Teacher is a verb, not a noun: A performative approach

Mario Duran
University of Texas at San Antonio
One UTSA Circle, San Antonio, Texas 78249
durancasas@hotmail.com

Abstract

This paper documents a qualitative study of four south Texas female teachers. It reports the experiences of each teacher with the state teacher evaluation system, currently known as the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System (TTESS), as documented by three sets of semi-structured interview sessions. The study provided insight into how teachers made meaning of the evaluation system and how that meaning revealed the circulation of performativity throughout the system. The study provided three examples of the circulation of performativity: dressage, temporality of teacher acts, and performance embodies teacher acts. As a result of performatve pressures, each teacher described the repetition of specific teacher behaviors that reinforced the preservation of performative acts among teachers. The findings expose the performative nature evaluation systems hold on teachers by use of the TTESS. In addition, the findings showed the need for increased qualitative research aimed at disrupting performance acts within teachers and teacher evaluation systems. It showed a deliberate need for school administrators to consider the performative pressure circulating through evaluation systems and begun to disrupt the effective teacher narrative. The study concluded with considerations for added research in the area of effective teacher narrative and considered dialogue that allows for teachers to teacher free of the performativity trap.

Keywords:
binary, dressage, Judith Butler, performativity, teacher acts

Introduction

Education and Performativity

Throughout the “teacher’s soul” the “terrors of performativity” are ever present (Ball, 2003). Upon leaving teacher preparation programs and entering the professional field, teachers confront a collection of tools that gradually shape their identity. One technological tool teachers encounter materializes in the form of accountability measures, particularly, teacher evaluation systems. As a modern technology aimed at promoting accountability, evaluation systems function to not just change the way teachers teach, they also change who they are (Ball, 2003).

Influenced by the current neoliberal era of accountability, privatization, and competition, performativity symbolizes a pronounced form of professionalism; governed by regulative mechanisms (Loh, 2016). Current expectations for educators to
prepare the next generation of workers and global citizens is compounded by the mechanisms dictating those expectations. Indicated here is not necessarily the current structures that drive policy or economic reform, but rather the relationships and identities required to sustain those structures (Ball, 2003). In other words, it is one thing to direct focus on schools, banks, big corporations, and consider their impact of the performative nature on the individual. Yet, these structures exist based on a regime of truth that circulates expectations and standards (Foucault, 1977). Those involved within the regimes of truth gradually start changing habits and practices, and ultimately, they too are changed. The aim of this study was to interpret teachers’ meaning making process of the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System and the way performativity circulates through the system.

**Butler and gender performativity**

Butler’s (1990) articulation of gender and performativity provides a starting point to understand the functions of teacher performativity. In her book, *Gender Troubles*, Butler establishes that gender is socially constructed. As such, “gender is not a noun, indicating an identity fixed in time, but rather it is like a verb in that it is performative” (Falter, 2015, 4). In this sense, gender is active, it is doing. It intentionally acts for construction of meaning (Butler, 1990). This meaning varies within individuals; for that reason, it is unproductive to seek the essence or origin of gender. The normal gender, Butler argues, ultimately is copied (Butler, 1990). Gender behaves as it has historically behaved; that is, repetition creates a platform for where gender is understood (Butler, 1990). It establishes the norms and expectations of what is considered and understood as gender. Gender is a repeated action that sustains rituals and habits contingent with a particular discourse of set norms. These repeated practices become so common that they eventually embody the definition of what it means to perform as a teacher.

**What’s the alternative to teacher?**

Whether it is male or female, rich or poor, abled-body or disabled, binaries create a discourse enabling one to supersede the other. It creates a platform where both identities co-exist, each with particular definitions attached to their existence. The binary nature of performativity effortlessly gets overlooked in education. The position of this study coincidentally questions the direct absence of a tangible other to teacher. In other words, does a binary exist in teachers? And why should the question be considered?

Researchers document how the dominant social acceptance of gender falls into the binary frame of male and female (Bornstein & Bergman, 2010; Butler, 1990). Within this frame certain habits and expectations are normalized for reasons of securing the stability of the dominant social ideology (Drescher, 2010). The binary is part of the performativity of gender, where the individual does not always choose, rather becomes the gender (Butler, 1988).

This view complicates education, in particular teachers and teaching evaluation systems, in that unlike the male-female binary frame in gender, in teaching, the binary is not as direct. What alternative is present for the teacher to follow other than the normative ideology regulating their profession? If such alternative exists, it may resemble that as the ineffective teacher that refuses to fall victim to the governance of the rubric ideology of teacher effectiveness. This is problematic for the teacher. Since from the offset the body enters into an already existing teacher narrative. Existing binaries create a boundary against probabilities that limit alternative identities to coexist (Cinar, 2015). As expressed earlier, teachers lack an alternative, for that reason, teachers perhaps find it problematic to view an alternative to the effective teacher narrative.

To add to the complication, as Butler (1990) expressed, one cannot just choose their gender from one day to another. Teachers operate under similar circumstances. Unable to alter their identity from one day to the other, teachers continue repeating behaviors that solidify the historical teacher. The performative nature of teacher is placed on the teacher even before they are aware of the transformation. The teacher does not choose to be teacher; teacher is done to them. They walk into an already existing reality. Following is an example of this reality as noticed by the repeated behaviors used to define the effective teacher as viewed by the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System.
What is an Effective teacher?

Teacher evaluation systems are designed to create positive instructional experiences for all students by way of measuring teacher effectiveness (Hill & Grossman, 2013). As an impulse, one would ask how then is teacher effectiveness defined? Followed by, how is teacher effectiveness represented in the classroom? And if one wants to cause a stir, the question on who gets to define teacher effectiveness, could be considered.

Studies suggest that students with high quality teachers tend to be higher achieving students (Strong, Gargini & Hacifazlioglu, 2011). So the question remains, how do educational leaders identify effective teachers? The preferred method for determination of effectiveness depends on a prescribed state rubric. What follows is a brief description of the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System.

Formula for teacher effectiveness: TTESS

According to the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System (T-TESS) an effective teacher possesses the following characteristics. For one, effective teachers design effective lesson plans that incorporate Texas approved standards of readiness. This way, students are ensured to possess the skill set recommended by the state of Texas. In addition, teachers are ensured to maintain the integrity of the districts assigned scope and sequence. This way exposure to state required knowledge becomes attainable.

To measure student knowledge, teachers may use traditional test, in addition, to implementing creative forms of assessments that attend to students’ diverse ways of displaying knowledge. It is also advised for teachers to connect with students’ prior knowledge and experiences through the use of engaging lessons.

The T-TESS also outlines that an effective teacher creates lessons that generate higher order thinking skills. Teacher usage of higher order questioning throughout the lesson is encouraged. School officials view students as possessing the ability to peer critique in a productive and respectful atmosphere. Teachers facilitate opportunities for students to generate goals and assists in progress monitoring.

Effective teachers display differentiated instructional techniques. By way of engaging lessons, teachers ensure student engagement. Furthermore, teachers ensure comprehension by implementing strategic methods of checking for understanding. They are able to observe the class and determine if there is confusion that requires attention before moving on with the lesson. The class is set to function effectively between transitions. Mainly the expectation is that classroom routines are well established and understood to the point that they function without teacher involvement. By maintaining this type of classroom environment, the effective teacher demonstrates effective classroom management techniques. Students are expected to perform well together with limited or no behavioral issues. There is a sense of mutual encouragement within teacher-student and student-student. The atmosphere is set to sustain collaboration aimed at a successful learning environment.

The teacher is also a firm follower of the ethical and professional teacher standards imposed by the state of Texas. Dress code is followed consistently. The teacher sets short and long term goals aimed at improving her/his professional progress and incorporates feedback into the plan for improving professional progress. The more these and other behaviors are repeated, the more the body becomes the teacher.

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this study was to describe how a teacher evaluation system informed teacher behaviors and teacher praxis.

Methodology

This phenomenological study is about four female teachers and their experiences with the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System. It focused on the way they made meaning of the evaluation system and how that meaning informed their teacher praxis. The study explored teacher approaches to the expectations set by the TTESS. For this reason,
to study the role performativity had on the teachers’ praxis, the following research tools were administered.

**Stages of research and procedures**

**Stage 1**

The initial stage consisted of personal invitations to current teachers. Five teachers were invited to participate in the research study by way of a formal email outlining an overview of the study. To avoid having to seek district and principal permission, I suggested to the teachers to conduct interviews in places other than their schools. The teachers agreed to the request. Out of the five teacher, four answered the email accepting the invitation.

**Stage 2**

Once teacher approval was granted, the next task was to determine location for interview. I had initially proposed for teachers to meet at a neutral place that would be free of distractions. A prime location was a local university library that reserved rooms for quiet study. One teacher agreed to the location and proceeded to have the interviews done at that location. The other three agreed to have the interviews conducted at the researcher’s office. In large, the main issue was finding an appropriate date. This issue was compounded since IRB approval was granted in mid-December. Around this time, most teacher schedules were conflicting. I was able to schedule two participants before Winter break. The remaining two were completed before mid-January.

**Stage 3**

After completion of interviews, I proceeded to transcribe my interviews. Due to time constraints, I realized seeking transcription services would be the best option. I researched two online transcription services, before deciding on Rev.com as a recommendation from a cohort member. The transcription experience was rather pleasant with transcriptions completed in a matter of hours.

**Stage 4**

After transcription was completed, transcripts were provided to participants as a form of member checking.

**Stage 5**

Data was then analyzed. During this stage unplanned decisions were taken. To start, I planned to manually analyze the data. I started by highlighting initial codes. I realized I needed to see all my codes as a snapshot so I could begin categorizing. I found it difficult connecting code to statement so I decided to transfer initial codes to an excel sheet to compare side-by-side with the transcriptions. After a short time I realized this was also troublesome. I then decided to transfer all data to the online program Dedoose. In Dedoose I was able to organize code, categories, and themes in one online platform. This decision allowed for great maneuverability within the data.

**Instruments**

During the first interview set, the goal was to establish a trust relationship with the teacher. The questions were designed for the participant to easily respond and to establish a platform of transparency. This was accomplished by the researcher providing background information on his personal and professional life prior to starting the interview. This set of questions lasted an average of 30 minutes.

**Sample questions**

**First Teacher Interview Questions**

**Demographic Information**

1. What is your age range? 20-30; 30-40; 40-50; 50 or over
2. Are you married or single?
3. Does your spouse or partner work?
4. How long have you lived in your current city?
5. Where did you live as a child?
6. What were you proud of as a student?

**Ethnographic Information**

1. How many years have you taught her?
2. How would you describe this school to someone who has never been here?
3. Have you ever wanted to work somewhere else?

4. How do you see your role in this school?

5. How do you view your relationship with other staff members?

During the second interview, the goal was to provide the teacher the opportunity to explain what teacher meant to them. In addition, this set of questions allowed the participant to identify key concepts in their evaluation system. This set of questions lasted an average of 45 minutes.

Second Teacher Interview Questions

1. Where did you go to study to be a teacher? How many years did you attend college?

2. How would you describe yourself as a student?

3. Can you describe when you first decided to be a teacher?

4. How do you see yourself as a teacher?

5. Can you describe any particular lived-experience relating to how you view yourself as a teacher?

6. Can you describe how you fit into your school culture?

7. What, if anything, would you change about yourself as a teacher?

8. How familiar are you with the Texas Teacher Evaluation System?

9. What keywords or phrase standout from the T-TESS? Why?

During the third interview, the goal centered on providing the teacher an opportunity to explain how the evaluation system impacts and informs their praxis. This set of question lasted an average of 1 hour.

Third Teacher Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about some of your experiences with the T-TESS?

2. Can you describe some of your rituals or behaviors associated with your evaluation experiences?

3. Can you elaborate on the processes you use to define yourself as a teacher?

4. Can you explain the post evaluation conference process?

5. Can you explain how you felt during your last post evaluation process?

6. What type of teacher do you strive to be?

7. How has your teaching improved as a result of the T-TESS?

Methods and Data Collection

A common method used for data collection in a qualitative study are interviews (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) define interviews as an interactive process where a researcher engages conversation with a participant via the use of predetermined questions. After responding to the questions, I then interpreted the responses.

The interviews were semi-structured with predesigned questions that focused on the research objectives (Galletta, 2013). It was important to have some structure during these interviews. I purposely left the process open for possible follow-up questions. Additionally, I choose to conduct individual interviews as opposed to a focus group. This approach decreased external pressures capable of influencing the teacher. Each participant was interviewed three times. First interview focused on demographics. Secondly, I gathered clarification from initial questions. Lastly, I asked for the meaning of particular responses.

Interviews were recorded using a personal digital recorder. During the interviews, the participants were reminded of confidentiality. The recordings were saved in a password protected external hard drive. In addition to the recording, I informed the participants that I would be writing down notes during the interview. I purposely took limited notes. I felt I needed to provide the participant my undivided attention and I equate that with making as much eye contact as possible.
when having a conversation. After each interview, the recordings were transcribed and then analyzed. The data was stored in the researcher’s personal password protected laptop.

**Research Participant and Setting**

**Sandra**

Sandra is a white Science middle school teacher. She has been teaching in the same school for all three years of experience. The school is a public-charter school that serves both middle and high school students. It is a Title 1 school with a moderate student diversity population. Her age range puts her between 30-40 years. She is married, and shares that separating family from work is important for her. Being a military child, Sandra traveled to several places throughout her childhood. Most of her school years were spent in schools in Hawaii and North Carolina before settling in south Texas. Growing up she felt she had some learning difficulties when it came to reading comprehension. She was never identified as having a learning disability; however, she knew she would have to work extra hard to succeed in school.

**Hillary**

Hillary is a high school English teacher with over 10 years of experience. She has taught in several places before settling in her current school. Hillary works in a Title 1 public-charter school that serves predominately Hispanic students. Her age range puts her between 40-50 years of age. Growing up as a military child, Hillary moved schools quite often. Nevertheless, she felt that since an early age school has been rather easy for her. Even while in college, passing exams without studying was not unusual. She views herself as an excellent Hispanic teacher that feels building relationships with students is fundamental for student achievement.

**Eleanor**

Eleanor is a white middle school English teacher with over 9 years of educational experience. Currently, she works at an affluent public school with a high population of white students. This is her first year working at her current school. Most of her teaching experience has been from Title 1 schools throughout the south Texas area. Her teacher preparation began while in college where she enrolled in a teacher preparation program that provided practical opportunities. Education, as a professional field, runs in her family. Her age range is between 30-40 years. She feels that working at her new campus has provided her with a renewed passion for teaching.

**April**

April is a white female high school English teacher working at a public Title 1 school. She has been teaching for 3 years. Two of those years were spent at a separate Title 1 school. Her age range is between 30-40 years of age. Similar to Sandra and Hillary, April was also a military child that spent most of her early school experience in different schools. Before settling in south Texas, most of her early childhood was spent in Hawaii and Oklahoma. Her first two years of teaching were spent in a low-performing campus. Her experience at this campus was not pleasant. April feels her experience at the current campus has been a more pleasant one.

**Data Analysis**

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2012), “the challenge of qualitative analysis lies in making sense of large amounts of data – reducing raw data, identifying what is significant, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal” (p. 171). To Creswell (2009) data analysis in qualitative research follows a ranking order where steps are followed and lead from specific to general. Although data analysis is viewed as following a linear method, it is still composed of complex interconnected stages.

Saldana (2009) refers to codes in qualitative research as words or small phrases that figuratively prescribe a characteristic to a portion of text. I used codes in a cyclical process. Mainly, since data is not coded, it is re-coded, I used a two coding cycle approach as a form of data analysis (Saldana, 2009). In the first cycle I focused on coding methods such as InVivo coding, attribute coding, and descriptive coding. By coding words or phrases as presented in the transcription, InVivo coding ensured to honor the participant’s voice as recorded in the data (Saldana,
Findings

Table 1. General Themes

<table>
<thead>
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<th>General Themes</th>
<th>Participant response</th>
<th>Codes</th>
<th>General description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressage</td>
<td>Sandra- I’ve noticed if from seeing other people being observed too, not necessarily being in their classroom, but we all know when its evaluation time, and I’ve even had, you know I’ve shown up dressed up one day, and they’re like, “Oh, are you being evaluated today?” Hillary- In my mind, I would literally pick the outfit I was wearing. I would decide what I was going to wear so I looked professional, and even wear something maybe a little bit nicer than I would wear on a normal day to try to show my professionalism. Eleanor- I would say adhering to standards that the school would consider being, you know, a good teacher, a good example to people. Following the rules, a rule follower. Someone who follows the teacher handbook in terms of being on time, being present, dressing appropriately.</td>
<td>Production Failure to speak up Depend on numbers Improvement goals</td>
<td>Dressage refers to the approach the body takes for social acceptance through forms of training, obedience, dressing; in fact, these function as repeated acts.</td>
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<td>Teacher is a verb: Performance</td>
<td>Sandra- Really trying to ... I don’t want to say it, but it’s kind of like a dog and pony show sometimes. You really got to put yourself on display Hillary- You don’t want to have a bad evaluation, because it stays with you. If you want another job, if you want to go to another district, you want to move up in your career. Having those types of negative evaluations will stop you, might could prevent you from getting a job, it could prevent you from moving forward in your career. Eleanor- If I know that an evaluator is coming in, it’s not going to be something completely different, but I’m going to make sure it’s a better lesson. You better believe that I’m going to plan for a better lesson, ’cause I know I’m going to be evaluated. It would be a lie to say otherwise. And, I’m not saying that I would perform that same type of a lesson on a different day, but I’m going to look in my bag of tricks, and pull out one that I know is going to be good, that’s going to cover all the bases of all of the categories that they’re looking at. April- So, you just naturally tend to make it more of a production, than you’re relaxed version of your classroom, I guess you could say. And it’s not that you’re any less prepared in your relaxed version, it’s just, I guess it’s like the final cherry on top, is to make it exactly picture perfect. That’s what I mean by staged.</td>
<td>Effective teacher Validation Organization Professionalism</td>
<td>Teacher acts serve as regimes of truth (Foucault, 1977) that provide the body access to teachers. This access displays the gestures and habits performed daily by teachers and understood by the audience and actors as socially constructed actions that conceptualizes teacher identity.</td>
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The general purpose of this qualitative study was to identify the way four public school teachers currently teaching at a local public charter or traditional public school made meaning of the Texas Teacher Evaluation and Support System. My goal was that their perspectives and experiences highlighted, if any, the role performativity played within the evaluation. What follows are the specific objectives in the study: to identify how teachers visualize teacher effectiveness; to identify how teacher made meaning of the evaluation system; and to determine what motivates teachers to improve; and.

Objective one focused to identify how teachers visualized teacher effectiveness. Teachers perform socially shaped behaviors (Rutherford, Conway, & Murphy, 2015). Such repeated behaviors or acts mark the perceived and expected habits of teachers. Teacher acts are not reduced to pedagogical acts, instead they involve daily habits that are introduced in private; performed in public. Theses repeated behaviors imply that the teacher is a historical situation not a natural fact. As a repeated behavior and common theme, dressage symbolized teacher effectiveness. It is as if the mind has a historical picture of what a teacher should look like. Noticeable in this observation is the perception that proper dressage implies added teacher professionalism; a common observation noticed throughout the data. The repeated act of dressing up during an observation positions this behavior as a historical situation that is situated in time to represent a particular attitude.

Objective two focused on how teachers made meaning of the evaluation system. Responses highlighted the relationship performance and teaching had on a successful evaluation. As a theme, performance implies fabrication. That is, teachers made meaning of the evaluation system by associating it to a production sustained by fabricated lessons. The fact that a teacher could “look in her bag of tricks” and effectively perform a lesson that would increase the likelihood of high marks on the evaluation summarized the way teachers made meaning of the evaluation system. Performative acts imply an illusion of effectiveness. These repeated acts infer that an element of trickery hangs over the evaluation system.

Objective three focused to determine what motivated teachers to improve practice. The theme of illusion of effectiveness highlighted how the temporality of teacher acts motivates teachers to improve. The data suggested that teacher improvement was driven by an effort to be viewed effective. The anticipation of improvement provided a glimpse of becoming that which one was not yet. The implications are that teachers are ever-evolving. However, they are evolving to meet a standard that may change from year to year or from person to person. What is inferred is the fluidity of teacher effectiveness. For it is the view of effectiveness that teachers strive to, as opposed to effectiveness for the purpose of increasing student academic success. This impression suggests that improvement will remain a constant. Meaning, the reproduction of teacher acts aimed at teacher effectiveness serves as a frame for teacher performativity.
Conclusion

As Butler (1988) articulates that gender “in no way is a stable identity”, rather an “identity tenuously constituted in time” so goes the historical teacher that, in large part, is manifested through its repetitive acts. Teacher acts serve as regimes of truth (Foucault, 1977) that provide the body access to teacher. This access displays the gestures and habits performed daily by teachers and understood by the audience and actors as socially constructed actions that conceptualizes teacher identity. As a historical act, the body performs historical possibilities perceived as teacher actions. These sets of possibilities are temporary, signifying the socially constructed nature of the action. Mainly, teacher is a “historical situation” (Butler, 1988, p. 521) where the body chooses to perform and reproduce the historical situation.

As an act, teaching encompasses a set of repeated social actions. These social actions are injected with meaning and hence are historically situated. When repeated, these actions simply reestablish their social approval. And although the repeated actions occur within individual bodies, their performance immediately become public. The teacher is always on stage, ready to act. Since no true teacher identity exist, their performance is an imagination of social acceptance. For that, no false or true teacher exists for there to be a standard of measurement. The body performs teacher.

Recommendations

The number of teacher participants is limited by budget constraints and time constraints. Additional resources could have been considered to better reach a larger audience. A similar study may address how school administrators can begin to redirect the conversation of effective teacher so as to remove the performative trap and provide teachers an opportunity to showcase their talents. The data sources may include administrators with years of experience with various evaluation systems. Likewise, the study can focus on what informs administrators’ perception of an effective teacher.

Implications

This section suggests two implications for policy and practice. First, this study features performativity as experienced by school teachers. The impact of teacher performativity centers on directing teachers to act and behave a certain way that is social perceived as professional (Loh, 2016). With that in mind, teacher performativity is a performance (Butler, 1990). This study implies that as a performance, teacher behaviors are dictated by social pressures that ultimately define teacher effectiveness.

Secondly, given that teacher performativity is symbolized through acts and behaviors that are temporary, could suggest that teacher effectiveness is an illusion where educators are found guessing. This study implies that the fluidity of teacher effectiveness creates a disconnect within administrator and teacher. For that reason, administrator approach to teacher effectiveness could be less punitive and more aware of the whole teacher. Educational leaders in the ASEAN community can initiate a dialogue of change that would inspire fresh ways of evaluating teacher talent.

Study Limitations

The use of a phenomenological approach has demonstrated valuable in uncovering the way performativity operates in the context of teacher evaluation systems. My recommendation is for additional research to focus on the way other groups of teachers make meaning of the current evaluation system. As mentioned before, the study focused on an all-female pool, for that reason, incorporating a more diverse teacher population may certainly enhance the findings. Secondly, this study lacked in identifying ways
teacher resistance is present within the performative relations. Further research on teacher resistance can provide greater insight into this complex relationship of performativity and institutional mechanisms.

References


