nearly half of his speeches. The change in the composition and use of the "four pillars" provide evidence of what occurred during the year and even of the compromises the Bush Administration was making to insure that No Child Left Behind passed Congress. Beyond this, the "four pillars" provide information about Bush Administration priorities and understandings regarding educational policy and the role of government and provide additional guidance for coding and understanding the entire body of texts.

At first the change in the "four pillars" was subtle, becoming more obvious by early summer. In the February 15, 2001 speech, Secretary Paige's second of the year, the "four pillars" were "(1) high standards, (2) annual assessment, (3) accountability, (4) flexibility and choice"

with the last two assumed to constitute one pillar. Later in the year, the "four pillars" became "(1) high standards, (2) annual assessment, (3) accountability for results, (4) flexibility and local control." This is interesting because the word "choice" was eliminated in favor of "local control," and the idea of "accountability" was clarified to mean "accountability for results," defining the idea more precisely, which was a frequent topic of Paige's discussions throughout the year. Accountability for "results" orients the program towards the testing which President Bush so outspokenly supported during his presidential campaign, though not necessarily only testing.

There might be many reasons for this, including political calculations, public reaction which might drive those political calculations, or the evolution of the bill during that year as the members and leaders of Congress shaped it to reflect their own ideas, priorities, and ideologies. That is a matter for another study however.

In May, Paige's rhetoric underwent another change. At a May 1, 2001 speech before the International Reading Association assessments disappeared from the "four pillars" entirely and "accountability" moved to the front of the list, though not with the more precise "results" formulation which had only recently appeared and which, likely, possessed a testing orientation given President Bush's campaign strategy and definition of the "Texas Miracle." On May 12, 2001, in a commencement address as Jackson State University the "four pillars" were "(1) accountability, (2) flexibility and local control, (3) using research-based methods of teaching, and (4) expanding options for parents." This is the first appearance of parents in this pillar which makes the statute more personal and, perhaps, less bureaucratic and officious-seeming. This might be a result of his venue, his first speech before a more general audience instead of the

usual government officials and professional organizations before which he had been speaking in the first few months.

The original "four pillars" formulation was very suggestive of government's role and government oversight, either locally or nationally, with an emphasis on "assessments"-testing-but this newer formulation makes the bill seem like a more family-oriented proposal, which is interesting since a speech at Jackson State commencement ceremonies was likely before far more families than before. Parents, primarily, receive more options for their children's education, while the Federal government polices the "States, school districts and schools" in areas of "accountability, flexibility and local control" and "research-based methods of teaching." Even the idea of "research-based methods" does not necessarily suggest a government role, though the government does finance and conduct its own studies. This formulation of the "four pillars" definitely suggests methods that are neither political nor ideological, though not as strongly so as later formulations and might represent an attempt to de-politicize this proposal, at least in the rhetoric describing it. Many know that research often is both political and ideological, which might have necessitated the last adaptation of the language. Research-based methods no doubt entail testing students, but this does not suggest the high-stakes testing, which is one of the major controversies with the statute (Popham, 2005), nor does it block alternative methods.

In his July 13, 2001 speech before yet another professional organization, Paige changed the "four pillars" again. This time they were "accountability for results, local control and flexibility, expanded parental choice, and doing what works based on scientific research." In this formulation, choice reappears, but as "parental choice," and scientific research and pedagogy appear as new pillars of the proposed statute. This is a dramatic change because the original pillars mentioned nothing about the practice of teaching specifically and yet as the statute was

coming closer to its passage teaching methods and "science" appear as important components of a statute which, throughout the entire year, promised to hold teachers, "schools and school districts" accountable for results. As with the speech at Jackson State, Paige might have tailored his formulation to his audience, since this speech was at the American Federation of Teachers' Quality Educational Standards in Teaching (QuEST) Biennial Conference. With hindsight, given later controversy with the Bush administration regarding Global Warming and science (Scientists, 2007), this change and emphasis on science seems even more startling, especially in front of an audience, American Federation of Teachers, not known for supporting Republicans or Republican educational policies. Again, this is a matter which requires additional research, but which is nonetheless an important finding.

Related to the inclusion of "scientific research" or "what works" to the formulation, Paige jettisoned the idea of annual assessment and standards, and instead began referring to "accountability" as the first pillar. Many accounts indicate that Democrats, in particular, were cool to the idea of annual high-stakes testing (Wellstone, 2001), while the *New York Times* explained that Republicans did not like the idea of a Federally-mandated standard (Schemo, 2001). The combination of these two factors likely contributed to the watering down of the annual testing provision from every year of school to every year between grades three and eight, along with the provision that allowed States to select their own testing apparatus while utilizing the NAEP to compare States against each other. Paige's change in rhetoric might reflect an acceptance of this fact even though history shows that there were still six months of negotiations before President Bush signed NCLB into law. What is more is that by moving accountability to the front of the "four pillars" formulation it took a prominent position in the discussion and

suggested that it was the most important component of the statute, whereas it had been buried in the number three slot at the beginning of the year's discussion.

Although Paige began speaking about "scientific research" and "what works," which clearly included testing and assessments based upon his infrequent but precise discussions of testing, he did not explicitly say this in the immediate context vicinity of his pillars formulation, within this exploration's unit of analysis. He only mentioned testing infrequently and only spoke at length one time on the use of standardized testing during this July 13th speech. Beyond this at-length discussion at a professional conference, he infrequently mentioned "testing" by the word throughout the year, and instead made far more use of the terms such "assessment" and "research," which could mean testing, but not definitively testing even when those assessments and that research do contain a testing component. Such use of broad vague language is important and should be considered deliberate given that speechwriters make a profession out of carefully preparing the words that political leaders speak, and thus it is likely that though Paige gave every single speech in this body of texts, but one, the words are those of the official Bush Administration position.

The idea of choice, perhaps because of controversy surrounding the different ideas which the word can represent, (Levin, 2001) changed into a formulation of "parental choice" or "local control." This seems to follow directly from the hostility towards the voucher programs championed by President Bush, which Paige mentioned explicitly once in his inaugural speech on January 24, 2001, but which are often opposed by the Democratic members of Congress, like the late Sen. Paul Wellstone. (Levin, 2001) The word "choice" often refers to voucher programs so the change in language might have been an attempt to gloss over this fact, or else it was an acknowledgment that vouchers would not survive the Congressional debate and so the goal

became the creation of some semblance of a "school choice" program even if not vouchers per se.

These two formulations, which took the place of "choice" in the "four pillars," present two very different ideas that nonetheless have historic connections which merit exploration. "Parental choice" positions power over children and education with the parents, or rather, it suggests that the statute puts the power in the parents' hands. This rhetorical juxtaposition of words suggests that power was not in the hands of parents but was, perhaps, in the hands of the Federal government, States, teachers and/or schools. This idea is important when considering the circumstances surrounding many of the problems in education over the years such as integration. During the Boston bussing riots for example, some have argued that the parents in South Boston who rioted against integration felt powerless in the decision-making process about integration and that that, coupled with racism, led to the riots (Orfield, 1978). Communities attempted to beat integration by closing down public schools in communities in Virginia (including where the first voucher programs issued vouchers to white students to attend private schools which were "allowed" by virtue of their private status to deny African-American students admission) and through creating "neighborhood schooling" in Charlotte, North Carolina where the Supreme Court intervened to thwart this clear attempt to avoid integration (Urban, 2009). The relationship between "parental choice" and "local control" seems apparent in the context of desegregation for those familiar with the history, but might not necessarily have had the same implications coming out of the mouth of an African-American Secretary of Education in 2001. Nonetheless, this brief survey suggests that there is some historic baggage embedded in the language, baggage which may have been more apparent in front of some audiences, like perhaps the Urban League and

National Council of Negro Women, both of which organizations played important roles in the civil rights struggles in the 20th century.

This evolution in language based upon the simple construction of "four pillars" coincides with the dropping of that important block of text, which Paige repeated six times in the first four months of the year and which never appeared thereafter. These rhetorical changes occurred early in the Bush administration when his agenda involved stem cell research, social security reform, the infamous "lockbox," and educational reform. This was all before the September 11 attacks refocused the administration's efforts and pushed No Child Left Behind and most other issues into the background while President Bush's "Global War on Terror" took center stage and dominated most political discourse, and consequently media coverage.

*Consensus*

Paige asserts in the six times repeated block of text discussed earlier that the bill represented a "strong consensus" both "within the Congress" and among the "American People." "Consensus means that everyone in the group freely agrees with the decision and will support it" (Schwarz, 1994). Paige's assertion about consensus suggests that the details and issues of the educational proposal are already matters of settled policy. He says this despite the fact that the details and issues clearly were not settled in early Spring of 2001 or else the bill would have passed at that time. These educational proposals never, in fact, were the object of consensus because a small minority of members of Congress still voted against the final bill nine months later. Despite Paige's assertions to the contrary, it seems highly unlikely that many political issues could be settled just a few weeks after their introduction. This is particularly the case of the policies which became No Child Left Behind.

The Bush administration proposals for No Child Left Behind were introduced by Bush ally, Rep. John Boehner, in the House, but in the Senate, Republican Senator Jim Jeffords introduced a different, but related, education proposal, and his later defection to the Democratic Party in late Summer suggests that his proposals would not have been in step with the Bush Administration. The debate would have been more contentious after Jeffords' defection because it swung power in the Senate over to the Democrats giving them the extra power, which likely led to changes in the shape of the final No Child Left Behind Act by forcing greater compromise between the two major parties. The nature of the two party system suggests that consensus is a difficult achievement in the best of circumstances and yet with two different educational proposals in the Congress (one by a conservative Republican and one by a Republican liberal enough that he later caucused with the Democrats as an independent) Paige is nonetheless asserting the existence of a consensus which clearly does not exist. Even more remarkable is his assertion that the consensus is not just in Congress but with the "American People," and that that consensus recognizes the problems in the same way which he defines them in that formulation.

What Paige's assertion about the consensus does suggest is that the discussion about educational reform had been ongoing and that the proposals were the result of an extended dialogue. At the time HR 1 (House Resolution 1) and SR 1 (Senate Resolution 1) entered into the Congressional Record, the ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was thirty-six years old and overdue for renewal by 2001. Many voices articulated positions in support of "reform" of the law and a few in favor of its abolition altogether. Discussion of this law was significant in the Bush-Gore presidential contest of 2000, along with the budget surplus and the "lockbox" (Steinberg, 2001). According to Secretary Paige, the man who introduced the bill in the House of Representatives, Representative John Boehner, believed that, "These landmark

reforms will bring purpose to a federal law that has lost its focus and never met its purpose" (December 19, 2001). Paige's reinforcement of Boehner's perspective through quotation suggests that Boehner's proposals more closely reflected Bush's ideas than did Jeffords' proposals, especially given Jeffords' defection from the Republicans and that fact that Paige never once quoted Jeffords in his speeches throughout the year.

Furthermore, Paige's quotation of Boehner suggests an understanding that No Child Left Behind was a radical departure from the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act. As many know, the "original purpose" of the ESEA in the Johnson administration was to inject money into schools with the goal of improving them and reducing poverty because of the growing quality and funding gap between "Slums and Suburbs" articulated by, among others, James Bryant Conant (1963). They were a significant component of Johnson's "War on Poverty," a program with which many Republicans disagree (Murray, 1994) and which certainly does not enjoy the consensus assertion Paige is trying to make about his administration's proposals for No Child Left Behind (Urban, 2009).

If political consensus is hard to come by, as it is and as No Child Left Behind clearly was not, as evidenced by the overwhelming, but not unanimous votes, then a consensus of all 300 million US citizens would be even harder, if not impossible to achieve. Despite this reality Paige is asserting that all 300 million US citizens, or at least 78% of them of voting age, are part of a policy consensus about No Child Left Behind. He says this despite the availability of different rhetoric like say, broad agreement, or a growing consensus, or other formulations which are not as absolute. By including the "American People" in his understanding of the policy consensus, Paige asserts that the "American People" were heard in the discussions and that the law not only reflects their direct interests but also that they fully understand the implications and policy

prescriptions contained in the law, because a true consensus stems from free acceptance and consent given from a position of complete knowledge and understanding by all parties concerned (Schwartz, 1994). Paige's assertion at the beginning of the year is quite startling for a statute that would finally pass in a highly compromised fashion eleven months after its introduction, but is transparently a rhetorical assertion of a political nature. Nonetheless, the transparency of his political rhetoric nonetheless begs several questions about why would he use the word consensus rather than other less absolute, more accurate and nonetheless persuasive formulations, especially when he further undermines his consensus claim by making an appearance before Congress as, in essence, the Bush administration salesman for the law attempting to create the consensus which he states already exists.

This claim of consensus is not unique to this proposal as experienced observers of American politics can attest and is right in step with an interpretation of Paige's role as chief salesman. In a government "by the people," politicians often articulate their perspectives and policy prescriptions in terms of the "American People." It is this assertion about a consensus among the "American People" that most effectively establishes Paige's role as salesman, especially given his change in rhetoric after the reconciled bill passed both houses of Congress, a change reflected in his quotation of Boehner. Rather than talk up his proposals as consensus, which they clearly were not because of the many compromises and changes, he instead speaks negatively of the law which preceded it, positioning this highly compromised, and thus closer to consensus than the initial proposal, bill as an improvement over what existed before it. By asserting that the American people are behind his proposals, and unanimously so, at the beginning of the year, at the beginning of the negotiations, he positions himself and the Bush Administration strongly for the negotiations which he knows will occur. He also grabs the

rhetorical high ground by placing opposition Congress members against the will of the "American People," not just the Bush Administration and John Boehner's bill. This is a difficult position in which to be for any Congress member and suggests a position of political strength which was clearly not in evidence in the Obama Administration regarding the health care debate.

Paige himself backtracked from this position in December after Congress actually passed a bill, which meant an end to his salesmanship. At this time he stated that, "This bill represents an educational consensus between President Bush and congressional leaders in both parties, and it signals not just a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, but a new day in education in America" (December 19, 2001). This claim, which is much more limited in its consensus assertion and probably more accurate, perhaps could have served as a warning of the rapid decline in support for the law by the American people as evidenced by annual Gallup polling since the passage of the bill into law (Bushaw, 2008). By Paige's own words, this law was the consensus policy of a few political leaders in Congress from both parties, including Rep. George Miller, Sen. Edward Kennedy, Rep. John Boehner, and Sen. James Jeffords to name a few, and the Bush Administration as represented through the year by Secretary of Education, Rod Paige. Nonetheless the policy consensus achieved by these few men would not be a consensus within Congress and is nonetheless applicable to all the "American People." This is a huge retreat and suggests that even the Bush Administration was cognizant of flaws in this law even before the signing ceremony after Paige's December 19 remarks.

*Accountability*

As it stands, the consensus of which Paige spoke at the beginning of the year, that consensus with the "American People," was supposedly in favor of a law which would hold "States, school districts and schools…accountable" for results. The idea of accountability

dominated and still dominates discussion of No Child Left Behind, and Rod Paige directly connected accountability to "assessment" and "testing," which are not necessarily interchangeable ideas as he himself demonstrates later and as this dissertation will discuss:

> Using research and doing what works will prepare schools for accountability. The president's plan calls for each state to create clear and rigorous standards for what students should know and be able to do. Each state would design tests aligned with these standards to measure student achievement (October 3, 2001).

He also associates it with a strong call for local control:

> The answer is that focusing on student achievement will mean a reduction in requirements that have nothing to do with results. Decisions about your schools should be made locally, but your president and the Congress strongly support accountability in every school for the benefit of every child. When states use federal dollars, they should be held accountable for achieving good results.

The third component was the responsibility of the "community" for holding schools "accountable":

> To meet our challenge, we need the support and commitment of the African American community. These are our children being left behind. And we must take action at every level. We must refuse to tolerate mediocrity. We must raise all our children up, from the first to the last. Start early! We've tried to run an education system without accountability for 25 years, and it has failed. We've tried accepting excuses instead of results, only to discover that employers aren't impressed by excuses. We've tried writing off kids as hard to teach, and all around our communities we see the consequences (June 29, 2001).

Each of these major ideas connected to accountability will be explored and their meanings and implications unpacked in the following pages. Each one constituted emergent themes which appeared while examining the texts for discussions of "accountability" and coding for such discussions. This means that there was a high incidence of co-occurrence between coding the units of analysis for "accountability" and coding them for "testing," "assessment," "flexibility," and "race talk."

*Assessment and Testing*

Paige's explicit repeated connection between accountability and assessment is important because many educational leaders and academics are attempting to define assessment in broader terms than just standardized testing, such as through "authentic assessment" and/or "comprehensive assessment," which under Paige's formulation of "annual assessment" would legitimately fit under the law (George Lucas Educational Foundation, 1997). Meanwhile, as evidenced by Peterson (2003), the connection between accountability and assessment is not necessarily an ironclad one. Paige however, conceives of the two as inextricably linked and their high level co-occurring coding in the body of texts is evidence of this.

In a speech in Washington he lays out the assessment and accountability link in what was a typical fashion for him. He said, "Guided by the President's plan, Congress's education bills establish an accountability system for our schools based on high standards and annual assessments to ensure our children are meeting those standards" (June 27, 2001).

In the academic world entire books have been written on what accountability is and how it would function in schools under the No Child Left Behind Act (Peterson, 2003), in terms of high-stakes testing, increased teaching requirements, reporting requirements and the like. Peterson's (2003) contributors discuss many issues besides just testing to explain the mechanisms of "accountability," and yet throughout this body of texts within the individual units of analysis if there was a discussion of accountability it always included an explicit discussion on testing, or at least a direct reference to testing, as evidenced in the preceding quotation. Paige was explicit that accountability could only derive from standardized-tests, which implies that without standardized tests there could be no accountability in schools. Not only that, but Paige explicitly offers the ideas that assessment meant test and nothing else as his interchangeable use of those two terms within the body of texts indicates. This tells the researcher that testing was the

most important piece of the puzzle in this law, as many "know" already, but as the word counts and analysis here reiterate even more forcefully. The high vote tallies in Congress which enacted No Child Left Behind suggest that most members of Congress shared this perspective and that there was a high-level of agreement with Paige's formulation despite what some individuals like Wellstone and Kozol (2001) said at the time or what individuals like Popham (2005) have said subsequently. In fact testing never dropped out of Paige's discussion only "annual" testing.

Despite explicitly discussing testing, as a means of empowering "accountability" the situations where Paige is more circumspect on "assessment" are worth noting for what Paige implies and for what his focus is in these areas.

> By focusing on accountability and doing what works, the No Child Left Behind plan heralds a new era in American education, and the Department of Education's grant to the Education Commission of the States to help start the Center was just one sign of that new era. I would suggest that this time of change is an excellent chance for every school to examine its teaching methods, identify those that don't work, and replace them with better ones. Once accountability systems are in place in states around the country, I think parents and communities will have less patience for underperforming schools. My advice to educators is take advantage of the information and assistance of organizations like the National Center for Educational Accountability (November 8, 2001).

There are several pertinent pieces of information here, the first is that the National Center for Education Accountability, is a project of Education Commission of the States, a State-level information sharing entity which shares "best practices" to improve education, and secondly that its creation was facilitated through a grant from Federal government, not through the contributions of the States themselves. This is an important piece of Federalism here, because the Federal government is spending money for a State entity that States themselves did not create until there was that Federal money. The implication is that the idea of "educational accountability" was primarily a Federal one and that for the States to commit to it in terms of a "Center" required Federal fiscal inducement.

This is important, especially since Paige also spoke here of the provision of "information" as another means of achieving "accountability," though without mentioning standardized testing specifically as the source of information by which to achieve that accountability. What is significant is that this speech does not focus on discussing testing or assessments but instead upon "what works" and the "provision of information" along with a discussion of impatient communities and grants to States. He continued developing this related theme in North Carolina where he said, "it gives me great pleasure to discuss our plan in a state that has been a pioneer in creating high standards, appropriate assessment and meaningful accountability for its public schools" (February 12, 2001). This selection emphasizes the downward movement of responsibility from the Federal government to the States. North Carolina receives credit for what it created, the Education Commission of the State receives money to create, and hopefully operate, a Center for Educational Accountability. This important distinction between the Federal government and the States will merit examination, but right now it is suggestive of Paige's understanding of how "accountability" will work in the United States under Bush's No Child Left Behind proposal.

Paige's speeches provided guidance for what "accountability" would mean to the Bush Administration, and what mechanisms would constitute accountability beyond just the repetition of the link between testing and accountability. Paige himself said there could be no accountability with tests but that does not mean that tests mean accountability, and so Paige had to explain how tests and the "provision of information" would lead to "accountability." Paige's ideas on this are important because Congress can pass and pay for a statute, but the Bush administration would actually be responsible for implementing the statute. Thus, the Bush administration priorities would ultimately reflect how the statute impacted education, even if one

considers "street-level bureaucrats," as Lipsky did (Lipsky, 1980). Paige linked "accountability" to several different ideas, though primarily with testing. He did this despite actually removing "assessment" from his "four pillars" formulation later in the year. In other words though Paige explicitly and repeatedly discusses testing, in his summary of the law, a summary abetted by a four pillars metaphor but by April of 2001 he has dropped the idea of "assessment" altogether from the "four pillars," instead saving discussion of that for his speeches before professional organizations as this body of texts indicates. A plausible explanation for this is that although the law had a lot to do with testing, he did not want the sound bite, the short story of the law, to be about testing. This removal which occurred around the time that suggests some awareness that testing was a problematic idea, especially since around this time there were Democratic amendments "removing requirements to test students annually" (Sanger, 2001).

Paige did not, at any time in this body of texts, specify other mechanisms for accountability besides testing, which further suggests that, for him, accountability only derived from standardized testing and test results, and that the "provision of information" meant the provision of test results to "parents and communities." Despite the increased emphasis on States, parents and communities, which is in evidence in the large selection above and throughout this body of texts, Paige did suggest a role for the Federal government. He suggests that the Federal government, ostensibly through the Department of Education would demand results for its investment. "Instead of paying for services, we will be investing in achievement. When federal spending is an investment, it gives the federal government leverage to demand results. And demanding results is what the Department of Education will do" (December 19, 2001). This is despite the reality that "results" can take many forms, not just test scores, and even "assessment" does not necessarily mean a standardized test despite his Paige repeatedly suggesting otherwise

through using the terms interchangeably and never once mentioning any other means of assessment besides standardized testing. What "States, school districts and schools" would be accountable for was the meeting of, not just "results," but also of "high standards," a phrase he repeats often and throughout his many speeches, but Paige did not elaborate much on what that would mean and what those standards would mean. Instead, he repositions the Federal government as an investor who demands results, an annual report which would have ideally, in Paige's mind, derived from annual testing, but which nonetheless does not dictate educational process. Despite this seeming freedom of process deriving from the investor metaphor, Paige's discussion of assessments clearly indicated that schools would have to test and "provide information" in the form of test "results" to justify the investment which very much suggested something of process.

"High standards" for results, test results, was supposed to help because, as Paige said several times, groups, particularly minority groups were subjected to "the soft bigotry of low expectations." In other words, groups performed at low levels because they were expected to perform at a low level. Simply by raising standards students would reach them and thus schools, school districts and states would achieve "results." Paige, does not discuss process, as mentioned earlier beyond the testing requirement and so ostensibly the raising of standards would be good enough to raise achievement or else this was a challenge left up to the individual "States, school districts and schools." This concept of high standards yielding high results is at odds with the one articulated by Conant (1963) and President Johnson who enacted the first Elementary and Secondary Education Act. By their reckoning, poor results stemmed from funding and social disparities between wealthier suburban areas and impoverished inner-city areas (Johnson, 1965; Urban, 2009), and with other literature on social capital like *Home Advantage* (Lareau, 2000). In

other words, this reformulation of the problem with poor performing schools and definition of success as test results was completely different from the original definitions under the original law. Paige obviously meant it to be so because he quoted Boehner specifically disclaiming the original law as mentioned earlier and did not stray from his formulation of accountability, tests, and local control of schools even if he de-emphasized testing in favor of assessments and then de-emphasized assessments as the year progressed.

Paige's and Bush's repeated statement of their formulation was likely an attempt to redefine the problem away not just in terms of the mechanics of learning and teaching but in terms of its relationship to Bush's entire policy agenda and governing ideology. Conant and Johnson's definition of the problem tied education into the entire "War on Poverty" policy agenda, which expanded the size, scope and role of government in society, but Paige's definition of the education problems isolates it and focuses it on children either learning or not learning and teachers either teaching children content material so they can learn it or not teaching it thus insuring children do not learn it. In other words, it was the shift described by Urban and Wagoner as "From Equity to Excellence" (Urban, 2009). It was shifting the focus from recognizing schools and schooling as embedded within communities and sharing the problems of those communities to seeing them as autonomous institutions whose problems are a lack of accountability from the community which is around it and the Federal government which "invests" in it.

According to Lakoff (2004), the formulation utilized by the Bush Administration and its people, including ostensibly Secretary Paige, "The poor remain poor because they lack the discipline needed to prosper" (82). This means schools are not responsible for people's poverty or prosperity and thus Johnson's usage of schools as a tool against poverty was bad policy. Paige

implied as much by quoting NCLB Co-sponsor Rep. John Boehner's assertion that the law, meaning the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was directionless and had lost its purpose. By Paige's reckoning, teachers need to teach students or else students will not learn, but if teachers do not teach using the "right methods" then children will not learn, thus why he cites North Carolina's "high standards" and "appropriate assessments," and does not acknowledge North Carolina's leading position in the United States as a high poverty state. Such an omission would not have been possible under the Conant/Johnson idea which tied poverty reduction to educational achievement. Whether students apply what they have learned later in their adult lives is entirely their individual responsibility, but as children they are not responsible for learning; teachers, schools, school districts and States are, and once they have learned it is not the States responsibility to insure they can use that learning productively, or in a way that will keep them out of poverty and deprivation.

Assessments are usually tied into a specified curriculum, with the idea that assessments are designed to understand just how much a student has learned the specified curriculum (Thorndike, 1910). With this in mind one would expect that a discussion of assessments would specify what was assessed by these assessments, however given the non-specific way in which Paige discussed assessments, one would expect a similar lack of specificity in terms of curriculum. This is the case as throughout the year Paige did not specify the curriculum or pedagogical techniques for schools with one exception. This is an illustrative exception however and warrants special examination.

The only time he addressed specific curriculum was to emphasize literacy, and when emphasizing literacy he highlighted "Put Reading First" as a pedagogical method. A major provision of NCLB, as Paige's speeches emphasize, was based upon support for a program,

which would “Put Reading First” through an emphasis on “explicit and systematic instruction in phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary development, reading fluency, and reading comprehension strategies” (May 1, 2001). Paige goes to great lengths to establish the scientific research which supported this particular program plus the importance of establishing basic literacy skills by third grade. This was the foundation of all learning, Paige often asserts even when not discussing “Putting Reading First,” and likely this is an opinion which would find few detractors.

Towards the end of the year Paige asserted that other largely unspecified methods (besides “Put Reading First”) would be based on “scientific research,” research which he often asserted was behind the “Put Reading First” program. “Scientific research” actually became one of the “four pillars” in the final formulation of this concept which eventually lent the idea great importance in not only the formulation of the statute but also the sale of it to Congress and the “American People.” Paige repeatedly asserted that the proposal would emphasize using “what worked” based on “scientific research,” (May 1, 2001; December 7, 2001; November 20, 2001; July 27, 2001; July 31, 2001) but beyond that and putting “reading first” there were no more specifics, perhaps because science would discover “what worked” only after the bill was passed or else Paige’s audience already knew “what worked” and thus needed the bill to help implement such solutions in the classroom. Given that there has been some forty years of research under the ESEA on “what works” (Urban, 2009) one might expect to see more ideas of specific curricular methods and pedagogies in his speeches, but there were not any. Paige instead spoke more about scientific research findings in terms of defining the problem not solving it. Although Paige mentioned research evidence to buttress his claims, his speeches focused primarily on providing

the vision for the law, as DuBois (1903) explained, while leaving the particulars for the educational and policy experts.

Despite the imprecise vagaries often accompanying Secretary Paige's discussion of accountability, he asserted that the accountability of which he spoke was a consensus understanding. Perhaps this is why he did not feel as if he often needed to specify the mechanisms of accountability because the "American people" and "Congress" were already part of the consensus approving the proposals in the bill, or perhaps because discussing specifics would lead to an end of that consensus and endanger the bill's passage. The more precision there was in his proposals the greater the chances that someone could find something disagreeable in them. Nonetheless, his discussion of accountability did have one direct negative implication for the then-existing state of education and the extant Elementary and Secondary Education Act as discussed earlier by his quotation of Rep. John Boehner. By Paige's estimation the consensus reached by the American people and Congress is that the "States, school districts, and schools" are the institutions which must be held accountable. There is an implication here that if these institutions need to be held accountable and the Bush administration's proposals are for doing so then they are not or were not necessarily being held accountable under the original ESEA, in other words that the ESEA, a cornerstone of the Lyndon Johnson domestic agenda, was bad or ineffective policy.

Since policy is almost always a reactive enterprise which aims to fix "problems," Paige is specifically defining one facet of the problem, which the Bush administration will fix, as one of unaccountable "States, school districts and schools," connected to or derived from an ineffective policy, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. What is more important is that this assertion places educational problems squarely on the individual state governments, school

districts and schools, since the Federal policy's major failure was its inability to hold these institutions "accountable" ostensibly for "assessment" results which are a major talking point in this body of texts. This is also to the exclusion of other causes which others advanced and advance, including assertions by Johnson and Conant in the 1960s, for poor student learning, such as parents, families, values, community, poverty, and especially socio-economic status. These are causes that seem anthropological or sociological or even psychological in nature and suggest a very different understanding of the relationship between school, society and the individual student. The original ESEA aimed to use education to help eradicate poverty, (Urban, 2009) but the NCLB was going to remove poverty from the achievement equation and focus the statute on achieving "results" in an exclusively educational sense, an assessment-based sense, and also then on holding states, school districts and schools "accountable."

Paige further codified this notion when he explained that teachers were not being "asked to reform any child's community, but only to improve the academic performance of every child in their classes" (December 19, 2001). By bringing in the community and then immediately declaring it out of bounds for teachers, Paige is implying it is out of bounds for schools and perhaps even for states, despite the original intention and motivation behind the ESEA which was specifically about schooling's impact upon the community and society. Paige was specifically limiting school's role to one responsible solely for students' academic performance and test-based outcomes, implying that such a thing was possible and definitely, in his estimation, preferable.

This perspective puts the Bush administration perspective at odds with the original ESEA impetus. Lyndon Johnson declared a "War on Poverty" and believed that invigorated schools could provide an education which would help attain the goal of reducing poverty. This was one

reason that Title I directed funds based upon the number of enrolled students living in poverty. The original statute premised that these schools were "disadvantaged" in funding by the number of impoverished students and the property tax system (Urban, 2009). By equalizing funding the federal government could try to address the imbalance in educational quality described by James Bryant Conant in *Slums and Suburbs* (1963).

This last is especially relevant because Paige often followed up the mention of accountability by singling out "disadvantaged students" as those most in need of being held to high academic standards and ostensibly those whom the three named institutions- States, school districts and schools- were not holding to high standards because of this lack of accountability (December 19, 2001). He repeatedly cites the statistics from the National Assessment of Educational Progress, which show a persistent gap in scores between white students compared with African-American and Hispanic students. This was a major point in his sales approach during the first five months of the year but he then stopped citing these specific numbers in favor of the more vague pronouncements about using NAEP data to help with maintaining the "accountability" provisions of the statute, since each state was granted the "flexibility" to select or develop their own assessment test. He specifically denigrates the measurements imposed by the ESEA which are evidences of Johnson's goals for the program.

> The second proposition is that our system has not worked that way. It has assumed that many children cannot learn. It has depended on making excuses. It has depended on writing off a certain portion of the children entrusted to it. It has depended on measuring success by the number of teachers hired, by the number of classrooms built, by the number of grants approved, by the number of nonacademic programs added, by the number of reforms to the curriculum, by the years of seniority of the faculty, by the number of certifications acquired, by attendance records, by the number of bullies expelled, by the number of counselors in the counselors' office, by self-esteem among the students, by contentment among the faculty, by the number of dollars spent, in other words, by any measure other than student performance (June 12, 2001).

These words strongly suggest the disapproval with which the administration viewed the ESEA and the Federal role in education and suggests a motivation for their realignment of educational priorities. This realignment in causality rhetoric regarding schools in society did not necessarily reflect a change in perspective about the statute but perhaps better served Paige's mission to make NCLB realign itself with a curricular-outcomes-based approach which was not concerned with for example the quality of the school building or class size, or other issues which Conant (1963) suggested were the root causes of school failure and which Johnson attempted to address through the original ESEA. Since previous programs such as the original ESEA targeted poverty and impoverished schools (schools which often exist in high minority and rural areas) as the locus of school failure through Title I, this position is a reformulation of the Federal government's approach to school problems and a new understanding of the cause of such problems. Poverty is not a cause of school failure, nor is a lack of funding a cause of school failure. Minority status is not either, but a lack of "accountability" for "States, school districts and schools" and the "soft bigotry of low expectations" were. As Lakoff (2004) explained, poverty is not even a result of school failure in Bush's formulation, but the failure of individual discipline within a "free market." Schools have no role to play in community and poverty issues, and poverty should not be the primary means-test for Title I funding, but the outcomes or lack thereof resulting from that funding should be. Instead of impoverished communities being a factor in academic failure, Paige spoke of the community's responsibility to children, spoke about how communities can help drive educational success and are responsible for doing so, especially if given the proper "tools" to do so. This was a responsibility for student academic success which was shared by States, school districts and schools, but not the Federal government

which was just an investor who gave money or took it away if it did not see a return on its investment.

This is important because Paige cloaked this reformulation and understanding in the garb of "consensus," when one clearly did not and does not exist, as the complex and diverse literature of school achievement and failure attested to at the time and still does attest (Kozol, 2005; McNeil, 2000; Levin, 2001; Katz, 1995; Heath, 1983). It also puts the Bush administration at odds with the history of public education in the United States, which tied "common schools" to poverty reduction and community advancement according to such historical figures as Benjamin Rush (1798), Horace Mann (1848), John Dewey (1898, 1916) and Booker T. Washington (1901) (Urban, 2009). Instead, Paige's assertions about "accountability" suggest schools are only responsible for achievement in "assessments," and the rest is up to the individuals once schools have played their limited role.

However, his formulation does provide a very positive account of the role which communities can play in assisting students to achieve in a way which is, perhaps, more empowering than the original ESEA's idea of it. Paige, on several occasions, delved into ways and methods which community members can pursue to help the children in their lives, along with promising them the information they would need to better help hold schools and school districts "accountable." In a positive sense, Paige is suggesting that communities can be responsible for student success if provided with the proper "tools," though on the flipside also responsible for their failure if they do not follow his advice or use the "tools" and "flexibility" which NCLB purports to provide to them, or use them in the right way. This brings up Rod Paige's discussion of "flexibility" within NCLB and its role in educational success.

*Flexibility*

A major part of Paige's pitch for NCLB and why it would work was that it would provide increased flexibility for the administration of schools and education, and this flexibility would make schools achieve better educational outcomes, academic outcomes which he suggested were the only outcomes which mattered.

> The Federal government has recognized in recent years that it is possible to achieve better results by reducing regulations, paperwork, and bureaucracy and giving States and communities the flexibility to create their own solutions to problems in areas like education, health care, and protecting the environment. In education, for example, the 1994 ESEA reauthorization greatly expanded eligibility for Title I schoolwide programs, which permit schools enrolling at least 50 percent poor students to combine Federal, State, and local funds to improve the quality of education for all students. Congress also created and expanded the ED-Flex Partnership program, which gives participating States the authority to waive Federal statutory and regulatory requirements in exchange for greater accountability for improving student achievement (February 15, 2001).

Paige suggests again, as discussed earlier, that the primary purpose of schools is to focus on the quality of education measured through outcomes-based assessment, a strictly academic basis, not the more socially oriented basis which motivated Lyndon Johnson and which James Bryant Conant articulated (Urban, 2009). With this goal in mind, Paige says that there will be a Federal government role, but that this role is primarily one of reducing its involvement, such as "waiv(ing) Federal statutory and regulatory requirements." This is significant because much of this Federal role in education was created and legally facilitated through Johnson's ESEA and was oriented towards Johnson's goals of the "war on poverty," and also civil rights, in other words social goals (Urban, 2009). To put Paige's perspective differently, he believed that increased educational attainment, measured through "assessments," is not only the only goal of schools but that this goal is best achieved by a Federal government which reduces its role and waives its requirements, many of which date back to the Johnson era, and include such things

racial integration, accessibility for students with disabilities, non-discrimination on the basis of sex, etc.

He points to "success" in other policy areas, like health care and the environment in support of this notion, making the explicit connection between educational policy and the broader Bush administration policy agenda and the belief that education is not a particularly special policy but just one among many that will benefit from a reduced Federal role and the elimination of regulations put in place in the past including by Johnson. In other words, the reduced Federal role is not just an educational policy prescription but one which the Bush administration believes is the solution for a broad range of policy issues and problems. This is a clear illustration of the Bush administration policy agenda of reducing the Federal government's regulatory and statutory role in society, a role which had been greatly expanded in the 20th century under presidents Roosevelt and Johnson in the New Deal and Great Society respectively.

In the context of this discussion of increasing flexibility, Paige nonetheless reasserts the Federal spending role in education.

> The federal government can be a great help in improving our schools. We can provide resources. We can reward success. And we can sanction failure. But we must also know when to stay out of the way. That is why flexibility will be an important component of the President's education plan. The federal government will give states and school districts the tools they need, but we will not weigh them down with unneeded and unnecessary regulations. Teachers, parents and administrators have the best understanding of the problems facing our schools, and they must have the freedom to fashion the best solutions (January 30, 2001).

In fact, he even alludes to an increase in spending in the name of flexibility which will help achieve the heretofore elusive (in Paige's words) accountability.

> President Bush's education plan is designed to include all students-No Child Left Behind. The No Child Left Behind Act contains new flexibility provisions especially designed for rural districts, as well as a program designed to supplement their federal program dollars to ensure they have adequate resources

> to meet accountability requirements and the needs of their students (February 12, 2001).

In other words, there is a recognition on Paige's part that the Federal program dollars would not be adequate in rural districts to meet accountability requirements imposed by the Federal government, necessitating "a program designed to supplement their federal program dollars," but that this is all in support of "flexibility" which ostensibly will lead to increased student achievement. The question about the Federal funding adequacy and flexibility appeared in one speech in which Paige addressed how the increased Federal oversight and "accountability" could be considered decreasing regulations as he repeatedly said NCLB would do.

> Some will ask, "How is our flexibility increased and federal red tape decreased if states are now required to demonstrate results through reading and math assessments in grades 3-8?" The answer is that focusing on student achievement will mean a reduction in requirements that have nothing to do with results. Decisions about your schools should be made locally, but your president and the Congress strongly support accountability in every school for the benefit of every child. When states use federal dollars, they should be held accountable for achieving good results (December 19, 2001).

This suggests that the "program" which would help pay for the inadequate budgeting for "accountability" would come in the form of redirected spending not necessarily increased wholesale Federal spending. It would be an increase courtesy of the accountants not the Appropriations Committee of Congress.

> President Bush's 2002 budget also would expand flexibility by giving States the authority to redirect the $1.2 billion provided for school renovation in the fiscal year 2001 appropriation. In addition to renovation of academic facilities, States would be permitted to allocate even more of their 2001 school renovation funds to special education and educational technology than is currently allowed. For 2002, the President is proposing to redirect these resources to other priority programs to help States meet their most pressing needs, including special education, turning around low-performing schools, and accountability reforms. While renovation and construction are needed in many areas, the limited grant funds will not make a significant dent in a problem that the National Center for Education Statistics has estimated would cost at least $127 billion to remedy. Instead, I believe State and local governments must take responsibility for financing school repair and

> construction. The President proposes to help school districts meet these demands by allowing States to issue tax-exempt private activity bonds for school construction and repair (December 19, 2001).

Paige is straddling a fine line here, between increasing flexibility and freedom for school districts and increasing control from Washington. He reconciles these two contradictory ideas with their complicated funding concerns by explaining that the extra accountability money would come out of money used for other purposes and that the determination of from where would be up to States and local districts. This not only enables schools to pay for increased "accountability" costs by redirecting money not spent on other regulatory requirements but increases freedom because schools would not be responsible for those other regulatory requirements, such as building new schools which he declared was a faulty measure of policy success anyway. It would be an effort and financial redirection of effort and outcome not an increase in oversight or spending.

In the original Bush administration proposal the money/flexibility provisions were extended beyond just the public schools and into private and religious school "choices' for families.

> The education bill is not the only way the President would give families more choices. His tax cut gives families more control over their children's education by giving them more control over their money. The bill increases the tax credit from $500 to $1000 per child. Another is an expansion of education savings accounts. This provision, which was vetoed twice by President Clinton, quadruples from $500 to $2000 the amount of money a family can invest each year in special tax-free accounts. For the first time, families can use this money not only for college, but also for tuition at private and religious schools. This shift will mostly help middle class students, but it also endorses the concept that tax-free accounts can be used for private or religious elementary and secondary education (February 12, 2001).

This provision would have increased Federal indirect support for religious and private education and seems to have been dropped because of opposition from the Democrats, as it does not appear in his speeches after the Spring. However, religious education is not the only "special interest"

educational issue which arose and later in the year, Paige addressed "special education," in a way which evokes this early formulation of parental choice for students.

> President Bush and I will apply the same four principles to IDEA that we did to ESEA. Accountability for results is just as important for all students with disabilities, including children who have learning disabilities. Flexibility and freedom from federal red tape can help school districts tailor their services to the needs of their students-something that has often eluded our special education policy under the current IDEA. Expanded parental options will help the parents of disabled children choose a format for services that fits their child's needs (August 27, 2001).

Taken together, these suggest an orientation towards educational policy which specifically diminishes the Federal role in all areas but "accountability" and does not lead to increased spending. It suggests that this policy will increase the control exerted over schools by parents, local districts and States.

> Every child's education should be a voyage of discovery, and the No Child Left Behind Act is all about discovering and disseminating information. Under the act, federal and state governments will find out what works, find out who needs help, and give more information and control to the people closest to the action: the parents, teachers, administrators and communities (December 19, 2001).

Beyond this direct quotation from the day after Congress passed the act but before Bush signed it into law, Paige repeatedly stated throughout the year that the way to enable success is by providing "tools and flexibility" to "States, school districts, schools, teachers and parents," but conspicuously not to children or students. Paige explains that the Federal government will "waive" requirements in exchange for increased "accountability" requirements but that this will represent a net decline in requirements and reduction in "red tape." He also suggests that the "accountability" will result from "assessments" and that these assessments will provide information and data, the tools to help guide decision-making at the State, school and parental levels.

Paige does not suggest that parents or teachers needed to be held "accountable" for their actions, but that they are being provided with tools and flexibility to "enable success" under NCLB (though not necessarily increased funding, just redirected funding). The implicit flipside to this is that if given the tools and flexibility for success then parents or teachers also will bear the burden for failure, and Paige explains that the Federal government will "sanction failure" through the deprivation of Federal funding which could be an indirect sanctioning of both teachers and parents. Paige directly explains that he, and by extension the Bush Administration, trust parents and teachers to do the right thing, though teachers do so under the threat of "sanctions" to the schools and districts which employ them, and begs the question about whether Paige meant to imply that parents and teachers were part of the "American people" consensus in their roles as parents and teachers or were merely going to be affected policy actors within the school system who NCLB would empower to "enable success." This latter understanding would mean that the consensus was with American people who did not have students in school or who were not teachers in the schools either, whereas the former suggests that teachers and parents wanted the "flexibility" in exchange for the increased "accountability" requirements which would accompany it.

This is not an idle question, given the frustration which many teachers and parents voiced after the statute was passed and continue to do so (Bushaw, 2008), and one which is best answered by examining the use of the terms "tools" and "flexibility." It is also noteworthy because Paige seems to include teachers in his understanding of "enabling success" and yet many teachers subsequently viewed the law as an intrusion on their prerogatives in the classroom because of the testing requirements (Paige's increased "accountability" requirements), as well as the provisions that allowed for the "restructuring" of schools, a process that could include the

voiding of teacher contracts bypassing the "due process" requirements written into many teacher contracts (Urban, 2009). Many non-teachers also perceived this statute as an attack on teacher incompetence with Moe (Peterson, 2003) even stating that the Teachers Unions wanted to specifically sabotage the accountability provisions in the statute.

Despite this, Paige is speaking about providing teachers and parents with tools to enable success, implying that they did not have access to these tools or that they could not access them because of the "red tape" which NCLB is going to cut. This is easily accounted for when one realizes that enabling success also means putting responsibility for failure on those who have been "enabled," as already discussed. It also provides a mechanism to government and political leaders to blame teachers and parents for failure. By placing blame on teachers and parents, who would have the "tools" necessary under the statute and the "flexibility" to use those tools, then the redefinition of responsibility for school failure can proceed, away from poverty and inadequate funding as it had been under Johnson and Conant and the ESEA, to parental and teacher failure as many had been attempting to do aggressively since the Reagan administration and the Nation at Risk report (Urban, 2009). Parental failure would bring up the issue of deficient communities in which parents are embedded and thus a deficient culture as Katz (1995) has suggested lies at the root of conservative critiques of welfare policy and educational policy. This means that though Paige specifically declaims "excuses" for failure and asserts that no child would be left behind, the structure of the statute he is passing would lead back to the same conclusion he declaims, that of pathology within impoverished communities especially those of color.

The term "tools" appears twenty-six times in the body of texts and it most often co-occurs with "flexibility" in the formulation seen above. This is why the discussion of "tools"

appears here. The term appears in two major ways. First it appears within sentences and paragraphs discussing standardized testing and testing's relationship to flexibility. "These tests are the best tool we have…." (February 12, 2001). The second major way is when it co-occurs with discussions entirely about "flexibility" in relation to parents and teachers and without a discussion of standardized testing. In this case the large oft-repeated paragraph first discussed in this chapter adequately demonstrates its meaning.

Taken together the two usages of the term tools suggest that assessment information about students (basically standardized-test results by virtue of Paige's own words) put in the hands of parents and teachers (and slightly less often States, school districts, schools and a few times he even said communities), are the main way that NCLB can achieve its goal of raising student achievement and closing the test gap between white and non-white students. This of course diminishes the other main point discussed elsewhere that the Federal government would make funding decisions based upon this data as well. This might have been a deliberate choice on Paige's part. Paige implies that parents and teachers are not able to make the correct choices or hold schools accountable for results without the information provided by testing specifically or assessments generally and the threat of Federal sanction would actually strengthen the hand of parents and teachers to make the requisite changes to educational practice. This lack of information has hampered the effective practice of education and NCLB will correct this by measuring the proper things and furnishing it to those at the local level whom Paige believes bear the greatest responsibility for success. Conversely though those at the local level will also bear the greatest responsibility for failure since NCLB, according to Paige, reduces the government's role to that of investor and supporter, not primary actor and dictator of policy.

In a sense Paige is defining a government role akin to that of Moody's, which rates bonds and the credit worthiness of institutions. After that it is up to the investors to make the proper choices, however, Paige also specifically defines the Federal government's role as that of an investor, so the government not only judges schools but an disinvest in them as well if it is not appreciate the outcome. The way that Paige defines this seeming power grab is by explaining that investment and evaluation are the only way that the government will interfere and that the rest of the decisions will be made locally as to organization and education practices, with the investment information freely and generously furnished to the local decision-makers.

This devolution of responsibility for holding schools accountable for their practices and monitoring those practices assumes that parents and other stakeholders will be able to properly make use of all the information which Secretary Paige and the Education Department is providing, an assumption that might be problematic in more impoverished areas where a lack of educational attainment and quality education is a generational issue. Despite this the seeming simplicity of standardized test data suggests that this will not be a problem because it is easy to judge numbers going up or down. More complex analyses of community-school interaction (Heath, 1983) and home-school interaction (Lareau, 2000) bring into question Paige's supposition.

Paige has a ready answer for this potential problem and that is his assertion about the "soft bigotry of low expectations."

> To meet our challenge, we need the support and commitment of the African American community. These are our children being left behind. And we must take action at every level. We must refuse to tolerate mediocrity. We must raise all our children up, from the first to the last. Start early! We've tried to run an education system without accountability for 25 years, and it has failed. We've tried accepting excuses instead of results, only to discover that employers aren't impressed by excuses. We've tried writing off kids as hard to teach, and all around

> our communities we see the consequences. Let's raise standards for all of our kids, and help them to meet those high standards (July 31, 2001).

With the stated formulation that schools have been held back by the "soft bigotry of low expectations" and more dramatic elaborations, like that above, Paige continues on the path towards the devolution of responsibility for the Federal government, which ostensibly was "accepting excuses," from financier of school practices and acceptor of excuses to investor and judge of results, Paige is further separating the Federal government from a role in poverty amelioration. He does this by strictly limiting the Federal government's role separating it from practice-oriented policies like building new schools, reducing class sizes, feeding children breakfast, etc. which were implemented by the Johnson administration and which aimed to improve education and schools for the amelioration of poverty. At one point Paige even specifically addressed the ESEA to declare it a failure and his discussion is revealing, necessitating a rather large selection below:

> As I waited for my confirmation hearing, I took the opportunity to become a student of the history of federal education legislation….. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, known in this town as ESEA, was the result of that vision. This is the legislation that first carved out a significant role for the federal government in public education. Considered by President Johnson to be the key to his Great Society, ESEA made it the policy of the federal government to provide financial assistance through Title I to schools that served large numbers of disadvantaged students so they could receive additional instruction and assistance. Over the past quarter of a century, the federal government has spent $125 billion dollars of taxpayers' money on Title I alone. That's an impressive amount of money to help disadvantaged school districts to succeed at the things Title I was set up to do. But after all that spending, while there are pockets of excellence scattered across this country, overall, we have very little progress to show for it. Over the past decade, spending has skyrocketed, but student achievement at every level and in every subject barely budged. In some cases, it went down. While there are excellent schools across America, our system is failing too many children. Nearly 70 percent of inner city and rural fourth graders can't read at a basic level. Reading scores have been flat. There is a persistent achievement gap between disadvantaged and minority students and their peers. The numbers show us that what we're doing is not working. I want to stop for a moment and reiterate this point-we know that what we have been doing for the

> past ten years has not worked. The skills and knowledge of our children are not getting better. It is time for something new (September 4, 2001).

Besides the shocking admission that a man who was a superintendent of a major urban district, Houston, did not understand or study the ESEA until nominated to be Secretary of Education, he specifically discusses the failure of ESEA as one of flat scores and a test score gap juxtaposed against increased spending. He says nothing of practice or broader societal factors though he does mention, as he often did, the test gap between inner-city minority-heavy districts, which are often dependent upon the Title I aid, and more affluent suburban and white districts which are not (Urban, 2009). By defining the issue as one of the "bigotry" against those poor-performing schools which are often minority-heavy in the "inner-city," Paige opens up the issues of race and racism in American life and he deals with it several times, but in surprising and distinctive ways depending upon his audience.

*Race Talk*

Paige spoke often about the racial test gap throughout the United States, the difference in scores that results when white and Asian American students score higher on standardized tests than their African American and Latino counterparts, throughout the year, but it was not his exclusive message regarding educational failure, just his dominant one. Although he spent the year citing test scores and the differences in test scores between white and African-American and/or Hispanic students, he also attempted to present an image of generalized school failure through reference to "disadvantaged" students or "rural" students. There are many reasons for this, but the most obvious that comes to mind has to do with Mucciaroni's (1990) and Gilen's (1999) insights about politically successful policies and politically toxic policies. It was to Paige's advantage to make the law seem universal to garner broader support, however, with

multiple data sets demonstrating that American parents tend to be satisfied with their own schools (Bushaw, 2009) he had to split hairs to a degree.

An example of how Paige attempted to split hairs and position the law universally while also making it seem like a problem with other people's schools was when he spoke of "finding the leadership that can take a stagnant system which has institutionalized the failure of minority and disadvantaged children, and transform it into a system that prepares children to step into a fast-changing, fast-paced future, the 21st century" (July 31, 2001). This rhetorical construction, from Paige's Urban League speech, suggests that disadvantaged students are those who are "lower-income" but who are not necessarily minorities. It also suggests that minorities might not even be disadvantaged but are still failing. This understanding that the failure of schools might be more universal than just among African-American and Hispanic students is aided by other Paige statements like "Achievement is up at all levels and among all races" (August 2, 2001) and, "At the same time that we sit here as products of the finest system of higher education in the world, nearly 70% of inner city and rural fourth graders cannot read at even a basic level" (August 11, 2001).

These statements attempt to position the law on a non-racial basis but also in a distancing way since the majority of Americans reside in suburban communities, not inner-city, nor rural ones. It also presupposes a need to do de-race the statute despite the constant repetitions of statistics about racial test gaps and references to African-American, Hispanic and "minority' students. Despite these occasional attempts to universalize the law the dominant note is really about a test gap between white and either African-American or Hispanic youth which provides a dominant racial tone to this law which ultimately enveloped most major districts in the United States, white or non-white, advantaged or disadvantaged.

This is an especially salient point because Paige specifically named lower-income students as having been the targets of the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a sort of race-blind model based upon the income means-test. It is also a statute which he deemed a failure. These rhetorical constructions and talking points suggest some ambiguity on the question of whether No Child Left behind was a statute for addressing racial issues or more general educational issues, and Paige attempts to have it both ways throughout the year as he did with the issue of government oversight and Federal government control over the schools. The distinctions between minority and disadvantaged students and the repeated citation of test gap data based upon race are important when looking at Rod Paige's discussion on race because he boldly proclaimed that "As Condi and Colin Powell and I can attest, we are not outside the system anymore; we are the system. It's our job now to make sure the system helps all of our people, especially the children" (December 7, 2001).

Despite the seeming ambiguity in individual speeches with Paige's distinction between explicitly racial constructions and more nebulous distinctions of "disadvantage" appearing in them, as a whole body of texts Paige presented this statute as one to address a racial test gap primarily. Paige repeatedly and explicitly discussed race including frequent citation of the so-called "Texas Miracle" (the narrowing of test gaps between white and non-white students on the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills). "If African American fourth graders everywhere scored as well as those in Texas, the national achievement gap between White and African American fourth graders in math would shrink by a third. If African American eighth graders everywhere wrote as well as their peers in Texas, the national achievement gap between White and African American eighth graders would be cut in half" (April 27, 2001). His discussion of this, along with then-Governor Bush's citation of the same during the presidential campaign, further

reinforced the notion that the bill's focus was primarily race, "inner city" or "urban communities" (Wellstone, 2001; Urban, 2009; Peterson, 2003), though "urban communities" and "inner-city" are often code language for race, as Gilens (1999) has demonstrated, which further reinforcing the racial component of the statute without making explicit racial references. However, there was no shortage of explicit racial referencing in George W. Bush's and Rod Paige's discussion of the "Texas Miracle." This is an explicitly racial "miracle" (though the term "miracle" is somewhat troubling in and of itself for an administration touting its stand against "the soft bigotry of low expectations" and yet deems the narrowing of test scores as a miraculous event), which presented the idea that Bush's educational policies focused on minority communities and the problems of minority schools, but they also were a part of his "compassionate conservatism" campaign strategy to reach out to minority communities in an attempt to bring them into the Republican bloc (Wellstone, 2001; Urban, 2009; Lakoff, 2004).

> A recent report by the Education Trust showed how successful we were in closing the achievement gap. Let me quote one sentence from the report: "If African American [eighth graders] in Arkansas, Hawaii, Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, and West Virginia could swap... writing scores with their counterparts in Texas, the African American-White achievement gap in all of those states would disappear (May 18, 2001).

Paige even made several speeches at Historically Black Colleges and Universities and the NAACP during the year, along with one touting the nascent statute soon before its Congressional passage in December at the National Council of Negro Women conference, a historic African-American advocacy group, which further underscored the seeming racial dynamics of this statute, in particular as part of the sales strategy during the year. This selection of venues, including at African-American advocacy groups such as the one that drove school integration (the NAACP), suggests that there was a significant and important racial component to this statute

especially when taken with the year's worth of discussion on test gaps and "the soft bigotry of low expectations."

Because there was such an important discussion on race throughout the year, despite references to ostensibly colorless "disadvantaged" communities, an analysis of Paige's rhetoric on race is quite important because it highlights the difficulty which the Bush administration in particular and perhaps the Republican party and/or conservative movement has addressing racial issues. As cited earlier, Paige referred to African-Americans as being "the system" and as not being "outside the system" as part of his rationale for why the system needed to focus on test gaps to "make sure it helps all out people, especially our children" (December 7, 2001). He is straddling a middle ground saying that African-Americans are the system, a sort of "racism is dead" statement, but also that African-Americans needed to be singled out, which is a sort of "legacy of racism" statement. Paige's reference to "our children" is important because he said it in front of an African-American advocacy group, asserting his African-American identity in support of the Bush administration's agenda, but as is apparent from surveying the texts, he only makes reference to his African-American identity at "urban" or "racial" groups or at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, like this reference from a speech at Grambling State University "As African Americans, our biggest educational challenge 40 years ago was access. Now our children have access to the schools, but access does not guarantee achievement" (May 20, 2001). In front of journalists or professional organizations where one might expect the majority to be white, Paige's race goes unmentioned and he does not reference "our" children or anything similar. This difference in policy targeting language and racial identification is not the only message difference that is apparent regarding race when taking into consideration the audience for the particular speech.

The late December speech at the National Council of Negro Women is a particularly important one because, besides targeting racially correlated test "gaps" for No Child Left Behind as he seems to have done regardless of audience, a large component of the speech also focused on telling the "community" what it could do for children, what its responsibilities for children were. Paige made a similar call for "community" responsibility in his speeches at the Urban League in July, NAACP in May, and at commencement addresses at Grambling State University and Jackson State University, also in May. This last place, Jackson State University, is particularly instructive with regards to Gilens' (1999) assertion about "urban" meaning minority because this historically Black university is officially designated the "Urban University of the State of Mississippi" (Jackson State University). Typical of Paige's discussion on community responsibility is the following, with a particularly noteworthy second sentence:

> The diploma you receive today is a powerful document. That is, if your personal values and your determination are worthy of that diploma. If so, you are your only limitation, because you can do anything you set your mind to do. The only question is "how bad do you want it?" The world is yours. Your diploma's value is equal to any other diploma anywhere. If, in your travels, you run into people who don't know Jackson State, you have a wonderful chance to make a good impression. Show them how a person with a good education behaves. Show them a person who takes learning seriously, who reads several major newspapers each day. Show them a person who takes care of his or her body - who is careful with diet and exercises regularly. Show them a person who serves her community, maybe in the civic club or the girl scouts. Show them a person who treats his neighbors as he would wish to be treated. Show them a person who never forgets to vote, and makes goods decisions, based not on thin whimsical gossip, but on sound information. Show them how a person with class behaves. In other words, show them a Jackson State graduate (May 20, 2001).

On a more explicitly educational basis Paige stated:

> I want you to spread the message that our children can learn. They need to hear it, and their parents need to hear it. I want you to spread the message that parents and grandparents and neighbors and babysitters can make a difference. I want you to tell them how to make that difference. When you get back home and people ask you what you learned in Washington, I want you to give them this news. The way they talk to their children matters. Reading with children matters. The choices

> teachers make matter. And above all, parents and communities can influence schools. We can't ship our kids off to school but ignore what goes on inside. We've tried that, and it didn't work. The adults of every neighborhood have a responsibility to the children of that neighborhood to ensure that the schools are using methods that work, and getting real results. Every one of us must take responsibility for this task. Our children will learn to read earlier and with more confidence. They will become participants in their education, not recipients. They will have more choices and more freedom. President Bush says reading is the new civil right. Let's give our children this right. If we do this, we can close the achievement gap. If we do this, we can heal our divisions. If we do this, we can become one nation in reality, not just on paper. If we do this, we can do anything (July 27, 2001).

This evident focus on informing "communities" of their role in promoting education, which in Paige's formulation meant "literacy" and "reading," and attempt to "educate" them on their role strongly is consistent with his perspective that local communities bear primary responsibility for the success or failure of schools and that the government's role should be limited in this regard to that of investor rather than operator. His message here is not explicitly except in his reference to literacy being a "civil right" and his juxtaposition of the "achievement gap" with "divisions" in society that his audience is responsible for healing, a remarkable assertion because it ties test scores, the achievement gap as Paige repeatedly defined it, with persistent social problems like racism in society. It is when one notes Paige's audience that his racial perspective becomes glaringly obvious. In front of minority audiences like that at Jackson State he explains that:

> Government on all levels must get on the right side of reform. But government cannot and should not do everything. All of you will have a role to play in making sure no child is left behind. As parents, neighbors, church leaders, community leaders, Big Sisters, scoutmasters, foster parents, social workers, volunteer tutors, school board members, you can help ensure that every child has advice, discipline, and role models, and that no child slips through the cracks (May 12, 2001).

Meanwhile at the National Council of Negro Women Paige stated that "We can't ship our kids off to school but ignore what goes on inside. We've tried that, and it didn't work. The adults of

every neighborhood have a responsibility to the children of that neighborhood to ensure that the schools are using methods that work, and getting real results" (December 7, 2001).

Paige's discourse about community responsibility and the implication that the "minority" communities, or African-American community in particular, have been deficient and are the ones that need to "heal the divisions" is clear from his own words, but is even more in evidence when comparing his speeches before these audiences to those the rest of the year or his address at the University of Alabama commencement a more integrated and historical white university. Here he recognizes the community and praises its contribution to the success of the graduating students:

> I also want to recognize those who helped you along the way: parents, grandparents, teachers, coaches, and friends. Academic achievement requires a committed team, not just a committed student. When you think about it, hundreds have served so that you could receive your diploma today and the opportunities that come with it. I wish I could say that all of the students in our country had the advantages and the support that helped most of you get here today (August 11, 2001).

When returning to one of his frequent themes, about reading to children and helping children to learn, he strikes a very different tone, implying the "service" nature of helping children learn instead of the obligation to address a deficit in schools or the community. He also made no mention of healing divisions in society by closing the "achievement gap," suggesting that Alabama students (including alums like Alabama Sen. Jefferson Beauregard Sessions) have an obligation for service not for healing racial divisions as Jackson State students do.

> This is my challenge to you today: Think about how you can use your education to serve others. As graduates of this great university, successful students and high achievers, you can make your success here mean something more than personal accomplishment. You can use it to improve the lives of children, the homeless, the sick, the elderly. I challenge you to put the interests of others alongside-or even before-your own. Use your education to enhance your own life and career, but also use it to help others (August 11, 2001).

The implication of this juxtaposition is pretty clear. Paige is coming at this problem from a perspective which is conservative in nature and which Murray (1994) articulated quite well regarding welfare policy, another social policy which the Republican Party had and has targeted since the 1970s. This perspective is that Federal welfare policy and government activity to make "war on poverty" created dependency and sapped the efficacy of communities who benefitted from welfare. For government to restore efficacy to those communities it has to cut off its funding and control and return responsibility to local communities and that part of this involved educating minorities about their responsibility for teaching children to read and taking responsibility for what happens in the schools and for healing divisions in society.

This impetus to "improve poor people," as Katz (1996) deemed it, is especially evident when examining Paige's speech at Alabama and contrasting it with those before other non-technical, but minority-heavy or minority-issue concerned audiences like Jackson State University, the NAACP, Grambling State and the National Council of Negro Women. At the latter, the obligation of the community to look out for itself is paramount in terms of education, taking responsibility for what happened in schools and not trusting government to get the job done. Meanwhile at the University of Alabama when Paige speaks of educating children, it is not about the obligation to address a shortcoming but as a "service" to children, maybe even those "disadvantaged" ones to whom he refers elsewhere in his speech, a "service" whose impetus derives from a sense of Christian responsibility, since he finishes the address by quoting the Gospel of Luke from the Christian Bible.

The implication is clear. When Paige speaks about "community" responsibility in his addresses to minority-heavy or minority-oriented audiences, it is never a passing mention but an extended discourse by which Paige exhorts his audience to take specific steps to help their

children to learn how to read and succeed in school as well as to hold schools "accountable" for doing the same. It is also about putting the impetus upon that audience to close the gap and "heal the divisions" in society, meanwhile in front of his Alabama audience he is exhorting his audience to "serve" their community because of their "privilege," and teaching children to read is part of that service. This is more evidence of Paige's systematic attempt to devolve responsibility away from the Federal government back towards the States and communities, to return responsibility for schooling back to the local, smaller communities and States, as well as to emphasize the role or private charity or 'service' to one's community instead of government action.

Paige has a certain amount of precedent on his side because, in the case of schooling, educational development in the United States was driven primarily from the local level. However, where his rhetoric runs into trouble is that this "local control" was viewed as an obstacle to progressive reform and effective education by those men Tyack deemed Administrative Progressives, conservatives, who operated during the Progressive Era and who devoted a great deal of effort to thwarting local control in favor of "expert" and government control and centralized administration (Tyack, 1974). It also ignores the fact that this "local control" and "State responsibility" for schools created a system of segregated and discriminatory school systems which many argue created the problem Paige is trying to fix. Not only that, but the expansion of government oversight over schools to thwart poor "local control" occurred some sixty years before Lyndon Johnson's administration passed the ESEA, the statute which many conservatives view as the "big government" intrusion in schools against which they are struggling (Stormer, 1998). This shows a marked disconnect between the historical development of schools and the policies which Paige is advocating, but this is perhaps not surprising for a man

who by his own admission did not study Federal educational policy until he was nominated to be Secretary of Education.

What is interesting in all this is that Paige does not exhort parents to help children prepare for the tests and exams which measure their success, but to simply encourage reading and literacy, because that was the root of all education, as he mentioned on several occasions and that this would ostensibly lead to higher test scores, even though half of the testing was in mathematics for which a test gap exists at least similar to that in reading. He does not avoid mention of testing as is evident with a casual perusal of this body of texts. His primary evidence of school failure are the statistics derived from standardized testing, but when it comes to parental responsibility it was for basic literacy skills whereas ostensibly the testing preparation, and math preparation was in the schools' and school districts' purview. His position is best summed up in his own words:

> If there are enough of us working in our neighborhoods, teaching parents to read to their children, holding schools accountable for results, lifting people up, refusing to take excuses--if there are enough of us, a little from each of us will be enough. Saving America's children is a challenge that is bigger than Washington, bigger than state capitals, bigger than the Secretary of Education, and bigger than the school boards (July 31, 2001).

As is evident, Paige does not consider success to be about the testing whose outcomes he cites so often, but about people taking individual responsibility. Although President Bush showcased his educational success on closing the test gap, Rod Paige does not argue that closing the test "gap" is the ultimate goal (though the one he mentions most often), but instead the more ambitious and nebulous "Saving America's children," while highlighting the test "gap" as evidence of the "soft bigotry of low expectations." This is obviously a much more emotional goal and also one whose success would not depend necessarily upon eradicating the test "gap," though Paige seems to suggest that it is. It is actually an immeasurable goal despite Paige's repeated called for

measurements of success in schools. This should not be surprising to observers of political rhetoric but nonetheless represents an inconsistency within rhetoric so dependent upon numbers to establish the validity of a problem, and yet he does not draw upon those numbers or set concrete goals as evidence of the solution to that problem, only closing test score gaps which for him would mean closing achievement gaps. Given the recent retreat by many in Congress from the 100% goal set in the No Child Left Behind statute, it was clearly a wise decision on Paige's part because the 100% goal does not hang around the Bush Administration's neck but Congress'.

Paige basically limits the goal to closing a "test gap" which would represent a closing of the "achievement gap" so that minority students could help "heal the divisions" in society. Government has a strictly limited role and issues of integration, segregation, or racism are unimportant in factoring school achievement or the success of No Child Left Behind. Paige clearly strikes a "color-blind" posture when he asserts that "we are the system." In fact, Paige only mentions "segregation" one time in the entire body of texts, and that is in reference to the speech he gave for the NAACP, the organization that brought the Brown case. This is shocking given that he devotes so much time to discussing race and racial separation of test scores and yet does not mention the racial separation of students and the fact that integration has not really been achieved and many leading scholars position segregation in schools as a leading cause of "achievement gaps." He does not even mention the word integration at all in his entire year's worth of speeches despite the fact that that was a major component of the Lyndon Johnson agenda of which he was so critical, and which Johnson did not really achieve, and which gains are being rolled back little by little according to Hochschild (Peterson, 2003). His constant discussion of neighborhoods however evokes the neighborhood plan of segregation which was specifically struck down by the Supreme Court in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case, and suggests

that integration and combating segregation is not on Bush's agenda even though the Supreme Court specifically said that "separate is inherently unequal" in the famous Brown decision.

*Special Education*

Related to the issue of on-going racial segregation, an issue that Paige deftly avoided, is that of segregation based upon the special needs of students and the current controversy over mainstreaming (integrating) students with special needs. So little does Paige speak about Special Education that it might not even be apparent within the data set, when taken as a whole, but when examined on the basis of chronology there is a cluster of speeches in late August through October in which Paige does mention and discuss Special Education. According to the *New York Times,* Sen. Russell Feingold from Wisconsin put a hold consideration of the No Child Left Behind proposal until his concerns regarding special education funding were addressed. They were addressed by a proposal from Sens. Chuck Hagel and Tom Harkin and then cut out of the bill during the House-Senate reconciliation process (Alvarez, 2001). During this hold on the bill, Rod Paige gave several speeches in which he addressed the topic of special education, but in particular special education funding, which suggested the Bush Administration's priorities regarding education.

Of primary concern to Paige was the misidentification of students as special needs students and the cost and payment structure for special education programs. He said:

> Any miss-identification means resources are not reaching the children for whom they are designed, so we need to correct that problem. We have already begun to address these problems in the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Last week, the Department began holding local hearings on special education. President Bush has appointed a commission, led by the former governor of this state, Terry Branstad, to examine our special education systems and recommend changes to the federal role. It is not enough to get children with special needs into classrooms. We must raise standards and expectations for them and help them to meet our expectations (October 17, 2001).

The last part of the preceding selection suggests the second important component of Paige's message during this time period and it was consistent with his message regarding minority students and suggested no difference between students with special needs and students from "minority," "disadvantaged," "rural" or "inner-city" backgrounds.

> Each day children are dismissed as "hard to teach," which is just education shorthand for the economically disadvantaged, limited English proficiency, and special ed students. Once you accept the category of kids called "hard to teach", you've turned school into a daycare center that produces unhappy, sullen adults with no skills. But that's what we've spent the last thirty years doing. We've been victims of the soft bigotry of low expectations; and we've also been its perpetrators (May 11, 2001).

In other words the problem of educating students who have special needs is the same as students from minority backgrounds. It is a simple and cost-effective solution, just demand and expect more from students with special needs. As Paige sees it the biggest problem is "Our special education system has a big problem with the over-enrollment of minority students, and reports have shown that IDEA, as it stands now, leaves too much room for this problem" (June 30, 2001). In fact, Paige goes so far to suggest that the solution to the challenges of education students with special needs at a conference for students with special learning needs is the same as closing the "achievement gap."

> President Bush and I will apply the same four principles to IDEA that we did to ESEA. Accountability for results is just as important for all students with disabilities, including children who have learning disabilities. Flexibility and freedom from federal red tape can help school districts tailor their services to the needs of their students-something that has often eluded our special education policy under the current IDEA. Expanded parental options will help the parents of disabled children choose a format for services that fits their child's needs (August 27, 2001).

Along with this assertion of principles Paige also repeatedly assured his audiences, during this time period, that the President was committed to fully funding the Federal government's share of special education, likely in reaction to the Hagel-Harkin amendment which would have legally

required the government to do so and which the House-Senate committee stripped from the final bill after it had passed in the Senate version (Alvarez, 2001).

Part of the problem with Paige's assertion about high expectations leading to success is that the IDEA does not address mental disabilities but physical ones such as access which are independent of expectations, and these often coincide with higher costs for such things as access ramps or sign language interpretation. This is a realization that someone in the Bush Administration had early in the year but the solution obviously did not satisfy the Senate because of the problems in late Summer, early Fall. Paige articulated his first solution to the problem in a way which did not single out special education per se but which mentioned it as part of a cluster of problems as he did with lumping students with special needs as those who suffer from the "soft bigotry of low expectations."

> In addition to renovation of academic facilities, States would be permitted to allocate even more of their 2001 school renovation funds to special education and educational technology than is currently allowed. For 2002, the President is proposing to redirect these resources to other priority programs to help States meet their most pressing needs, including special education, turning around low-performing schools, and accountability reforms (March 8, 2001).

So the problem of special education funding was one that clearly was waiting for its moment or for a Senate advocated like Russell Feingold because Paige's solution was take money from school renovation to pay for special education, even though part of the problem of providing adequate education for students with special needs involves renovations, particularly of aging infrastructure as exists in many urban and rural areas.

Paige's proposed solution to the funding issues with special education was, however, consistent with his proposals for funding more generally which was that the Bush Administration would "enable success" by providing flexibility for the spending of Federal money in exchange for "accountability." This funding issue warrants special discussion because, as will become

apparent and as this interactive-hermeneutic exploration uncovered, it is at the bottom of everything else already discussed and the special education debate from late Summer, early Fall, simply shined a strong light upon it and its relation to the overall Bush Administration education agenda and governing ideology.

*Enabling Success*

Paige repeated spoke about "enabling success" through Federal government action, but also suggested that the Federal government's best course of action was to redefine its role into one as an investor rather than an operator of education. His rhetoric about "accountability" linked it to the combination of "flexibility" and "local control" which have been discussed individually already in part. However, it is the linkage of the three concepts that appears to lay at the heart of the Bush Administration education agenda and the discussion of Special Education funding just highlights this fact. When pressed about funding for special education under the IDEA, Paige retreated to the same formulation about accountability and expectations and discussed flexibility in spending as solutions to a problem which arose because of a separate law which since 1974 had committed the Federal government to a particular funding standard, 40% of special educational funding (Urban, 2009). The Federal government "enables success" by implementing "strong accountability" in exchange for providing "local control" at the district level and a changeable, "flexible" system of organization and spending. Paige dealt with the seeming contradictory nature of this by suggesting that the Federal government would invest in schools and add or withdraw money based upon the outcomes of "assessments."

> The federal government can be a great help in improving our schools. We can provide resources. We can reward success. And we can sanction failure. But we must also know when to stay out of the way. That is why flexibility will be an important component of the President's education plan. The federal government will give states and school districts the tools they need, but we will not weigh them down with unneeded and unnecessary regulations. Teachers, parents and

> administrators have the best understanding of the problems facing our schools, and they must have the freedom to fashion the best solutions (January 30, 2001).

Given that the statute suggests true "accountability" comes from "local control" yet establishes stronger federal oversight, there is a suggestion that there was neither "accountability" nor important enough "local control" under the existing statute, Goals 2000, which set lofty academic achievement goals (Urban, 2009) but, according to Paige's repeated statements, little consequences for failure since the funding was still primarily means-contingent. Schools received funding based upon the demographic characteristics of the students and not their test scores. It also suggests that while "local control" is valuable for decision-making purposes it cannot be trusted in areas of "accountability." Under the then-extant system, the Federal government regulated the spending of allocated monies and as long as the monies were spent according to the guidelines then they would continue to allocate them. These regulations, several times called derisively "red tape," imposed by the government, included mandates for spending certain amounts of the money for school renovation, book purchases, teacher hiring and training, vocational education etc, along with additional regulations like adherence to civil rights guidelines (States, school districts and schools could not actively discriminate or maintain segregated school systems) and separation of church and state (States, school districts and school could not use the money to promote one religion over another or "excessively entangle" the school in a religious enterprise as dictated by Supreme Courts' articulation of the three-pronged "Lemon Test"). President Bush's proposals would have made it easier for the States and school districts to do things which have been opposed by teacher's unions for example, like merit pay and alternative certification, in other words reducing requirements created through the contract negotiation process as well as by Federal law which among other things protects contracts and Union collective bargaining rights.

> And just as we want children to be excited about learning, we want teachers to remain excited about teaching. So the President will simplify the federal teacher quality grants to allow states and school districts more flexibility in teacher training. States can use this funding to promote alternative certification, bonus-pay for teachers in high-need subject areas and high-poverty schools, and mentoring programs. The President is also proposing tax deductions of up to $400 to help reimburse teachers for the out-of-pocket expenses they incur during every school year (February 12, 2001).

Towards the beginning of the year Paige was more direct in terms of President Bush's overall educational agenda for the schools themselves.

> The President is proposing to increase the choices available to parents through a new $175 million Charter Schools Homestead Fund. The program dollars will be used to provide grants to leverage funds to build, lease, purchase, or renovate facilities for use by charter schools. A $200 million request for the regular Charter Schools programs, an increase of $10 million, would support approximately 1,780 new and existing charter schools that offer enhanced public school choice and have the flexibility to offer innovative educational programs in exchange for greater accountability for student achievement (April 25, 2001).

In other words, President Bush did not want the Federal government to concern itself with the above mentioned issues but to allow schools to "offer innovative educational programs" in other words to focus exclusively on classroom learning matters and not bigger social issues. Paige also was quite direct in stating that some of this Federal money could be used for private and religious schools.

However, that was not all. Another strategy for "enabling success," to which Paige repeatedly referred, was by "consolidate[ing] overlapping and duplicative grant programs" (March 7, 2001; March 8, 2001; February 15, 2001). He suggests that by eliminating redundant grant programs he will make it easier for "States and districts [to] decide how to use their share of the single grant resulting from this combination of Federal funds" (March 7, 2001; March 8, 2001; February 15, 2001; February 12, 2001). He explains that there are too many different grant programs that complicate the simple objective of educating students because of different

mandates and "paperwork burdens." He suggests that by combining the grant money into one single grant, a block grant, States would have the flexibility to spend the money as they see fit in support of increasing their "local control." It is here that governing ideology President Bush brought to the White House becomes more apparent. This strategy of combining "duplicative grant programs" is one which Republicans have pushed in the past, starting with Richard Nixon's Community Development Block Grant program from 1974, and Congressional Republicans' Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act, or as it is commonly known "welfare reform."

These represent earlier attempts to remodel and combine categorical grant programs, sometimes derisively called "entitlements," while removing the mandates and requirements attached to them in much the same way which Paige implies NCLB will reform educational grant programs. The idea motivating them was that the State governments better understood the problems and concerns of the state and thus were better positioned to allocate money where it would do the most good, and that by giving the money as a block grant there would be fewer reporting requirements, thereby simplifying the job of Federal oversight. It has a logical ring of truth and this reasoning led directly to the repealing of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917 by the No Child Left Behind Act, a piece of legislation which epitomized the Administration Progressive attempts to undermine "local control" while promoting an industrial education to train workers for the American economy (Urban, 2009). Under this statute the Federal government had provided funding for vocational education programs, supervised by a national vocational education board of appointed professionals, and was thus quite likely considered an example of a "redundant" program by Paige and the Bush administration, since

Title I money could already be allocated to vocational programs and other facets of Johnson's ESEA called for funding of programs with a vocational emphasis.

Another of these funding mandates under the extant program specifically singled out by Paige was under an appropriation in the budget for 2001 (President Bill Clinton's last budget before leaving office) targeted for school renovation, which became important during the discussion of Special Education funding. Paige explained several times throughout the year that the Bush administration would allow States to redirect more Federal school renovation funds towards "special education and educational technology than is currently allowed" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). Paige explains that, "State and local governments must take responsibility for financing school repair and construction" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). In support of this the Federal government would allow the States "to issue tax-exempt private activity bonds for school construction and repair" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). Why are these three dates so important? These are the days when Rod Paige appeared before Congress to give testimony on the Bush Administration proposals for the bill which would become No Child Left Behind and that represent the most thorough discussion of policy details from the entire year. This is a classic piece of post-Reagan policymaking in that it devolves responsibility for a core educational function downward to the State and "community" level and puts the onus on local districts to use bond programs to finance programs which the tax base could not otherwise support. By allowing the States and school districts to divert existing funds they can solve what Paige called "their most pressing needs, including special education, turning around low-performing schools, and accountability reforms" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). He also explains that while renovation is surely needed, the existing grant program "[would] not make a significant dent in a problem that

the National Center for Education Statistics has estimated would cost at least $127 billion to remedy" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001) and thus the limited funds should and could be diverted for other projects. Meanwhile private investment mechanisms would fill the fiscal gap in addressing the physical plant problem of decaying educational infrastructure and inaccessible facilities for those with physical disabilities.

An added benefit of this, as Paige explains, is that private money used for school building and renovation need not go exclusively to public schools but could be used to build charter schools or renovate buildings for use by charter schools. Towards the beginning of the year Paige even championed a special appropriation bill which would have provided funding especially for the purpose of "leverage[ing] funds to build, lease, purchase, or renovate facilities for use by charter schools" (April 25, 2001). Charter schools are not necessarily public schools, and can be for-profit companies or the creation of private religious organizations. They can also by-pass teacher certification requirements (unless of course the Federal government subsidizes "alternative certification" programs). This means that these Charter Schools are sometimes at the center of controversy, controversy which blocks them from accessing money intended for traditional public schools administered by directly-elected or governmentally-appointed public school boards, as opposed to religious institutions or for-profit companies who are accountable only at the end of their charter date (Urban, 2009). Private, religious, or for-profit access to this public money, of course, would not be possible under the ESEA's original formulation that targeted money for rebuilding public schools and the "Education for All Handicapped Children Act," PL 94-142, which committed the Federal government to paying a large share (40%) of the costs of making public schools accessible to children with physical disabilities. It seems quite likely that controversy surrounding this 'Charter School Homestead Act' caused Paige to drop it

from his later discussions, especially later in the year when he devoted so much time to discussing the devolution of responsibility to local entities, a position which would seem at odds with a Federal program to specifically help fund charter school building and renovation while Paige was explaining that such spending was better done with "private activity bonds" for public, non-charter, schools. This does not mean that the ultimate goal of using Federal public money to support religious, private or for-profit schools was gone though.

Paige mentioned this idea of redirection of money away from building renovation and construction three times towards the beginning of the year, before dropping it from his speeches in favor of a commitment to "to helping States meet their obligations under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act [PL 94-142]… the President's budget will provide increased funding for the Part B Grants to States program." This transformation in rhetoric might have been the result of public hostility or else political hostility from Democrats who controlled the Senate towards the end of the year and had been sharing power with the Republicans up to that point. It could also have been the result of political calculations to get the bill passed after Sen. Feingold's hold on the bill because of Special Education funding concerns.

As already discussed the commitment to IDEA funding passed the Democratically-controlled Senate by an amendment and then was conspicuously dropped during the bill's reconciliation negotiation in December. It had not appeared in the Republican-controlled House version. This discussion about funding and reallocation of existing funding rather than increasing funding implies that the President Bush's administration was not keen to increase Federal spending on education, especially not on "public schools," which the president's administration singled out for reform, as opposed to the Charter Schools whose funding he originally had proposed increasing through a special fund. The No Child Left Behind Act which punished

"failing" schools by taking away their funding might actually have been originally structured to diminish Federal school funding overall, especially if Charter Schools were going to receive the funding on a "homesteading" basis, that is a one-time set-up fund, after which they could be privately financed by for-profit corporations or religious organizations and yet still be advanced by the administration as public school options despite their private, religious or business nature. The battles over the Community Development Block Grants in the Nixon and Reagan years are instructive in regard to this potential defunding strategy, whereas President Bush's creation of the Office of Faith-Based Initiatives demonstrates his clear comfort with providing Federal money to religious organizations to perform public roles as some could have done with his Charter School proposals.

As mentioned earlier, the discussion of Special Education disappeared in March and did not reappear until late August, ostensibly when the issue of Special Education funding threatened to delay or derail the No Child Left Behind Act in the Senate. Paige's response in December is instructive about the administration's intentions and beliefs regarding school funding. They sought to abolish distinctions in funding programs through the creation of educational block grants. They specifically stated that school building and renovation were local responsibilities which the President Bush did not believe he was responsible for supporting. To this effect rather than guarantee a budgetary allocation for special education as PL 94-142 did, Paige simply proposed allowing States to redirect existing funding to meet unmet needs. It is clear from Paige's statements, despite his attempts to blur the issue, regarding Special Education funding that the Bush administration was seeking to ultimately diminish the funding role for the Federal government in public education while at the same time increasing its oversight role for those monies already allocated, under the guise of increasing flexibility. It was an increase in control

with no clear corresponding increase or commitment to increased "buy-in" or, to use Paige's term, "investment." In fact the mechanisms were in place to remove funding from poor performing schools if the test scores did not increase as an aggregate or as a statistical subgroup.

This discussion seems to suggest that there was going to be a battle about funding under No Child Left Behind since there was exactly that right before its passage according to the *New York Times* (Alvarez, 2001), forcing Paige to devote time to the issue in his Fall speeches, after having paid little attention to it throughout the summer. Since that time the battles over No Child Left Behind funding have often had dimensions such as "unfunded mandates" as some call them (Pendell, 2008). In other words, the battle over NCLB's implementation was about the increased Federal government supervision and reporting requirements, which were aimed at "accountability," which were paired with an apparent reluctance on the part of the government to increase funding to meet those requirements. Since the only commitment the government publicly made about funding for NCLB before its enactment was that funds could be redirected with fewer strings attached in the form of block grants, and not necessarily that funding would be increased, or at least increased sufficiently, the conflicts were quite predictable. Paige even said directly, "The primary means toward this goal is to spend the $9 billion Federal investment in Title I more effectively and with greater accountability" (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). This was $9 billion out of the entire $44.5 billion dollars Bush proposed for the Department of Education for the fiscal year 2002, and a number which Secretary Paige did not single out as an increase from the 2001 budget despite speaking about funding increases in other areas (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001). This was even though the "disadvantaged," "low income," students of whom Paige frequently spoke in other venues are those targeted by Title I directly and by design. It is those same students for whom, according to

some like Sen. Wellstone and Jonathan Kozol (2001), not enough money was being spent even before Congress enacted NCLB. In other words, the Bush Administration was pretty clearly communicating its view that the problem was not one of funding adequacy or inadequacy under Title I but in the usage of those funds by the "states, school districts, and schools" serving children who qualified for Title I assistance from the Federal government under the existing statute, the duplicative grant structure, the bureaucratic reporting requirements for such things as desegregation, number of schools built etc, which according to Paige led to the lack of "accountability" for "results" (test score increases) after spending that money.

*Rod Paige on Federal Educational Policymaking*

Paige was clear about the intent of the law, but perhaps Democrats were not listening. This statute was, for him, about putting responsibility on the schools, states and "communities," and cutting off Federal spending on "failing" enterprises so they would have to be privatized, first with "private activity bonds" and later perhaps by the vouchers which he initially advocated but quickly dropped during that first year. He spoke, at the beginning of the year, about President Bush's support for vouchers for children to enroll in private school, and a proposed tax credit for private school tuition. This was not about putting the Federal government at the center of solving problems and believing the government could do so, as it was when Lyndon Johnson enacted the first version of the law, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Urban, 2009). In fact, this was about strictly limiting the Federal government's role. The Federal government dispensed money and could take it away. The Federal government was an investor, spending money, expecting a return and taking the money out if it did not approve of its return on that investment. It was not an investment in children necessarily but an investment in educational enterprises, schools, which were supposed to educate children and deliver measurable outcomes, the way

business enterprises deliver profits and figures. As Paige said directly, one need only set the bar high and the children will reach it. Reaching the bar in a strictly test-based educational sense was Paige's only concern.

At no time did he speak about quality of life for "disadvantaged students," as Kozol and Wellstone (2001) and others did and do. In fact, Paige even argued that such matters were not up to the school but up to the students themselves. Paige called upon African-American students to demonstrate that their "personal values and your determination are worthy" (May 12, 2001) in fact. Paige described the school as an educational enterprise, not a social enterprise in essence. It was the school's concern for such "community" and "social" issues that was responsible for children not learning. It really was the community that had to be responsible for the school as his many discussions on "neighborhoods" and community responsibility illustrated. Just giving money to schools to build and provide services was not helping them. They needed to be held responsible for that money.

It was an argument very reminiscent of the one surrounding welfare reform in the Clinton years as the literature review demonstrates. In this case though, children, the recipients of federal educational aid, bore no responsibility for their educational outcomes, only to prove their worthiness for that diploma after they earned it. This is quite unlike welfare recipients who ostensibly were adults with diplomas and who were in need of "reconciliation" between their "personal responsibility" and the "work opportunities" that were supposedly available to them. In the case of children in schools it was the schools, school districts and "communities" that bore the responsibility, and if children were failing it was the fault of these entities, not the fault of the children. If these entities continue to fail then the government's role is not to invest more money in failure but to punish this failure through sanctions as diverse as deprivation of funds and

forced restructuring, including privatization. One they students graduate though, it was their duty to prove their worthiness of the diploma as he informed Jackson State graduates or to provide "service" as he exhorted his Alabama audience to do, ostensibly assuming that the Alabama students already were worthy.

Of particular note is how Paige stayed away from a "communities" discussion unless he was in front of a minority or urban audience. When speaking to research think-tanks, the press or Unions he focused on schools, states and school districts or at the historically white University of Alabama on the goal of providing Christian service after taking care of one's self. Those times in which he was in front of minority-oriented audiences he devoted a great deal of time to discussing the "community" and what their responsibilities were and how to execute those responsibilities. This seems to be part of the classic conservative understanding about "minority" students and "urban" schools, that money would not solve the problem, but that the "community" is at a deficit, is failing, just as much as the schools are (Murray, 1994; Katz, 1996). He did not lecture University of Alabama on proving their worthiness to receive their diplomas, but limited his discussion of the community's responsibility and worthiness to just the Urban League, Jackson State University graduates, Grambling State graduates, the NAACP and "Negro Women." This rhetorical orientation probably helped encourage the perception that this was an urban- or minority-oriented statute and helped contribute to the shock expressed by so many when suburban schools and pre-dominantly white schools got swept up in the No Child Left Behind Act's sanction regime, especially since, theoretically, the parents and members of these "communities" were worthy, responsible, and disciplined, as evidenced by their middle- and upper-class lifestyles (Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff, 2002).

State government actors seemed to be absent from the public discussion of the law except when, according to the *New York Times* (Alvarez, 2001), Republican Senators lobbied and won inclusion of State-by-State standards for the tests. Paige did mention the States often, lumping them in with school districts and schools as those entities, which the American public needed to hold "accountable," and which presumably had been unaccountable previously. This likely did not go over well with State governments, as few actors and especially not political actors would enjoy being blamed for complex problems. However, it seems that the States were overly optimistic about schools in their States and when the test numbers came back, setting up large numbers of schools and school districts for sanction, they could have been pleased (Albrecht, 2003). As Hess (Peterson, 2003) predicted, they revolted against the standards which they had themselves set, but this must have seemed like a losing strategy given that Paige had blamed the States in the first place as part of the problem. Because of this the States instead set out to condemn the law legislatively or bring suit against the government for the extra expenses they claimed to accumulate adhering to the testing and reporting guidelines imposed by the statute (Urban, 2009). This strategy has gained a lot of traction and the complaint about "unfunded mandates" has become a stock statement when critics of the law speak (Pendell, 2008).

At any rate, with the funding issues left unresolved by the statute, particularly after the elimination of the guaranteed special education funding provision from the Senate version of the bill Democrats could vote for it expecting lots of funding (for "failing" schools in "disadvantaged" areas) and Republicans could vote for it expecting little funding for "failing schools" and sanctions (the deprivation of funding among others) to punish schools that were not improving. States were mollified by the concession which allowed them to set their own

standards for their own tests while Congressional Republicans did not have to worry about excessive Federal involvement because of this same concession (Victor, 2001).

After the budget process allocated too little money in 2002 (according to Democrats and many State governments) the law lost its shine. When "local" schools, including perhaps especially suburban schools in middle class areas, were declared "failing" and extensive reporting on this was required by a Federal government then the "intrusion" on local control became an issue which upset Republicans as well. Very quickly a statute which was quite popular in its theory became intrusive and disruptive, and the seeming widespread support evaporated (Elmore, 2003). Paige's successor Margaret Spellings remained supportive of the law and began attempting to fix it without going to the legislative process and the Bush Administration remained generally supportive of its tenets arguing that it was a matter of implementation primarily, though many have differing opinions about what was lacking in particular with the implementation (Dillon, 2008).

*Lakoff on Rod Paige*

How does Lakoff's theory about rhetoric and political discourse fit with this statute, or more particularly about the discourse this paper explores about the law? It helps researchers to understand not just the various perspectives articulated but also provides researchers with clues for understanding how perspectives on educational policy relate to broader views of government and society, perspectives which clarify the goals of the proposals and help explain the limited understandings and seeming swing in popular support for the policy (Bushaw, 2008). They help clarify the deeper meanings of Paige's discourse. Rod Paige's speeches enshrined the sort of perspectives which Lakoff suggests are typical of conservatively-minded individuals (Lakoff, 2002).

Lakoff (2002) contends that his two political morality structures map on to a whole range of policies which, most important, exist independent of particular details and sometimes despite the actual details. In other words, a policy might do the exact opposite of what it says and yet still somehow seem as if it was going to do the opposite. Rich (2006) gives the example of the Healthy Forests initiative, which led to the opening up of multiple Federal lands to logging and led to the destruction of many forests in the name of "health," and also the "Clear Skies" initiative which ironically led to a decrease in the caps on air pollutants which companies could produce and release. Lakoff (2004) contends that examples such as Rich's indicate that political policy-making is actually two separate phenomena, the rhetoric about the policy and policy problem, and then the actual policy. These two different phenomena might actually might even be at complete cross-purposes as Rich (2006) demonstrated, which demonstrates the importance of understanding the rhetoric, sometimes even above understanding the policy details themselves. The most obvious contradiction that some would suggest is how Rod Paige continuously suggests that the Federal government was reducing its role and getting out of the way while at the same significantly increasing its oversight role. This is akin to the "Clear Skies" and "Healthy Forests" initiatives if Rich's (2006) analysis can be trusted.

There is even more to it than just Rod Paige's positioning of the law as a reduction in Federal government oversight in homage to conservative values while increasing it though. Rod Paige's rhetoric clearly aims to evoke a positive response in a conservatively-minded individual, even if just conservatively-minded about schools. Paige's constant usage of the words sanctions, punishments and accountability are specifically aimed at a Stern Parent understanding of school politics, while speaking about equity and understanding the challenges faced by children and schools either as a result of poverty, race or other social factors, as Wellstone and Kozol (2001)

did, is a Nurturing Parent model which has no place in the Bush Administration's governing agenda despite rhetoric about "compassionate conservatism." The utter lack of Nurturing Parent evocative language within Paige's speeches suggests in a practical sense that despite generally "liberal" or "conservative" mindsets there could be closer agreement in this particular policy realm, education, at least regarding "minority" or "disadvantaged" or "inner-city" schools. This would be apparent through the widespread acceptance or usage of similar terminology which evoked one or the other perspectives on the policy. In other words there might be more of a "conservative" mindset motivating policy towards education regardless of political party affiliations. In other words, the overwhelming bi-partisan support for the law in Congress and the predominance in Paige's speeches of one perspective with distinguishable rhetorical word choices can reasonably allow the researcher to infer that there is a dominant perspective of the American people regarding educational policy, or at least regarding other people's schools, since the widespread protesting and shock that has resulted since the implementation of No Child Left Behind suggests that many did not think its provisions applied to their schools or even perhaps to their States.

The actual provisions of No Child Left Behind seem to correspond quite directly to a Stern Father morality, emphasizing discipline and punishment, but not discipline and punishment towards the children as we might expect given the history of schools, but instead it was discipline aimed at the schools, school districts, and States. However, the parents' view, and maybe some Congress members' or Senators' points of view as well, of the need for "stern" measures might very well have been from a perspective wherein "my" or "our" schools are good and did not need punishment while other schools, other districts and even other States needed

this discipline and punishment, such as those in the "inner-city" or "rural" or "disadvantaged" areas of the United States.

*Treating Schools How Educators Once Treated Children*

Paige's rhetoric in this study is fascinating in its implications and historic roots. One hundred years ago when American educators first began to apply testing and "educational measurement" in the schools there was a lot of discussion on increasing the "efficiency" of schooling through this practice and helping to guide students properly towards their destinies (Callahan, 1962). It was definitely about the installation of discipline through punishment of children in the school buildings (Katz, 1995). IQ tests were used to "measure" children's intelligence so that teachers and administrators could make effective tracking placement decisions (Urban, 2009). This was in the early years of Vocational Education and at a high point in American racism. As a result, IQ test results were used to create long lists comparing Racial Intelligence to justify continued racism, racism which eventually led to immigration quotas and which was coincidental with the solidification of Jim Crow segregation in Southern schools and the creation of de facto segregation in many Northern schools and school districts (Gould, 2008; Urban, 2009). By comparing children based on IQ test scores educators could determine which ones deserved "higher" education (high school education and college preparation) and which would be tracked "down" (into vocational education programs) or tracked right out of the schools altogether and into the industrial workforce of de-skilled assembly line work where punch-clock discipline was highly prized and skills were not (Callahan, 1962).

The educational leaders of the day directly spoke about instilling "discipline" in the students and "efficiency" in the effort or investment towards that disciplinary goal (Urban, 2009). It was an explicit business model deriving initially from Frederick Taylor's work on

"scientific management," a model to which Paige alludes when his discussions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act speak of the law as an "investment" on the part of the Federal government for which it should demand an adequate return. If there was no such return than there would be divestment by that same government from the public school system, and perhaps an investment in alternative methods, such as private companies and private schools, including religious ones. This language referencing private schools is not as evident later in the year, but was direct and unequivocal at the beginning of the year and was also rhetorically connected to the idea of "choice" and "flexibility," ideas which Paige never de-emphasized although he disconnected them from his initial proposals regarding Charter schools and vouchers.

This use of test scores for judgment has now come full circle. Whereas once test scores were used to judge children against each other by "professionals" in the education world, those same scores under No Child Left Behind are now used to judge schools and those same "professionals" against each other, by the government and the "community." Similarly, just like the original Alfred Binet IQ test was used to find students who needed extra help so that such help could be provided (Gould, 2008), but ended up being used by Lewis Terman (and others) for tracking and categorizing students in the USA in a way that punished them and maintained the economic order (Gould, 2008; Urban, 2009), so now No Child Left Behind's tests are used to theoretically determine which schools are in trouble, not to provide them with extra assistance, but to 'sanction' them for their "failures" and move towards eliminating public federal funding for those schools and maybe public education altogether, to track public schools out of the system altogether as it were.

Just like the IQ tests, this is done for the "good" of the students, but just like the IQ tests it disregards social forces which impact student achievement beyond just the classroom teacher

and classroom experience just as Callahan (1962) so clearly identified many years ago with the practice of tracking and IQ testing. With the IQ tests, the blame for poor achievement was laid on the race of the child in defense of a racial view of the social order (Gould, 2008), but now the blame for poor achievement is put upon the school and school districts which are educating the child to advance a goal of promoting a similar social order (Katz, 1995). This social order is the one before the New Deal created a role for the federal government as protector of the well-being of citizens, an extremely limited role which the government filled right around the time that IQ tests became standard institutional practice in the public school system, and to which many like Murray (1994) and Stormer (1998) wish to return. It is worth noting that when Goals 2000 passed Congress in 1994 the very same Murray who had attacked welfare policy (Murray, 1994) co-authored a text with Richard Herrnstein *The Bell Curve* (1994) which attempted to revive the old arguments about IQ and its relationship to school achievement, which would have also been useful in arguing for a reduction in the government role in education by declaring some people uneducable. The general disdain with which that book was met might have led to a re-evaluation of the strategy for attaining the same goals.

A significant change from this earlier era of tracking and IQ testing, which Herrnstein and Murray (1994) attempted to revive, is the orientation towards parents and the community. The IQ test supporters enthusiastically tried to exclude family members and parents from interfering with the schools, considering them incompetent to judge and evaluate school practice and the education profession (Tyack, 1974), but now the NCLB boosters argue, as Paige did, that the community is both capable and responsible for intervening with the students and for "holding schools accountable." This is, seemingly, a much more empowering message and can thus account, perhaps, for the initial support for the statute and those large vote totals in Congress.

Placing control in the "local" community reverses the trend of a hundred years ago when power was taken from the local community, and provides a seemingly positive orientation towards members of the community.

The flipside though is that the failure of schools is now the "community's" failure especially once the Federal government has given them the "tools" they need to "hold schools accountable." This means that the schools that are already "failing" are doing so because of the community's failings, a message that is exactly that of the Progressive Era centralizers Tyack research and discussed, though facing a differently structured and financed school system. Ironically, the racism of the Progressive Era also blamed the "community" for failure, but in terms of genetic shortcomings (Gould, 2008), and now Paige's rhetoric and call to the community to take responsibility for "holding schools accountable" will place blame on the community for failing in their job since, as Paige explains, it is the "local" community that is responsible for schooling and the Federal government is merely an investor making financial decisions based on the quantitative test data to secure a positive return on its investment and providing tools for local community control. This is all done in the guise of liberating schools from "the soft bigotry of low expectations."

The net result, based upon subsequent feedback from the schools' and States' points of view (Popham, 2005; Pendell, 2008), is that they actually have far more strings (just as Rich said the United States has dirtier air and unhealthier forests), in terms of giving annual tests, reporting the test scores and teacher qualifications among other reporting requirements, attached to the Federal money than they had before, even while Secretary Paige proclaims that the Block Grant strategy is actually cutting the "red tape." These extra strings can very easily account for the problems this statute has had in maintaining public support (Bushaw, 2008). Paige promised

"flexibility" with government grants in the form of Block Grants, but then the funding was inadequate to cover new expenses such as spending money on tests and test reporting to fulfill the mandates of the law, which lead to the many complaints about "unfunded mandates," and not just from Democratic politicians (Pendell, 2008). The Block Grants are a particularly clever way to cut funding (Ferman, 2009) and reveal more of the Bush administration strategy and ideology as well as the potential end game of this law.

*Block Grants*

A fascinating juxtaposition in the data from Paige's speeches is that of block grants with the dismissal of Federal government responsibility for building, renovating and maintaining the physical infrastructure of the schools. Paige's juxtaposition, when compared against the Kozol-Wellstone (2001) editorial from the *New York Times*, provides a clear indication of the ideological lines. Why this is interesting is because Block Grants as a programmatic idea originated in 1974, specifically with Federal investment in building and housing programs, particularly those for urban areas. Federal government aid to cities and communities were often targeted to specific areas, like say sewers, highways or flood levees. In 1974, the government changed the program into block grants to States for more "flexible" and "responsive" spending or as Dr. Barbara Ferman of Temple University explained, "that it was part of Nixon's larger strategy to rationalize bureaucracy and give more power back to the states by replacing the millions of categorical grants with several large bloc grants" (Ferman, 2009).

Paige, meanwhile, was telling his audiences in 2001 that he was going to transform Federal aid to education into a Block Grant program with the same rationale. Along with that though, he also said that the Federal government has no responsibility for building programs, programs which were the original target of the "Community Development Block Grant"

program, one of the original block grant programs. Taken together this did not bode well for the policy ideas of people like Wellstone and Kozol (2001) who were concerned with crumbling educational infrastructure and who considered such decrepit facilities as a leading cause of poor quality education, including the difficulty decrepit school systems have with attracting the best teacher candidates and the environmental hazards they pose to the students who have to study and learn there.

The foreboding felt by urban leaders regarding the CDBG proved accurate because in 2006, these CDBGs were cut by 14% according to the *Journal of Housing & Community Development*, the second year of cuts. These cuts led to "significant reductions in a range of services provided" (National Association of Housing and Development, 2006) under these grant programs. This was the year after Hurricane Katrina drowned New Orleans after multiple recommendations to increase the height of levees were met with budgetary inadequacy (Rich, 2006). This was also when one might expect an increase in CDBGs to assist Louisiana with rebuilding its economic engine- New Orleans. Whereas the CDBG philosophy originally seemed aimed at allowing localities to best determine their needs to maximize the quality of their grant spending, now the reduction in the total size of the consolidated program forces States and other governmental entities to decide where their programs will suffer to off-set the cuts in funding under the Bush Administration. (National Association of Housing and Development, 2006) It has gone from empowerment to triage in essence. It is also no mistake that the so-called "New Orleans Recovery District" is a catalog of conservative school priorities such as vouchers, testing, and privatized, for-profit schools under the guise of helping a drowned city to "recover" (Tuzzolo, 2006/2007).

No Child Left Behind provided a great rationale for those looking to cut investment in schools after a few years of "poor performance" especially if the complaints made about the law, since 2002 are accurate. Those complaints, by some politicians, State, and local officials, suggest (as Kozol and Wellstone predicted in 2001) that not only was the Title I money already inadequate for the new demands placed upon the schools, but that that money could and would be cut further if test scores did not improve in the various States and districts, which would exacerbate the problems (Popham, 2005; Pendell, 2008). Raising test scores would be a difficult task if the funding was already inadequate for day-to-day operations and would be more especially difficult if Title I schools with poor test scores, dependent upon Federal money to make-up budgetary shortfalls, were required to trim their spending even further because of the NCLB "sanctions." However, cutting Federal spending on education is not even necessarily dependent upon test scores despite the provisions within the law as the circumstance with the housing Block Grant program demonstrates. Without dedicated funding, budgets can be cut simply to "trim the deficit" or "reduce waste," without singling out any particular program with a strong and/or vested interest group, thus bypassing the testing-sanctions regime altogether.

The "problem," from a liberal perspective, with Block Grants is that by combining a large number of smaller programs into a Block Grant the government has a larger number to deal with, thus making the multiple smaller particular grants appear as a much larger budgetary line item which is specifically easier to cut for financial or political reasons, just as Republicans frequently argue should be done with much of the Federal spending on "social programs" (Murray, 1994; Katz, 1990). Smaller line items tied to specific programs are easier to defend and can potentially rouse up more vested interests than indefinite large sums flexibly given to States for use at the State's discretion. Rather than say cutting off funding for critical bridge repairs under the former

system or individualized targeted grants, a Block Grant simply cuts $200 million out of funding for "highway projects" for the States and force the States to make the tough decisions about which programs will not be funded and which will, which roads and bridges will be repaired and which the States will just have to leave unfixed hoping they do not collapse (as the ones in Minneapolis did), at least until the next round of budgeting. For Republicans this is an advantage of the program because they can devolve responsibility to local agencies for spending in line with the State's Rights ideology and also cut the size of the much larger aggregated Block Grant with fewer ramifications, because they are simply cutting "government spending" which, they argue, the Federal government is not responsible for spending anyway (Lakoff, 2004). They are cutting off an "entitlement," (Gilens, 1999; Soss, 2000) rather than say cutting money for school renovation, or flood levees, or taking away breakfasts from poor children, to name just a few of the consequences of cuts in block grants the last few years (Kozol, 2005).

This is exactly the sort of linguistic dynamic which Lakoff studies. Republicans frame the issue as trimming excessive Federal spending in a vague sense, in a "block" sense, while Democrats decry cutting off children from school lunch programs (Hodges, 1995). Democrats complain that students are losing art programs and recess, (Beveridge, 2010) but Republicans can point out that Bush did modestly increase Federal spending (Hoff, 2008). It is much easier, one might surmise to go before one's constituents and argue that one increased education funding in a generic sense than to explain why one cut off funding for poor children's breakfasts. The budgeting elements loom very largely in Paige's speeches and the absence of critical discussion of them other than the trite formulae of "trimming government spending" by Republicans or "taking away children's breakfasts" by Democrats ignore the larger ideology which was at work and which was also in evidence. A feature of this ideology is at work when

discussing responsibility and accountability as Republicans and Democrats both often do but with differing interpretations or priorities.

*Responsibility and Accountability*

Paige's speeches about No Child Left Behind made much use of the term "accountability" to describe the "problem" which the proposed policy change was going to fix. This was often juxtaposed with assertions about who was "responsible" for insuring this "accountability." Republicans have made much ado about "responsibility" in recent years, in particular individual responsibility, including in the discussion which led up passage of the 1996 welfare reform bill politically called the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act." This law allowed individual States to design their own welfare programs but aimed primarily at removing people from the welfare rolls leading to a reduction in government spending on this renamed AFDC program (Soss, 2000; Gilens, 1999). This also led to political rhetoric in which simply reducing welfare rolls was the goal regardless of whether Democrats or Republicans were in charge in the State governments, even if such a reduction in welfare rolls led to increases in poverty or hunger or any number of problems associated with a lack of income (Gilbert, 2009).

The rhetoric about "personal responsibility" is, however, not always synchronized with the American perspective, dominant since the Great Depression, that government has certain responsibilities to its citizens, to provide a social safety net, among other things. Evidence of this dominant belief is the continuation of welfare state, epitomized by the Clinton Administration slogan "mend it, don't end it," as well as the defeat of programs to "privatize" Social Security during President George W. Bush's first term as president (Lakoff, 2004). However, the harsh realities of contemporary welfare and State boasts of "getting people off the rolls" suggest that

despite "saving" welfare, Clinton helped reaffirm the underlying perspective that it should not exist and that the best thing welfare policy can do is to "get people off" of it (Gilbert, 2009). In a similar way, raising test scores becomes the numerically simple though incomplete description of the success or failure of schools, not graduation rates, future income attainment, or college acceptance rate to name a few, nor even does the quality of the school facility or success in achieving racial integration.

The Republican ideology about "shrinking" government (and consequently spending) is not necessarily about shrinking the size of government (or even the level of spending) as Lakoff (2002) has shown, but about devolving responsibilities for citizens' welfare to individual citizens themselves and "charity," or as Paige put it in his Alabama speech "service" (Katz, 1990; Katz, 1995; Katz, 1996). The Republican ideology does not want to shrink the size of the military or the scope of the military-industrial complex, shrinking government is about cutting taxes (especially for those who are wealthy) and letting people prosper or suffer based upon the vagaries of the "free market," and their own individual "discipline" (Lakoff, 2002). In fact, ideas about defending America led to the creation of an entirely new cabinet position, the Secretary of Homeland Security and the large bureaucratic Department of Homeland Security by a Republican Congress with a Republican president, so it is not necessarily about government size but government size for what. This is the reason why the No Child Left Behind Act can simultaneously increase government oversight for schools while at the same time emphasizing "local control." It is not the particulars of the policy that matter but the rhetoric deployed to sell and define the policy.

The role of the Federal government under President Bush's perspective is that of the Stern Father, or the police officer. It does not take care of the children, or nurture them, but

instead insures they are receiving proper discipline as measured by rising test scores and polices schools to make sure they have "highly qualified" teachers in every classroom. In the case of "failing" schools, the children in the schools are not disciplined, not scoring high enough on test scores, because the teachers and schools are not disciplining them, are not actually disciplined themselves. The schools are failing to live up to their Stern Father role and thus the Federal government has to force them to do so. It is up to the Federal government to enforce discipline on the States, school districts and schools, to police their behavior, to make sure they enforce discipline on the children in the form of increased test scores. The government enforces this trickle-down discipline with carrot of Federal money, but since money is already allocated the government enforcement takes more of the form of a stick, the threat that funding will be withdrawn.

Poorer schools require more of this Federal money to operate and thus are more subject to the threat of its withdrawal whereas wealthier schools are not. School districts today are often highly stratified by socio-economic status and thus the burdens fall unevenly. As it is ideologically speaking from a Stern Father perspective, this is not a bad thing because the Stern Father ideology explains that wealth follows discipline, so those wealthier schools which do not depend as much on Federal money are already better run schools with great discipline. Because of the high level of parental discipline these schools do not need the Federal government as their Stern Father to police their behavior and discipline. As Lakoff (2004) puts it about Stern Fathers, "wealthy people tend to be the good people, a natural elite. The poor remain poor because they lack the discipline needed to prosper" (p. 82). This means that those schools most dependent upon Federal money, those lower on the socioeconomic status ladder, are those which require more policing because of the general lack of discipline on the part of the teachers in those

schools as evidenced by their low test scores and by the "community" which will now be empowered to impose discipline through the provision of tools to "enable success."

The "good" parents already hold the better schools more accountable with the tools at their disposal. This might be why Rod Paige lectures about "community" responsibility to the Urban League, Jackson State University, Grambling State University and the National Council of Negro Women, but not the University of Alabama. Urban schools do poorly and are inhabited by poor people because of a lack of "community" discipline which leads to a lack of school discipline, which leads to children doing poorly on their exams. Parents (or their proxies the schools and school teachers) must teach children discipline since children are born undisciplined, and thus cannot be blamed for their low test scores. Poor quality schools and poverty are not in a causal relationship but are actually rooted in the same cause, a lack of discipline. The "soft bigotry of low expectations" is such that teachers do not enforce the required discipline upon their students because they think that they cannot do so.

This is different from the liberal perspective which sees poverty as a cause of poor school performance, and the lack of academic performance as a result of a myriad factors stemming from poverty, racial segregation and decaying physical facilities (Kozol, 2005; Lakoff, 2004). For Paige, it all comes down to the one factor discipline, or as he termed it "accountability," and so children are not to blame for their low test scores because the Stern Father can enforce on them what he wants so long as he is stern with them. This is why Paige explains that all that America needs to do to raise test scores is raise the standards and demand more of children, that the problem is simply "the soft bigotry of low expectations" not anything else. An extension of this is the desire to see some version of "school choice" which includes religious schools because religion is an instrument of discipline and morality and its absence in public schools is one of the

factors responsible for the "decline" in school quality of which conservatives have spoken alarmingly since the Reagan administration published the *Nation at Risk* report in 1983 (Lakoff, 2002).

With the well documented white perspective on Black Americans and welfare documented by Gilens (1999), it seems natural that a discussion which suggests poor discipline as a cause of school failure and poor "community" values as a cause of school failure could very easily encompass a racial dimension. Given Gilens (1999) work and Paige's continuous assertion of the racial "achievement gap," it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that white Americans might more easily assume that No Child Left Behind was a statute for "urban" schools and expect to be immune from its consequences, especially since Gilens (1999) showed that white Americans expressed a general view that Black Americans were lazy and thus less disciplined than they themselves were. The reason why this might be important is because fewer white and/or suburban parents might expect this proposal to affect them and thus might have been less likely to oppose or perhaps even in engage with the discussion about the law. The Wellstone/Kozol (2001) editorial provides evidence that even liberals might have shared the belief that this statute would have its greatest impact on impoverished urban and rural schools as their article centers on discussing issues faced in those areas. Such a lack of engagement or lack of understanding of the scope of the statute might be reason to account for its easy passage.

# CHAPTER 5

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study of Rod Paige's speeches using George Lakoff's theory of moral politics explained the way in which the Bush Administration articulated its educational policy agenda and how this agenda fits or describes a general policy agenda. Understanding this can help shed light on the subsequent conflicts which emerged with the requirements for the statute and also the debate about "unfunded mandates." Since its enactment in 2002, No Child Left Behind has come under fire from both liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans who are critical of its provisions, its cost and its mandates. Given all this criticism one might suspect a protracted battle in Congress and a tight vote, however this is not the case. No Child Left Behind passed overwhelmingly and thus was seemingly very popular until after it became law.

George Lakoff suggests that people's reactions to policy are primarily emotional, in which politicians appeal to emotional familial metaphors to explain and define policy. He argues that even in criticism of law or policy a person can reinforce the ideas within it by utilizing the same language, so that even those who might have been critical of the law might have reinforced the framework which the Bush administration used, or perhaps the Bush Administration's rhetorical choices deliberately obscured the provisions of the law and their policy proposals. These are always questions which merit consideration and require a deep exploration of the body of texts which constituted Rod Paige's speaking schedule during the year in which No Child Left Behind developed and passed Congress.

Most research on No Child Left Behind focuses upon the particular policy provisions of the law and whether or not they achieve the state goals of improving test scores or closing the test gap. The research also addresses how accountability standards work and whether test scores

are an accurate measure of learning. This focus on the mechanics of the law omits a significant piece of the puzzle which is the position of this law within the broader policy agenda and philosophy governing espoused by the Bush Administration which advocated and then passed this massive piece of legislation. Similar overhauls, like "welfare reform," have passed Republic Congress' and the ideas and ideologies expressed in the debate on welfare reform, another social policy connected to Democratic administrations provide some guidance to understand educational policy not in terms of children learning but in terms of government responsibility to its citizens, particularly the Federal government.

*Conclusion*

By conducting an interactive-hermeneutic exploration of Rod Paige's speeches, which began with an obvious lead-in a large oft-repeated summary of the law and then delved deeper using that summary as a guide point this study was able to account for his rhetorical choices, audience and the timeline to uncover the fact Rod Paige was quite clear and honest on the Bush Administration's goals even if not as clear in terms of methods beyond testing. These goals included redefining the way in which the Federal government interacted with schools while at the same time establishing that test score data was of primary importance in ascertaining a school's success or failure and by extension the success or failure of the teacher's in that school and the State in which that school was located. While applying Lakoff's theory of moral politics, what was apparent was that the ideas enshrined in the No Child Left Behind Act are an example of a "slippery slope policy" in which the true objective is not the policy itself, but the circumstances, which this policy will create. This statute, as the Bush Administration saw and enforced it, at least according to the themes in the body of texts was about reducing Federal investment in public education thereby reducing the Federal government's role in influencing

society more generally. In doing so it would help to undermine the public education system to move towards a privatized system of education through the use of punishments and eventually vouchers and private financing, or else public funding of private educational institutions, with the understanding that these institutions work more effectively than publicly run institutions. Some educational researchers have fixated on how effective or ineffective testing might be without recognizing a broader policy agenda at work in this proposal, one aimed at rolling back Federal government responsibility to a pre-New Deal level and government responsibility for social services in general in the belief that private, "free market" solutions deliver the best results. Secretary Paige was quite clear, but the discussion about testing and "unfunded mandates" misses the point.

As Lakoff (2004) said, "what conservatives are really trying to achieve is not in the proposal. What they are trying to achieve *follows* from enacting a proposal" (p. 30). Since the No Child Left Behind Act ended up impacting schools more broadly than it seemed it would it seems that there had to be more at work. It is what Lakoff (2004) calls a "slippery slope initiative" (p. 32). There is a definite end game in sight wherein No Child Left Behind's implementation would eventually lead to "a two-tier school system, a good one for the 'deserving rich' and a bad one for the 'undeserving poor'" (Lakoff, 2004, p. 32). The caveat here is that the "good" system of which Lakoff speaks would be a largely private affair, perhaps subsidized by the Federal government while the "bad" one would be the remnants of the public school system full subsidized, but perhaps analogous to the charity schools of the early American South and in British Colonial North America. The history of school reform points in this direction as well. During the Progressive Era of school reform some progressives argued that vocational schools, which primarily served immigrant and impoverished children, would be best

under the purview of America's businesses. The argument was that only American business understood American vocations well enough to train students. Edwin Cooley of Chicago even proposed establishing separate boards staffed by representatives of Big Business to administrate these schools. This first attempt at privatization of schools failed when Chicago voters rose up in defense of "democratic schooling" but it was the latest step in a battle started in the colonial era about whether education was a private commodity or a public good (Urban, 2009).

This battle persists, and No Child Left Behind is a new strategy in the old battle, a battle which seems largely misunderstood in the press and public. The overwhelmingly high failure rate of schools throughout America, based upon standardized tests, in all areas of the country, not just "urban" or "minority" or "disadvantaged" ones, is evidence of this. Rod Paige alludes to this end game when discussing funding and government responsibility. In discussing the Special Education funding issues, Paige specifically referred to diverting money from building programs to meet special education expenses. He also asserts that the Federal government should not be responsible for funding school building or renovation and that President Bush would allow municipalities to offer "private activity bonds" to cover these costs. In other words, schools districts would become indebted to private individuals and companies which purchase these bonds.

Some might argue that this is an extreme opinion and that Republicans surely could not believe in selling schools, but the frequent Paige rhetoric of providing options directly appeals to a "market" mentality, where options are standard considerations in making big purchases and private companies are superior, more "efficient," providers of services than public entities. The privatization of schools is already underway in Philadelphia, with a menu of "options" for some students of variable quality. This process started under Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge (later

Secretary of Homeland Security under President Bush) and his Secretary of Education Eugene Hickok, who served as Under-Secretary of Education under Rod Paige. The State Legislature withheld critical State money until the city and school district agreed to place the school under the jurisdiction of a "School Reform Council" which privatized large portions of the district to help "raise student achievement," and just voted to renew those contracts despite evidence showing that privately-managed schools were not performing any better than those that were still publicly managed. The first CEO of the "reformed" Philadelphia school district, Paul Vallas, later left to take over the aforementioned New Orleans Recovery District, while his successor form his Chicago job, Arne Duncan is now Secretary of Education under President Barack Obama. This is likely not accidental. No Child Left Behind facilitates this process even in its compromised form. According to Paige's owns words (March 8, 2001; March 7, 2001; February 15, 2001), President Bush initially wanted No Child Left Behind to directly give students $1500 vouchers, out of the Federal public grant money, who were attending "failing" schools to attend other schools, specifically private schools and religious schools about which he spoke highly. This would have taken money and some students out of the public school system and put them into private schools and religious schools, transferring public money into private hands where conservative ideology believes it belongs especially for meeting social needs. This is despite the fact that the voucher program in Arizona largely, predominantly, provided vouchers to families whose children were already in private or religious education before the establishment of the program making the voucher program into more of a tax cut than an "options" program (Welner, 2008). The voucher program would have provided Federal subsidies to private and religious schools while depriving "failing" schools of funding, or in Bush's mind rewarding success and punishing failure (Lakoff, 2004). The voucher program was eliminated because of Democratic

opposition but the forces which led to Philadelphia's partial privatization were enshrined in the law. The "sanctions," which appeal to that Stern Father mentality, include shutting down and reorganizing schools even to the point of turning over management of schools to Educational Management Organizations, like the for-profit Edison Schools, Inc.

If schools succeed by closing test gaps and raising test scores, thereby escaping "sanctions," then there are other positive outcomes. How does one call a school "needy" or "disadvantaged" when all its test scores are increasing and/or high? Schools that are succeeding will not require funding since funding is for "disadvantaged" schools. High test scores means the school is not "disadvantaged." Further, if test scores are equal across demographic lines then education is serving all equally, installing the requisite level of discipline, thus differential racial outcomes would have to be the result of individual differences and not the schools or society. If this is the case then it is only the individuals themselves who are responsible for their success or their failure. If schools are not the cause of poverty because schools are working then poverty is more easily the fault of people themselves and not the external factor of inadequate schooling.

As many have argued recently (Urban, 2009), the goal of 100% achievement is nearly impossible to achieve and just one demographic subgroup failing to make Adequate Yearly Progress condemns a school to the failing designation, exposing it to "sanction," and after a few years "reorganization." The broad scope of "failure" was a shock to many people, though the idea of "sanctions" and "accountability" definitely resonated with them. As Lakoff explains it though, it is the language, not the policy, and thus parents were supportive until their own schools were labeled failures. So while people accepted the policy because of their beliefs about who was impacted, perhaps through the same racial factors identified by Gilens (1999) or through Paige's constant citation of racial test gap data and reiteration of the phrase "soft bigotry

of low expectations," the policy began creating a system to label schools as failures, the better to privatize them, as Cooley wanted to do in Chicago in the early 20th century and as most leading Southerners believed should always be the case until forced to reconsider their opinions after defeat in the Civil War.

President Bush spoke about creating an "ownership society" by which each individual "owned" all those things that belonged to him or her, a world of choices or options as Paige called them, by which individual efforts accounted for success (of which he spoke) and failure (of which he had nothing to say), and not externalities like poverty, race, language proficiency, etc. This extends into the realm of education. As evidenced in Paige's many pronouncements and the original NCLB proposal, Bush wanted people to "own" their education and to devolve responsibility for educational quality away from the Federal government, and perhaps eventually management of schools entirely away from public entities. Education would be a commodity for purchase, which would theoretically improve schooling by opening it up to the "market" and make it possible for people to purchase whichever form of education they wanted and could afford. Issues of integration, segregation, poverty etc, were irrelevant. Socio-economic inequality would be the result of differential discipline and not inadequate schooling as many contend it is today. By emphasizing literacy, the basic tool for all learning as Paige mentioned, all students would be equipped with the tools to improve themselves in all areas regardless of schools or anything else, even though numeracy engages an entirely different part of the brain. Paige's speeches speak directly to the role and method of schooling that would exist in the "ownership society."

*Recommendations*

This study demonstrated the connection of No Child Left Behind to a broader ideological agenda by connecting to other policy arenas. This statute has had a profound impact upon schooling in the United States with schools failing, accusations of cheating, teaching to the test and such dominating headlines and yet the true importance of this statute, its real goals are only apparent when one examines the law from outside the narrow confines of school practice and test scores when one explores the rhetorical underpinnings of the policy itself. No Child Left Behind is a statute whose goal is nothing less than helping usher in a new society in which government does not take responsibility for its citizens' success, but provides "ownership" of both success and failure. Policy analysts must at all times examine the policy rhetoric employed by politicians and its cross fertilization with other policy arenas to understand the end games of these policies. This requires a multidisciplinary approach and emphasizes the utility of mixing the broader approach with the more particular and narrower approaches to analyzing educational practice, or social policy of any kind.

George Lakoff has provided a very important means of understanding policy of all kinds and cross-assessing them, and his theoretical framework should receive more attention within the scholarly community because of its utility in broadening policy analysis and defining broad political agendas. By applying Lakoff's framework and its implied multidisciplinary policy lens to school policy can educational researchers hope to achieve the goal of improving schools, or as some want, to strengthening the foundations of the public school system and maintaining its societal role as articulated by the "Father of the Common School" Horace Mann or John Dewey.

This study also vindicates the usage of intensive language analysis on prepared speeches, the "groupthink" of politics, to uncover broader agendas and define the goals of political movements, administrations and/or parties. The collective size of a prepared body of political

texts provides keen insights which researchers can use to guide their thinking and analysis of policy and policy goals. This technique should work equally well in other policy domains besides education, especially because it presupposes the inter-relationship of multiple policy domains. Only by knowing how to rhetorically explain meaningful change can reformers hope to truly eliminate educational inequity and achieve a more just society through most just and valid educational outcomes, and more public good minded educational funding practices. It all gets back to W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) observation about the difference between understanding the policies of the experts and practitioners and understanding the goals and visions of the seers. Researchers must understand both sides of the equation to fully grasp the import and potential consequences of any major policy, and as Vinovskis (1999) argued, researchers have too often focused their efforts on the policies and activities of expert and practitioners to the detriment of understanding the vision of the seers.

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