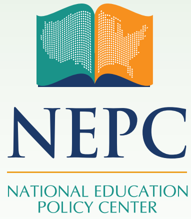


Let's Stop Asking Whether Teachers Are Professionals. Let's Ask What Kinds of Professionals We Want Teachers to Be

Emilie Mitescu Reagan
Claremont Graduate University

A. Lin Goodwin
Boston College

March 2025

National Education Policy Center

School of Education
University of Colorado Boulder
nepc.colorado.edu

Acknowledgements

NEPC Staff

Faith Boninger
Publications Manager

Jeff Bryant
Academic Editor

Elaine Duggan
Production Design

Alex Molnar
NEPC Director

Kevin Welner
NEPC Director

Suggested Citation: Reagan, E.M. & Goodwin, A.L. (2025). *Let's stop asking whether teachers are professionals. Let's ask what kinds of professionals we want teachers to be.* Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved [date] from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/teachers

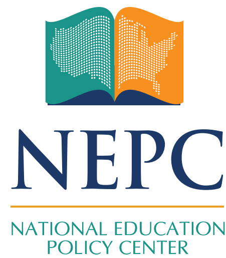
Funding: This policy brief was made possible in part by funding from the Great Lakes Center for Educational Research and Practice.

Peer Review: *Let's Stop Asking Whether Teachers Are Professionals. Let's Ask What Kinds of Professionals We Want Teachers to Be* was double-blind peer-reviewed.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

This publication is provided free of cost to NEPC's readers, who may make non-commercial use of it as long as NEPC and its author(s) are credited as the source. For inquiries about commercial use, please contact NEPC at nepc@colorado.edu.

The National Education Policy Center (NEPC), a university research center housed at the University of Colorado Boulder School of Education, sponsors research, produces policy briefs, and publishes expert third-party reviews of think tank reports. NEPC publications are written in accessible language and are intended for a broad audience that includes academic experts, policymakers, the media, and the general public. Our mission is to provide high-quality information in support of democratic deliberation about education policy. We are guided by the belief that the democratic governance of public education is strengthened when policies are based on sound evidence and support a multiracial society that is inclusive, kind, and just. Visit us at: http://nepc.colorado.edu



Let's Stop Asking Whether Teachers Are Professionals. Let's Ask What Kinds of Professionals We Want Teachers to Be

Emilie Mitescu Reagan
Claremont Graduate University

A. Lin Goodwin
Boston College

March 2025

I. Executive Summary

A professionalized teaching workforce can lead to quality teaching, enhanced student outcomes, and contributions to the public good. Yet despite extensive, ongoing efforts to mandate "high-quality" teaching, there remains little consensus on how to achieve it. Recent policies and reform efforts that were designed, in part, to create structures to address teacher quality have backfired. Specifically, they have led to de-professionalizing teachers, increasing teacher workload, standardizing curriculum and assessment, disempowering teachers, and sowing public distrust of teachers.

Teachers have been unable to maintain consistent control over the primary processes that define any profession: 1) specialized and formalized knowledge that informs established and agreed-upon practices; 2) a learning community governed by standards for entry, preparation, continuous development, and practice; and 3) service and commitment to those served, keeping their welfare and the public good at the center of practice and decision-making. Neither have they consistently measured up against other factors that differentiate professions from occupations, such as compensation, working conditions or prestige. Although teachers have had some involvement in determining accreditation, certification, and teaching standards, many of these structures have been imposed onto teachers through political mandates and the involvement of policymakers, advocacy organizations, and for-profit corporations outside of education. These external pressures have led to tensions and constraints on teachers' professionalism and the professionalization of teaching.

Three recent developments—standards and assessments, curriculum restrictions, and digi-

talization—have affected how teachers are credentialed, the specialized knowledge that they bring, the curriculum decisions they make, and the nature of their roles in supporting student learning. We analyze these developments in an effort to understand why teachers' professional status continues to be an enduring and evolving question.

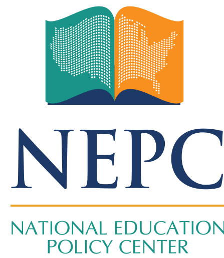
Across these recent developments, the imbalance of power among stakeholder groups in and out of education has excluded teachers and eroded their professional status. However, rather than ask whether or not teachers are professionals, it would be valuable to move away from static definitions or lists of characteristics that define professionals. Instead, it is helpful to ask, "What kinds of professionals do we want teachers to be?" Policy that redistributes power to teachers can encourage shared decision-making and networks of teachers who work with various stakeholder groups as a democratic professional community focused on information exchange, problem-solving, dialogue, and innovation. To advance teacher professionalism in this way, we recommend that policymakers and educational leaders take the following actions:

National and State Education Agencies and Accrediting Organizations

- Supplement standardized credentialing requirements for entry into the profession with teacher assessments that are locally designed, controlled, and responsive to community and local needs, thus building upon the existing knowledge base for teachers while simultaneously valuing local knowledge, culture, and expertise.

School and District Leaders

- Provide tangible support including funding, release time, and resources for teachers to collaborate and network, as well as provide professional development for teachers to work with members of the school, district, and broader community around issues of curriculum, teaching, and learning.
- Oppose efforts by a vocal minority in their communities, including elected school board members, to ban specific books and curricular content that educators and other community stakeholders determine that teachers can teach and that students should be able to access in classrooms and school libraries.
- Resist the temptation to prescribe that teachers use new technologies, such as generative Artificial Intelligence, for instructional purposes. Instead include teachers in decisions to pilot, adopt, and implement specific digital products and platforms and give teachers flexibility to use new technologies in different ways.



Let's Stop Asking Whether Teachers Are Professionals. Let's Ask What Kinds of Professionals We Want Teachers to Be

Emilie Mitescu Reagan
Claremont Graduate University

A. Lin Goodwin
Boston College

March 2025

II. Introduction

A professionalized teaching workforce can lead to quality teaching, enhanced student outcomes, and contributions to the public good. Yet despite extensive, ongoing efforts to mandate "high-quality" teaching, there remains little consensus on how to achieve it. Recent policies and reform efforts that were designed, in part, to create structures to address teacher quality have backfired. Specifically, they have led to de-professionalizing teachers, increasing teacher workload, standardizing curriculum and assessment, disempowering teachers, and sowing public distrust of teachers.

Teachers have been unable to maintain consistent control over the primary processes that define any profession: 1) specialized and formalized knowledge that informs established and agreed-upon practices; 2) a learning community governed by standards for entry, preparation, continuous development, and practice; and 3) service and commitment to those served, keeping their welfare and the public good at the center of practice and decision-making. Neither have they consistently measured up against other factors that differentiate professions from occupations, such as compensation, working conditions or prestige. Although teachers have had some involvement in determining accreditation, certification, and teaching standards, many of these structures have been imposed onto teachers through political mandates and the involvement of policymakers, advocacy organizations, and for-profit corporations outside of education. These external pressures have led to tensions and constraints on teachers' professionalism and the professionalization of teaching.

Three recent developments—standards and assessments, curriculum restrictions, and digi-

talization—have affected how teachers are credentialed, the specialized knowledge that they bring, the curriculum decisions they make, and the nature of their roles in supporting student learning. We analyze these developments in an effort to understand why teachers' professional status continues to be an enduring and evolving question.

Across these recent developments, the imbalance of power among stakeholder groups in and out of education has excluded teachers and eroded their professional status. However, rather than ask whether or not teachers are professionals, it would be valuable to move away from static definitions or lists of characteristics that define professionals. Instead, it is helpful to ask, "What kinds of professionals do we want teachers to be?" Policy that redistributes power to teachers can encourage shared decision-making and networks of teachers who work with various stakeholder groups as a democratic professional community focused on information exchange, problem-solving, dialogue, and innovation. To advance teacher professionalism in this way, we recommend that policymakers and educational leaders take the following actions:

National and State Education Agencies and Accrediting Organizations:

- Supplement standardized credentialing requirements for entry into the profession with teacher assessments that are locally designed, controlled, and responsive to community and local needs, thus building upon the existing knowledge base for teachers while simultaneously valuing local knowledge, culture, and expertise.

School and District Leaders

- Provide tangible support including funding, release time, and resources for teachers to collaborate and network, as well as provide professional development for teachers to work with members of the school, district, and broader community around issues of curriculum, teaching, and learning.
- Oppose efforts by a vocal minority in their communities, including elected school board members, to ban specific books and curricular content that educators and other community stakeholders determine that teachers can teach and that students should be able to access in classrooms and school libraries.
- Resist the temptation to prescribe that teachers use new technologies, such as generative Artificial Intelligence, for instructional purposes. Instead include teachers in decisions to pilot, adopt, and implement specific digital products and platforms and give teachers flexibility to use new technologies in different ways.

II. Introduction

Many assume that a professionalized teaching workforce can lead to quality teaching, enhanced student outcomes, and contributions to the public good.[1,2] Yet, despite extensive, ongoing efforts to mandate "high-quality" teaching, there remains little consensus on how

to achieve it.[3] Further, many recent policies and reform efforts that were designed, in part, to create structures to address teacher quality, have led to teacher de-professionalization, increased teacher workload, standardization of curriculum and assessment, teacher disempowerment, and public distrust of teachers.[4]

Professions are commonly defined by particular traits, dimensions, or characteristics including credentialing and entrance into the profession, induction and ongoing professional development, specialization and standards around a defined knowledge base, and authority/autonomy and control over decision-making.[5] Yet policies that seek to regulate and control teachers' work, identity, and purpose, reflect multiple and divergent views of teacher professionalization and professionalism,[6,7] resulting in an ongoing struggle over the professional status of teachers. These polices often have undermined teacher decision-making, autonomy, and responsibility, which are key elements of professionalism. Across the competing views, teaching is frequently positioned as a "semi-profession"[8] with some characteristics or structures in place (e.g., specialized knowledge or licensing and credentialing) but with limited autonomy, internal control, or professional standing compared to members of more established professions, such as medicine and law.[9]

This analysis of the professional status of teachers begins with a review of the literature and offers a brief historical overview of teacher de/professionalization. We go on to examine teaching as a profession, using attributes commonly associated with professions as analytic lenses. Then, we focus on how three recent developments—teacher performance assessments, curriculum restrictions and book bans, and digitalization—have affected how teachers are credentialed, the specialized knowledge that they bring, the curricular decisions they make, and the nature of their roles. Given these contexts, we offer an analysis of why teachers' professional status continues to be an enduring and evolving question. We conclude with recommendations for policymakers and educational leaders. Throughout this brief, we find that the professional status of teachers is contested territory that is vulnerable to reforms and policymaking that are designed to shape, influence, enhance, and/or limit the purposes of education and what teachers can do, or not, in service of broader purposes of teaching and learning.

III. Review of the Literature

A Glance at History

In the U.S., teachers have long struggled for their roles to be recognized as a legitimate profession, reaching back to the early days of the common schools movement of the 19th century. From the early 1800s to the turn of the century, the confluence of several major events directly affected the professional status of teachers. First, the industrial revolution required labor, causing large numbers of people, especially men, to move to city centers to look for work, while a substantial immigration wave brought large numbers of newcomers, primarily from Northern and Western Europe, to America.[10] Then, the field of teaching was affected by two historical movements— dramatically changing demographics and a "blossoming industrial capitalism" that demanded a workforce that exhibited certain habits, such as punc-

tuality and adherence to directions. These changes prompted widespread societal demands for "intentional nation building," for "new social and economic ambitions for education,"[11] and for schools.[12] As men flocked (and were sought) to fill the jobs newly created by rapid industrialization, public officials overseeing the expanded role for schooling needed to train and hire more teachers. This opened the door for women who had few occupational options and were eager to be hired and accept salaries far lower than men demanded. Women were also seen as being more compliant, more easily controlled, and more apt to possess "natural" care-taking dispositions suited for teaching.[13]

Thus began the "feminization" of teaching, which has essentially ensured that teachers' fight for professional recognition has been continuous and ongoing, because, as "in most societies, a high proportion of women suffices to reduce the status of any given profession."[14] Also, as education shifted from being a private enterprise between teacher and pupil to a public institution, it became a powerful tool for advancing ideological and political agendas on a national scale[15] and a site for control of school curriculum and teachers' work.[16]

Teachers' struggle for their work to be recognized and valued continued even in the face of notable efforts to professionalize teaching. In the 20th century, economic and societal demands for "an actual system of education," required, for example, teachers who possessed "*professional* knowledge,"[17] special or higher education institutions responsible for preparing prospective teachers, and the creation of teacher certification.[18] Thus, debates about teaching as a profession, the professional knowledge base of teaching, and whether teachers are, or can be, professionals, have not yet waned.

Hallmarks of a Profession

"Profession" as a sociological construct is typically defined in terms of characteristics—i.e., what members of a profession exemplify and can or should do versus what a profession is—and as a way of distinguishing a profession from other occupational pursuits.[19] The question of what characteristics constitute teacher professionalism has been extensively discussed[20] as has whether teaching is a profession at all.[21] A consensus view has formed that the hallmarks of any profession typically include: 1) specialized and formalized knowledge that inform established and agreed-upon practices; 2) a learning community governed by standards for entry, preparation, continuous development, and practice; and 3) service and commitment to those served, keeping their welfare and the public good at the center of practice and decision-making.[22] Additional factors that differentiate professions from occupations include compensation, working conditions and prestige.[23] However, teaching has not consistently measured up against these criteria, thus its characterization as a "not quite profession."[24] Taking each criterion in turn, the reasons for this characterization are clear.

Specialized Knowledge, Agreed-Upon Practices

While "teaching is in fact, the mother of all professions"[25] as no profession could exist without its teachers, arguments about whether teachers possess a unique, codified knowledge base have persisted for nearly a century. Early critics lambasted the study of the education

field in higher education institutions for vacuous and trivial content, its departure from the liberal arts curriculum, and its proliferation of low-quality courses.[26] These criticisms have been ongoing, with disagreements about the *what, how,* and *why* of teaching and education as a body of knowledge: what must teachers master before they are deemed qualified to practice, how should this body of knowledge be conveyed to teacher candidates' and why does possessing this body of knowledge assure quality results? A 2024 report examining the "2,000 [Institutions of Higher Education] that offer teacher preparation in the United States"[27] found teacher education to be "a highly variable enterprise,"[28] such that "specific course content varies and may or may not be connected to clinical experiences."[29] While variability is to be expected in the practice of teaching as a complex and context-dependent activity, variability in preparation suggests a lack of consensus in the field about what teachers should know and be able to do—quarrels that remain timely and unresolved. At the root of these criticisms are fundamental disagreements about whether teaching is innate or acquired behavior, technical and predictable, or complex and uncertain,[30] all of which fuel arguments about whether, and how, teaching can be taught and therefore learned.

Standards for Entry and Professional Practice

A profession should "be held accountable for meeting high standards of practice"[31] and, therefore, committed to ensuring that all members meet specific criteria for entry and continued membership,[32] based upon clearly articulated and agreed upon understandings and codes of conduct.[33] However, as a consequence of varying policy decisions governing teacher preparation and licensure,[34] the field of teaching has yet to gain consensual, consistent, and clearly articulated standards for entry and practice. Any agreement on standards remains elusive even while there is greater coherence and consistency among educators in terms of what constitutes strong teacher preparation—especially in response to racial and linguistic diversity among school populations—and what good teachers should know and do.[35] Moreover, state licensure or certification often purportedly serves as a "gatekeeping" function to maintain quality,[36] indicating that teacher candidates have achieved "minimal requirements and are safe to place with young people,"[37] but that function can be overridden.

In particular, *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) legislation[38] opened the gates for states to "create alternative routes to full state certification that target talented people who would be turned off by traditional preparation and certification programs."[39] While state certification was still considered a marker of a "highly qualified teacher," NCLB redefined what that meant by supporting "a variety of ways for teachers to demonstrate content mastery," including "a state content assessment . . . or by holding an undergraduate major, or by completing coursework equivalent to an undergraduate major, or by holding a graduate degree in the subject(s) taught."[40] The proliferation of alternative pathways to "certification" expanded by NCLB has added to the variability in teacher preparation options and curriculum, with requirements ranging from minimal to commensurate with traditional university-based programs.[41] As a result, there is great variation in those allowed entry into the profession. Although all teacher candidates may be designated teachers of record, they may evidence differing levels of preparation and proficiency in their understanding of content, pedagogy, or students' needs.[42] Recent teacher shortages, created by teacher retirements and turnover as well as decreasing interest in teaching, have resulted in even more fast-track

alternatives into the classroom, some of which are questionable in quality.[43] For example, online-only teacher preparation programs, such as "Teachers for Tomorrow," that do not require any field placements and offer certification for a price, are increasingly available,[44] even while data indicate that teachers "certified" via such programs "negatively impact their students' achievement."[45] Although teachers prepared by alternative certification programs such as *Relay Graduate School of Education* or *Teach for America* give these programs strong marks, there is insufficient evidence that these alternative tracks deserve the praise they get. Also, there are other issues, such as poor retention, that affect the quality of these programs.[46]

These efforts to expand pathways into teaching that vary in structure, length, content, criteria, requirements, and rigor, have weakened claims that teaching is a profession. Shifting standards for entering the teaching field and the regulatory inconsistency among state legislatures have made teacher preparation more of a market-driven enterprise than one that is undergirded by professional commitments and goals. These policy moves have also increased perceptions that teachers are "functionaries . . . [who] do not plan or evaluate their own work; they merely perform it."[47]

Students' Welfare at the Center

Because teachers are consistently identified as the most critical in-school factor that contributes to student outcomes,[48] policymakers often see quality teachers as key to national progress. Also, when national progress is framed by capitalist imperatives, as is the case in the U.S., business leaders and the general public tend to urge policymakers and government officials to hold teachers accountable for the development of a workforce that can maintain a competitive edge in a globalized economy.[49] NCLB legislation, with its emphasis on standardized test-based accountability, positioned teachers at odds with the professional attribute that their work should center on ensuring the welfare of "clients"—students. Tying teacher performance to standardized tests results had a narrowing effect on the curriculum,[50] as teachers focused on compliance and teaching to the test, sometimes at odds with students' needs, because of "the increase of rewards and sanctions attached to assessment results."[51]

Accountability structures that emphasize external bureaucratic accountability[52] take decisions that impact student learning out of the hands of teachers and transfer them to policymakers and legislators who are unconnected to schools and students. Teachers' professionalism is therefore undermined, and they are relegated to complying versus deciding what is best for their students. The *Every Student Succeeds Act* (ESSA)[53] eliminated some of the punishments and sanctions that NCLB attached to making annual yearly progress. However, ESSA continues annual standardized testing and testing-related sanctions on schools, which maintains pressure on teachers and schools to focus on test scores and ranking rather than their professional judgment.[54]

The current sociopolitical context also continues to put teachers in a moral bind, testing their obligations as professionals to students. For instance, restrictions written into law by "anti-woke" legislation override teachers' professional judgement on what can be taught in

schools and who has control over the curriculum.[55] Under threat of sanctions, including losing their jobs, teachers must omit "divisive concepts" as determined by legislators, exclude any of thousands of banned texts that are deemed inappropriate for students,[56] and teach a redacted version of history.[57] It has become illegal for teachers to teach some subjects factually, to teach in ways that recognize students' identities and histories, and to teach what they believe their students should know as members of a pluralistic, multiracial, multilingual democracy. Under these circumstances, teachers are compelled to comply with executive directives and state laws and thus prevented from placing the welfare of their students at the core of practice, as is ethically incumbent upon professionals.

The (De)Professionalization of Teaching

The state, status, and attractiveness of teaching has ebbed and flowed from the 1970s through the present, with many reports and surveys indicating that opinions and perceptions of teachers and teaching, including among teachers themselves, are at an all-time low.[58] Teachers characterize their jobs as stressful, unsafe, unfulfilling, poorly paid, and overloaded with too many responsibilities for too little time.[59] The majority of teachers feel a lack of respect for their work,[60] particularly from the media and elected officials.[61] Teachers express dissatisfaction with working conditions and the lack of support from administration. They identify these dissatisfactions as key factors in their decision to leave the profession.[62] Other factors that cause teachers to leave the profession include inadequate resources and students presenting with increased mental health and disruptive behavior challenges.[63] The majority of teachers report having less autonomy in decision-making and less control over curriculum and instruction, even though they express interest in having greater say and participation in instructional decisions.[64]

The hyper-regulation of teachers' work in the U.S. has led to an alarming level of demoralization among teachers,[65] who experience "uncertainty and alienation . . . [and] the de-humanizing effects of an increasingly managerialist and market-oriented approach to school education."[66] The financial crisis of 2008 and the exhaustion of *Coronavirus Aid, Relief and Security* (CARES) Act funding following the COVID pandemic have put additional financial strain on schools and education.[67] These economic calamities led to financial shortfalls for teachers, who lost additional ground in terms of compensation commensurate with professionals,[68] further undercutting notions of professionalism. Teachers seem to be experiencing what sociologist Julia Evetts calls a "new professionalism," in which external pressures override their work, "from notions of partnership, collegiality, discretion, and trust to increasing levels of managerialism, bureaucracy, standardization, assessment, and performance review."[69]

IV. Recent Developments

With these current contexts in mind, we focus on three recent and ongoing developments related to the professionalization of teaching: teacher performance assessments for certification and licensure; legislation surrounding curriculum and book bans; and digital technology that purports to personalize student learning, accelerated by recent advances in gen-

erative Artificial Intelligence. These developments are especially salient to the discussion because they reflect central issues in the teacher professionalism debates: measurements of teacher quality; decisions about curriculum; and best methods to meet students' needs. Consequently, they aggravate the contested territory of teaching, stir up the many groups and players who shape teaching, and worsen tensions that arise from these developments and their impact on teacher professionalism.

Credentialing and Certification: Teacher Performance Assessments

Since the 2000s, states and institutions have adopted nationally available teacher performance assessments for preservice teachers, such as the Educative Teacher Performance Assessment (edTPA) and the Praxis Performance Assessment of Teaching (PPAT), as a policy lever to strengthen the teaching profession.[70] As of 2021, at least 16 states required teacher performance assessments,[71] and approximately 900 teacher preparation programs across 40 states adopted teacher performance assessments for certification/licensure and/or program completion purposes.[72]

In contrast to paper-and-pencil teacher certification exams, teacher performance assessments aim to measure subject-specific, real-world tasks through a portfolio that includes lesson plans, teaching artifacts, video segments, student work samples, and reflections on teaching. One goal of these assessments is to "link a national conversation aimed at building consensus around professional standards of teaching practice with the tools of practice-based assessment."[73] These performance assessments are based on the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards portfolio assessment and claim to be aligned with the InTASC model core teaching standards, professional organizations' content standards, and national and state teacher education accreditation standards.[74]

Despite their widespread use in teacher education, prospective and current teachers, teacher educators, researchers, and policymakers debate the adoption and implementation of teacher performance assessments in teacher education.[75] Advocates argue that teacher performance assessments create structures for professionalizing teaching through alignment with standards for quality teaching[76] and professionally governed systems for internal and external teacher education accountability and programmatic improvement.[77,78] Some view these rigorous assessments as similar to licensure exams in law and medicine. Some research suggests that teacher performance assessments, such as the edTPA, are psychometrically sound and that scores on teacher performance assessments are positively correlated with other characteristics of effective teacher education programs, including teacher candidates' perceptions of programmatic and clinical support.[79]

Conversely, some teachers, teacher educators, and researchers have critiqued teacher performance assessments. Researchers point to the absence of social justice and equity in the content of the teacher performance assessments,[80] raising questions about whether the assessments measure consensus views of "quality teaching."[81] Scholars argue that standardized, nationally available performance assessments devalue local expertise,[82] with scoring outsourced to for-profit learning companies (Pearson, Inc. for the edTPA) and testing companies (ETS for the PPAT) that ignore local contexts and thus contribute to the corpora-

tization of teaching and the business of assessment. Researchers who have examined the consequential effects of the high stakes associated with teacher performance assessments[83] have found that they can lead to a narrowing of the teacher education curriculum[84] and a culture of compliance in the face of accountability pressures.[85] Preservice teachers describe the burdensome logistics that accompany completion of the assessments that are unrelated to the tasks of teaching.[86] Further research highlights the role of these assessments as gate-keeping mechanisms for preservice teachers of color and teachers from other minoritized communities.[87]

In response to these critiques, Georgia,[88] New York,[89] and New Jersey[90] have rescinded the performance assessment requirements for teacher certification and licensure. Additionally, legislators have proposed legislation that would eliminate the teacher performance assessment requirement for teacher certification and licensure in Illinois,[91] California,[92] and Connecticut.[93]

Curriculum: Widespread Curriculum Restrictions and Book Bans

As professionals, teachers should hold "a high degree of control over their work,"[94] but teachers in the U.S. have never consistently maintained decision-making power over instructional decisions and curriculum,[95] key classroom activities that are central to teachers' role. When teachers are regarded as "transformative intellectuals,"[96] they are able to enact a "curricular vision"[97] as curriculum-makers,[98] not simply curriculum-deliverers, and as professionals who exercise agency and make informed decisions according to their expert knowledge, professional judgement and diverse students' needs. However, in the U.S., any notion of teachers as autonomous professionals and curriculum-makers is being currently dismantled by politicians intent on legislating what teachers can and cannot say and do in their classrooms.[99,100] The range of legislation and executive actions aimed at suppressing or outright banning the instruction or mention of what have been termed "divisive concepts" is increasing and shifting, and lawmakers at local, state, and federal levels continue to introduce and pass new laws intended to impose so-called woke restrictions.[101]

According to a recent report, 30 states have introduced bills banning or limiting Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI) initiatives.[102] The UCLA School of Law has been tracking anti-Critical Race Theory (CRT) activities since 2020 and notes that thus far, "a total of **247** local, state, and federal government entities across the United States have introduced **861** anti-Critical Race Theory bills, resolutions, executive orders, opinion letters, statements, and other measures."[103] *Education Week* adds that, "since January 2021, 44 states have introduced bills or taken other steps that would restrict teaching critical race theory or limit how teachers can discuss racism and sexism."[104] These legislated restrictions, compounded by pressures from parents, religious institutions, and school boards seeking to align curricular content to their own beliefs, create a chilling effect on teachers' ability to make instructional decisions.[105] Many states now grant parents and the public the right to review and challenge library/reading and instructional materials, while other states have extended these prohibitions to professional development trainings for teachers.[106] According to the American Library Association, there have been "organized campaigns" to ban books, with an unprecedented 4,240 discrete book titles targeted for censorship in 2023 by individuals

and groups.[107]

The impact on teachers has been pronounced. Teachers are concerned about crossing vague content and instructional boundaries, losing their jobs, or risking sanction and censure.[108] These worries are not unfounded as educators have been fired from their positions for violating these laws and executive actions,[109] and schools have been threatened with loss of funding.[110] Unsurprisingly, teachers' perception of their own professional status has fallen dramatically in recent years.[111]

Digital Technology: Generative Artificial Intelligence as a Tool to Personalize Learning

As digital technologies continue to shape society, education, teaching, and learning,[112] teachers' roles have changed with the emergence of and increased accessibility to one-to-one laptops and tablets,[113] social media,[114] apps,[115] and other tools such as digital workbooks, texts, internships/simulations, and virtual reality in educational spaces.[116] The shift to remote instruction during the COVID-19 pandemic accelerated the adoption and integration of digital technologies in K-12 education, including Learning Management Systems, such as Google Classroom (part of Google Workspace for Education); videoconferencing applications, such as Zoom, that support virtual instruction and communication between teachers and families; and a plethora of educational software designed to personalize student learning in K-12 schools.[117]

As one of the fastest growing innovations in technology, generative Artificial Intelligence (AI), portends to "transform education as we know it."[118] Broadly speaking, generative AI is defined by its ability to produce original human-like output by detecting patterns, making associations, and automating decisions, through an analysis of large data systems via complex algorithms.[119] For example, generative AI large language models that power ChatGPT break down complex sentences and use probability models to predict and generate original human-like responses.[120] These models and systems often take place in a "black box," where the data and algorithms are not known to the developers or transparent to the users.[121]

Since the launch of ChatGPT in fall 2022, technology companies have rapidly incorporated generative AI into a wide range of educational tools including virtual learning platforms, learning management systems, and chatbots.[122] OpenAI advanced ChatGPT as a "personal tutor" for students,[123] Google introduced Gemini as an AI assistant in its Google Workspace for Education,[124] and Microsoft incorporated AI through "CoPilot," as a supplement to its Microsoft Office Suite. Technology companies argue that generative AI has the capacity to support targeted, individualized learning through AI-powered educational learning games, immediate feedback to students through adaptive learning platforms, and automated grading, freeing up teachers' time to focus on their students.[125] In 2023, surveys of teachers indicated that between 30-50 percent of teachers had used generative AI for teaching and learning purposes.[126] However, many teachers may not be aware of potential risks of using generative AI in the classroom.[127]

Some educational scholars and practitioners note that digital technologies that integrate

generative AI as a tool to personalize student learning and individualize instruction pose potential challenges to teacher professionalism.[128] Critics point to the adoption of AI through the intensification of existing concerns regarding the digitalization/platforming of schooling. They argue that generative AI rests on longstanding pressure to "personalize" education by shifting to digitally administered and controlled approaches to teaching and learning.[129] Additional risks include increasing costs, creating threats to student privacy, narrowing instructional content, creating and disseminating misinformation, and reinforcing and amplifying biases that already exist in current systems and technologies.[130] For example, AI tutors that restrict broader concepts of learning—pointing students to generate "correct answers" around rote recall or a discrete skill, rather than promoting critical thinking—remove the teacher from the role of curriculum designer, instructor, or assessor.[131] Generative AI is known to "hallucinate" or create false or unsubstantiated responses.[132] Also, generative AI models are based on existing data systems and simplistic models that are prone to reinforce existing biases in the data themselves.[133]

Despite concerns expressed by educators, educational researchers, and technology companies,[134] as of September 2024, no federal or state regulations related to the development, adoption, and integration of generative AI in education exist. The U.S. Department of Education Office of Technology published two major reports on generative AI in education that offer recommendations for developing and using generative AI in education,[135] and as of January 2025, 25 states offer guidance for K12 schools and districts around generative AI in education.[136] But technology companies retain primary control over the integration of generative AI in educational spaces as a tool for teaching and learning.

V. Discussion and Analysis

We structure our analysis of these developments around four key questions: (1) how is teaching quality defined; (2) who gets to decide; (3) what is the problem that this development or reform is trying to address; and (4) what is the solution to this problem? These questions often "lurk under the surface and only occasionally come explicitly to the fore."[137] In addressing these questions, we analyze how these recent developments position teachers toward—or away from—professionalization (see Table 1 below).

Proponents of nationally available performance assessments view teachers as practice-based professionals and define teaching quality in terms of specialized knowledge and skills that are in line with broader standards for teaching. The key decision-makers for policies related to teacher performance assessments are teacher educators and researchers (who designed these assessments), state departments of education, state and national accrediting bodies, teacher and teacher educator professional organizations, educational testing companies, advocacy organizations, and for-profit companies.[138] Nationally available performance assessments can serve as a mechanism toward both professionalization and de-professionalization of teaching, depending on who has control of decision-making around these assessments. Advocates for performance assessments argue that these products address problems related to the "quality" of the teaching workforce through authentic and rigorous assessments for program completion, certification, credentialing and licensure purposes, key characteristics of a profession. They contend these evaluative instruments are linked to specialized knowl-

edge and can provide evidence of teacher preparation program effectiveness. However, the consequences of these nationally available assessments lead to: standardization; reduced local autonomy of teachers and teacher educators; privatization of education through partnerships with for-profit companies; a narrowing of the teacher education curriculum and conceptions of teaching; and barriers and gatekeepers for prospective teachers.[139]

Proponents of curriculum bans define teaching quality in terms of teachers' compliance around and fidelity to specific definitions of what constitutes acceptable content and worthwhile knowledge. Although these proponents constitute a vocal minority in most places, they are empowered (or perhaps emboldened) by the political climate and prevailing ideology to shape and limit curriculum, according to their own self-interests and beliefs, and determine what all teachers should teach everyone's children. They use the power of accessible governance channels, such as school boards and government legislation, to forward curriculum changes "that affect not only their own children, but all children in a school, locality, or state."[140] They insist teachers should be confined to the role of curriculum deliverers and disseminators of purportedly "neutral" and "unbiased" content knowledge.

In contemporary times, decision-makers, such as conservative politicians and right-wing national advocacy groups such as *Moms for Liberty*, are reshaping state and district curriculum policy and content and exercising an outsized voice (and supported by outsized funding) in local debates around the role of teachers.[141] These advocates view the "left wing' indoctrination"[142] in schools an essential problem of public education. They sponsor and pass legislation in which some parents and religious institutions have more control over what their children—and other people's children—learn in schools.[143] These laws and policies have the chilling effect of disempowering teachers and contributing to the de-professionalization of teaching by removing teachers' autonomy and expertise as curriculum designers and transformative intellectuals.

Although Generative AI is currently operating in a liminal and uncertain space as a tool to personalize student learning, advocates for these technologies argue that quality teaching is defined through teachers' ability to effectively integrate digital tools to support personalized student learning, instruction, and assessment. Technology companies, with responses and guidelines from the U.S. Department of Education and state departments of education, are leading the conversation around teachers' roles and uses of how generative AI is integrated in the classroom. However, many stakeholders, including educational researchers and educators, are concerned about the potential risks of using AI. These concerns include restricting the complexity of curriculum and assessment and limiting teachers' autonomy and decision-making around what and how curriculum is taught and assessed. Private technology companies have almost complete control over decision-making around how and to what end generative AI is integrated into educational technology. The role teachers have in decision-making around the integration of generative AI in digital educational technologies is often limited or nil. Moreover, teachers have not been central to the discussion around regulations, use, and limitations around these tools in the classroom.

Table 1: Recent Developments and Key Questions Around Professionalization

	Credentialing & Certification: Teacher performance assessments	**Curriculum:** Curricular restrictions and book bans	**Digital Technology:** Generative AI in education as a tool to personalize student learning
What are teachers' roles related to teaching quality?	Teachers as practice-based professionals, in line with state and national standards for teaching and learning	Teachers as disseminators of curriculum implementing traditional, "neutral" curriculum	Teachers as curators of information and digital technologies promoting student-centered, personalized instruction and assessment
Who gets to make decisions around these developments?	Teacher educators, state Departments of Education, for-profit textbook companies, accrediting bodies	Conservative "parents' rights" advocacy groups, legislators, school board officials, politicians	Technology companies, federal government, state agencies
What is the problem of teaching?	Need to increase teaching quality, licensure and credentialing assessments	"Biased" liberal curriculum and educators	Need for individualized instruction, efficiency, technological knowledge and skills to keep up to date with advances in technology
What is the solution to the problem of teaching?	Rigorous and authentic assessments for credentialing, licensure, and certification purposes	Parental choice, voice and control over the curriculum, anti-public education rhetoric	Generative AI tutors, chatbots, integrated educational platforms, learning management systems that create personalized learning opportunities for students

Looking across these developments, we see that there is no consensus around definitions of teaching quality, the role of the teacher, and the problems and solutions to these problems. The adoption and implementation of performance assessments for teacher certification and licensure purposes, a key hallmark of a profession, simultaneously serve as a mechanism for de-professionalization. Curriculum restrictions and book ban laws highlight growing but increasingly influential anti-public education sentiment and distrust of teachers. Technology companies have outsized control and autonomy to integrate digital technologies into classrooms, and their products may ultimately serve as mechanisms to potentially remove or replace teachers from teaching, learning, and assessment activities.

Rethinking Professionalization

Because the professional status of teachers is fraught with such contradictions, the question, "Are teachers professionals?" may be the wrong question to ask. Instead, policymakers should consider whether to rethink professionalization by asking, "What kinds of professionals do we want teachers to be?" Policymakers and educational leaders can go beyond identifying characteristics and dimensions of professionalization—such as a specialized knowledge base, standards, and structures that would be internally controlled by teachers and teacher educators—to consider broader, pluralistic conceptions of professionalization.[144] Like many occupations, teaching is subject to a world context that is shifting and uncertain and constantly experiencing internal and external negotiation with other professions and broader societal influences.[145] Further, teaching draws on multiple approaches that could advance broader public aims in a pluralistic democratic society.[146] Recognizing this, definitions of professionalism—and the kinds of professionals teachers ought to be—would "acknowledge [that] diversity in teacher approaches underline that there are multiple possible ways of being an excellent teacher."[147] Such definitions of teachers' professionalism, and mechanisms for professionalization, are mindful of and responsive to "the special challenges of American pluralism" along with "education's idiosyncratic features,"[148] which are inherent in a society undergirded by democratic principles of choice, participation, and voice.

Considering the question, "What kinds of professionals do we want teachers to be?" moves away from static definitions or lists of characteristics toward broader notions of professionalism, such as how teachers can be independent decision makers and enact their own professionalism. Such considerations would underscore "the importance of teachers themselves at the forefront of discussions of teacher professionalism."[149] When a broader consideration of teacher professionalism is adopted in a plural democracy, teachers become,

> a group of 'social agents' involved in the education enterprise who collaborate with other stakeholders within the school community, [including] parents, students, teacher educators, and academics… [and who engage in] value-laden dialogic negotiations around the aims of education (a) with students over what is educationally desirable to support their growing emancipation; and (b) with stakeholders in the community around the aims of education and the nature of quality teaching.[150]

When teachers are viewed as "social agents"[151] and "policy actors,"[152] they are granted the expertise, autonomy, and responsibility to engage in the messy process of negotiating with the multiple stakeholders who define quality teaching locally, identify problems, and propose solutions that reposition students at the center of teachers' work.[153]

Because teachers operate within contested and constantly evolving systems that are shaped by multiple forces, internal and external pressures, and institutional structures, any considerations of their professional status are dependent on who is involved in the decision-making process around the goals of education, the nature of teachers' roles, what is taught, how it is taught, and how teaching and learning are assessed. Therefore, multiple voices—among them, teachers, family members, and local communities—are integral to this decision-making process.[154]

As evidenced in the three recent developments described above, the imbalance of power within and across roles and stakeholder groups increasingly has excluded teachers and eroded their professional status. However, when policymakers, leaders, and practitioners redistribute power to ensure shared decision-making among teachers and their various stakeholder groups, they replace this imbalance of power in the teaching profession with a "connective or democratic" professional community[155] focused on exchange, problem-solving, dialogue, and innovation. Such a process of (re)professionalization requires "organizational conditions . . . [that] . . . ensure teachers are actively involved in schoolwide decision-making."[156] As a plural, connective, and democratic concept, policymakers can reimagine professionalism not as a trait that an individual has or doesn't have, but as a collective action that members of a community undertake as they work collaboratively towards uplifting students, teachers, schools, communities, and the public good.

VI. Recommendations

The central question: "What kinds of professionals do we want teachers to be?" undergirds the recommendations outlined, while keeping in view the three key developments discussed in this brief and the de-professionalizing effect they have had on teachers. To assist politicians, policymakers, educational leaders, and teachers in redefining teaching quality and teachers' roles towards greater professionalism, we recommend that:

National and State Education Agencies and Accrediting Organizations

- Supplement standardized credentialing requirements for entry into the profession with teacher assessments that are locally designed, controlled, and responsive to community and local needs, thus building upon the existing knowledge base for teachers while simultaneously valuing local knowledge, culture, and expertise.

School and District Leaders

- Provide tangible support including funding, release time, and resources for teachers to collaborate and network, as well as provide professional development for teachers to work with members of the school, district, and broader community around issues of curriculum, teaching, and learning.
- Oppose efforts by a vocal minority in their communities, including elected school board members, to ban specific books and curricular content that educators and other community stakeholders determine that teachers can teach and that students should be allowed to access in classrooms and school libraries.
- Resist the temptation to prescribe that teachers use new technologies, such as generative AI, for instructional purposes. Instead include teachers in decisions to pilot, adopt, and implement specific digital products and platforms and give teachers flexibility to use new technologies in different ways.

Notes and References

1 Milner, H.R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

2 Research studies have shown that teachers are the most influential in-school factor related to student outcomes. See for example,

ASA statement on using value-added models for educational assessment. (2014, April 8). American Statistical Association. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://www.amstat.org/asa/files/pdfs/POL-ASAVAM-Statement.pdf

Burrell, N. & Harbatkin, E. (2024). Beyond the school building: Examining the association between of out-of-school factors and multidimensional school grades. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 32. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.32.8497

Burroughs, N., Gardner, J., Lee, Y., Guo, S., Touitou, I., Jansen, K., ... & Schmidt, W. (2019). A review of the literature on teacher effectiveness and student outcomes. In *Teaching for excellence and equity: Analyzing teacher characteristics, behaviors and student outcomes with TIMSS*, 7-17. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-16151-4_2

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). Teacher quality and student achievement. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *8*(1). Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v8n1.2000

Dearing, E., Bustamante, A.S., Zachrisson, H.D., & Vandell, D.L. (2024). Accumulation of opportunities predicts the educational attainment and adulthood earnings of children born into low- versus higher-income households. *Educational Researcher*, *53*(9). Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X241283456

Hanushek, E.A. & Rivkin, S.G. (2006). Teacher quality. *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, *2*, 1051-1078.

Maroun, J. & Tienken, C.H. (2024). The pernicious predictability of state-mandated tests of academic achievement in the United States. *Education Sciences, 14*(2), 129-142. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci14020129

3 DeVoto, C. & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). The struggle to professionalize teaching: Examining edTPA as a professionalization and deprofessionalization tool. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(9), 57-86.

4 Aronson, B., Anderson, A.B., Ellison, S., Barczak, K., & Bennett-Kinne, A. (2021). The last refuge of the incompetent: Urban teacher perceptions of their positions in public discourse. *Educational Studies*, *57*(1), 21-36.

Milner, H.R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

5 Evett, J. (2013). Professionalism: Value and ideology. *Current Sociology Review, 61*(5-6), 778–796.

Goodwin, A.L. (2012). Teaching as a profession: Are we there yet? In C. Day (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of teacher and school development* (pp. 44-56). Taylor & Francis.

Ingersoll, R.M. & Perda, D. (2008). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine & J. Spade (Eds), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education* (pp 106-118). Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.

Mehta, J. & Teles, S. (2014). Professionalization 2.0: The case for plural professionalism in education. In M. McShane & F. Hess (Eds.), *Teacher quality 2.0: Will today's reforms hold back tomorrow's schools?* (pp. 109-

134). Harvard Education Press.

Milner, H.R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

Sachs, J. (2016). Teacher professionalism: Why are we still talking about it? *Teachers and Teaching, 22*(4), 413-425. Retrieved February 24, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1082732

Whitty, G. (2008). Changing modes of teacher professionalism: traditional, managerial, collaborative and democratic. In B. Cunningham (Ed.), *Exploring professionalism* (pp. 28-49). Institute of Education, University of London.

6 Whitty, G. (2000). Teacher professionalism in new times. (p. 282) *Journal of In-service Education, 26(*2), 281–295. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/13674580000200121

7 For further discussion, please see:

Evetts, J. (2011). A new professionalism? Challenges and opportunities. *Current Sociology, 59*(4) 406–422

Sachs, J. (2016). Teacher professionalism: Why are we still talking about it? *Teachers and Teaching, 22*(4), 413-425, Retrieved February 24, from https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1082732

Evetts (2011) describes divergent interpretations of teacher professionalism that include, “professionalism as an occupational value” based on professional identity, collaboration, trust; “professionalism as ideology,” that involves specialized knowledge and internal control over one’s work; and “managerial professionalism” which is based on external accountability.

8 Etzioni, A. (1969). *The semi-professions and their organization: Teachers, nurses, social workers*. Free Press.

9 Agopian, T. (2022). Reforms in teacher education programs to enhance the professionalization of the teaching profession. *E-Pedagogium*, *22*(2).

Ingersoll, R.M. & Collins, G.J. (2018). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine, J. Spade, & J. Stuber (Eds.), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education, 6th Ed.* (pp. 199-213). Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.

Mehta, J. & Teles, S. (2014). Professionalization 2.0: The case for plural professionalism in education. In M. McShane & F. Hess (Eds.), *Teacher quality 2.0: Will today’s reforms hold back tomorrow’s schools?* (pp. 109-134). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

10 Bryant, J. (2009). *Immigration in the United States*. New Haven, CT: Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute. Retrieved Sept 29, 2024, from https://teachersinstitute.yale.edu/curriculum/units/1999/3/99.03.01/3

11 Sedlak, M.W. (2008). Competing visions of purpose, practice, and policy: The history of teacher certification in the United States. (p. 856-857). In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts* (3rd ed.) (pp. 855-885*)*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

12 Greer, C. (1976). *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education***.** Penguin Books.

Kaestle, C.F. (1983). *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780 – 1860*. Macmillan.

Tyack, D. (1967). (Ed.). *Turning Points in American Educational History*. Blaisdell Publishing Company.

13 Boyle, E. (2004). *The feminization of teaching in America*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://stuff.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/w/wgs/prize/eb04.html

14 Maher, F. (2012). The feminization of teaching. In James A. Banks (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Diversity in*

Education (pp. 902-905). Sage.

See also:

Albisetti, J.C. (1993). The feminization of teaching in the nineteenth century: A comparative perspective. *History of Education, 22*(3), 253–263. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760930220305

Boyle, E. (2004). *The feminization of teaching in America*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://stuff.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/w/wgs/prize/eb04.html

Grumet, M. (1981). Pedagogy for patriarchy: The feminization of teaching. *New Political Science*, *2*(3), 91–112. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148108429534

Grumet, M. (1988). *Bitter Milk*. The University of Massachusetts Press.

15 Tyack, D. (1974). *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Harvard University Press.

16 Apple, M. (1982). *Education and power*. Routledge.

Apple, M. (1986). *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education*. Routledge.

17 Sedlak, M.W. (2008). Competing visions of purpose, practice, and policy: The history of teacher certification in the United States. (p. 857, italics in original). In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts (3rd ed*. pp. 855-885*)*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

18 Imig, D.G. & Imig, S.R. (2008). From traditional certification to competitive certification; A twenty-five year retrospective. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser and J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts (*3rd ed.) (pp. 886-907). Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

19 Evett, J. (2013). Professionalism: Value and ideology. *Current Sociology Review, 61*(5-6), 778–796.

Ingersoll, R. & Perda, D. (2008). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine & J. Spade (Eds.), *Schools and society: A Sociological approach to education* (pp. 106-118). Pine Forge Press.

Whitty, G. (2000).Teacher professionalism in new times, *Journal of In-Service Education, 26*(2), 281-295.

20 Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions*. University of Chicago Press.

Becker, H.S. (1962). The nature of a profession. In N. B. Henry (Ed.), *Education for the professions, The sixty-first yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (pp. 27-46). University of Chicago Press.

Elliott, S. (1972). *The sociology of the professions*. MacMillan.

21 See for example, Darling-Hammond, L., & Goodwin, A.L. (1993). Progress toward professionalism in teaching. In G. Cawelti (Ed.), *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development 1993 Yearbook* (pp. 19-52). ASCD.

Holmes Group. (1986). *Tomorrow's teachers: A report of the Holmes Group*.

National Commission on Teaching & America's Future. (1996). *What matters most: Teaching for America's future*. New York, NY: Report of the National Commission on Teaching & America's Future.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *Doing what matters most: Investing in quality teaching*. National Commission on Teaching & America's Future.

Shulman, L.S. & Wilson, S.M. (2004). *The wisdom of practice: Essays on teaching, learning, and learning to*

teach. Jossey-Bass.

22 Darling-Hammond, L. & Goodwin, A.L. (1993). Progress toward professionalism in teaching. In G. Cawelti (Ed.), *Association for supervision and curriculum development 1993 yearbook* (pp. 19-52). ASCD.

Kerchner, C.T. & Caufman, K.D. (1995). Lurching towards professionalism: The saga of teacher unionism. *The Elementary School Journal, 96*(1), 107-122.

Mezza, A. (2022, August). *Reinforcing and innovating teacher professionalism: Learning from other professions*. OECD Education Working Paper No. 276. OECD.

Shulman, L.S. & Wilson, S.M. (2004). *The wisdom of practice: Essays on teaching, learning, and learning to teach*. Jossey-Bass.

Weiss, E. & Garcia, E. (2020, February 24). How teachers view their own professional status: A snapshot. *Kappan*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://kappanonline.org/how-teachers-view-own-professional-status-snapshot-garcia-weiss/

23 Ingersoll, R.M. & Collins, G.J. (2018). The status of reaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine, J. Spade, & J. Stuber (Eds.), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education* (6th Ed). (pp. 199-213). Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.

Kraft, M.A. & Lyon, M.A. (2024). *The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century*. (EdWorkingPaper: 22-679). Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.26300/7b1a-vk92

24 Goodwin, A.L. (2012). Teaching as a profession: Are we there yet? In C. Day (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of teacher and school development* (pp. 44-56). Taylor & Francis.

25 McDonald, R.W. (1956). *The professional standards movement in teaching: Progress and projection, proceedings of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards* (p. 8). National Education Association of the United States, Parkland, Washington: Pacific Lutheran College, Parkland Conference.

26 Bestor, A. (1953). *Educational wastelands; The retreat from learning in our public schools*. University of Illinois Press.

Koerner, J. (1963). *The miseducation of American teachers*. Houghton Mifflin.

27 National Academy of Education. (2024). *Evaluating and improving teacher preparation Programs* (p. 25). In K.M. Zeichner, L. Darling-Hammond, A.I. Berman, D. Dong, & G. Sykes (Eds.). National Academy of Education.

28 National Academy of Education. (2024). *Evaluating and improving teacher preparation programs*. (p. 19). In K.M. Zeichner, L. Darling-Hammond, A. I. Berman, D. Dong, & G. Sykes (Eds.), National Academy of Education.

29 National Academy of Education. (2024). *Evaluating and improving teacher preparation programs* (p. 20). In K.M. Zeichner, L. Darling-Hammond, A.I. Berman, D. Dong, & G. Sykes (Eds.), National Academy of Education.

30 Cf. Ballou, D. & Podgursky, M. (2000). Reforming teacher preparation and licensing: What is the evidence? *Teachers College Record, 102*(1), 5-27.

Berliner, D. (2001). Learning about and learning from expert teachers. *International Journal of Educational Research, 35*(5), 463-482.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). Taking stock in 2004: Teacher education in dangerous times. *Journal of Teacher Education, (55)*1, 3-7.

Darling-Hammond, L. & Bransford, J. (Eds.), (2005). *Preparing teachers for a changing world*. Jossey-Bass.

Murray, F.B. (2008). The role of teacher education courses in teaching by second nature. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts (3rd ed.),* (1228-1246). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, Office of Policy

Planning and Innovation. (2002). *Meeting the Highly Qualified Teachers challenge: The Secretary's annual report on teacher quality*.

31 Bartell, C.A. (1998). A normative vision of teacher as professional (p. 24). *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 24-30.

32 Wise, A.E. (2005). Establishing teaching as a profession: The essential role of professional accreditation. *Journal of teacher education*, *56*(4), 318-331.

33 Tamir, E., & Wilson, S.M. (2005). Who should guard the gates? Evidentiary and professional warrants for claiming jurisdiction. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *56*(4), 332-342.

34 Cochran-Smith, M., Piazza, P., & Power, C. (2013). The politics of accountability: Assessing teacher education in the United States. *The Educational Forum, 77*(1), 6-27.

35 D'Amico Pawlewicz, D. & View, J.L. (2020). Social justice and teacher professionalism in the United States in historical perspective: Fractured consensus. In R. Papa (Ed.), *Handbook on promoting social justice in education* (pp. 1279-1297). Springer.

Darling-Hammond, L. & Bransford, J. (Eds.), (2005). *Preparing teachers for a changing world*. Jossey-Bass.

Feiman-Nemser, S. (2001). From preparation to practice: Designing a continuum to strengthen and sustain teaching. *Teachers College Record*, *103*(6), 1013-1055.

36 Goodwin, A.L. & Oyler, C. (2008) Teacher educators as gatekeepers: Deciding who is ready to teach. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts* (3rd ed.) (pp. 468-490). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group and the Association of Teacher Educators.

37 Imig, D.G. & Imig, S.R. (2008). From traditional certification to competitive certification; A twenty-five year retrospective (p. 187) In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts* (3rd ed.) (pp. 886-907). Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

38 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001: Qualifications for Teachers and Professionals, 20 U.S.C. § 6319 (2008).

39 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, Office of Policy Planning and Innovation. (2002). *Meeting the Highly Qualified Teachers challenge: The Secretary's annual report on teacher quality* (p. 5).

40 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education, Office of Policy Planning and Innovation. (2002). *Meeting the Highly Qualified Teachers challenge: The Secretary's annual report on teacher quality*. (p. 5).

41 Will, M. (2024, January 10). Teacher preparation explained: Alternative routes, enrollment trends, and more. *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/teacher-preparation-explained-alternative-routes-enrollment-trends-and-more/2024/01

42 Tan, T.S., Arellano, I., & Patrick, S.K. (2024). *State teacher shortages 2024 update: Teaching positions left vacant or filled by teachers without full certification*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved October 10, 2024,

from https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/state-teacher-shortages-vacancy-2024

43 America Federation of Teachers. (2022, July). *Here today, gone tomorrow? AFT teacher and school staff shortage task force report*.

Povich, E.S. (2023, July 26). *Plagued by teacher shortages, some states turn to fast-track credentialing*. National Conference of State Legislatures. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://www.ncsl.org/state-legislatures-news/details/plagued-by-teacher-shortages-some-states-turn-to-fast-track-credentialing

44 Klein, A. (2023, October 10). Teachers from online-only prep programs hinder student achievement, report finds. *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/teachers-from-online-only-prep-programs-hinder-student-achievement-report-finds

Will, M. (2022, June 7). Alternative certification programs are booming. But candidates aren't finishing. *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/alternative-certification-programs-are-booming-but-candidates-arent-finishing/2022/06

45 Klein, A. (2023, October 10). Teachers from online-only prep programs hinder student achievement, report finds (para. 1). *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/teachers-from-online-only-prep-programs-hinder-student-achievement-report-finds

46 Cochran-Smith. M., Stringer Keefe, E., Cummings, M., Carney, Sánchez, J.G., Olivo, M., & Smith, R.J. (2020). Teacher preparation at new graduate schools of education; studying a controversial innovation. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 47*(2), 8-37.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2011, March 14). Teacher preparation is essential to TFA's future. *Education Week*. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/opinion-teacher-preparation-is-essential-to-tfas-future/2011/03

47 Darling-Hammond, L. (1989). Accountability for professional practice (p. 63). *Teachers College Record*, *91*(1), 59-80.

48 ASA statement on using value-added models for educational assessment. (2014, April 8). American Statistical Association. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://www.amstat.org/asa/files/pdfs/POL-ASAVAM-Statement.pdf

Burrell, N. & Harbatkin, E. (2024). Beyond the school building: Examining the association between of out-of-school factors and multidimensional school grades. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 32. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.32.8497

Dearing, E., Bustamante, A.S., Zachrisson, H.D., & Vandell, D.L. (2024). Accumulation of opportunities predicts the educational attainment and adulthood earnings of children born into low- versus higher-income households. *Educational Researcher*, 53(9). Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X241283456

Maroun, J. & Tienken, C.H. (2024). The pernicious predictability of state-mandated tests of academic achievement in the United States. *Education Sciences, 14*(2), 129-142. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci14020129

49 Goodwin, A.L. (2020). Globalization, global mindsets and teacher education. *Action in Teacher Education, 42*(1), 6-18.

50 Center on Education Policy. (2006, March). *From the capital to the classroom: Year 4 of the No Child Left Behind Act*. Center on Education Policy.

Darling-Hammond, L., Bae, S., Cook Harvey, C.M., Lam, L., Mercer, C., Podolsky, A., & Stosich, E.L. (2016). *Pathways to new accountability through the Every Student Succeeds Act*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved

October 10, 2024, from https://staging-development-apps.gse.stanford.edu/arizona-unit2-map-c/assets/arizona_files/Attachment%204%20Pathways_New-Accountability_Through_Every_Student_Succeeds.pdf

Fairtest. (2007, June 25). *Reports: High stakes testing hurts education*. Retrieved October 13, 2024, from https://fairtest.org/article/reports-high-stakes-testing-hurts-education/

Milner, H.R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

51 Stevenson, E. & Waltman, K. (2006). *The impact of NCLB on instructional changes: A consequential, validity study* (p.2). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Council on Measurement in Education, San Francisco.

52 Tschannen-Moran, M. (2009). Fostering teacher professionalism in schools: The role of leadership in orientation and trust. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 45,* 217-247.

53 Every Student Succeeds Act, 20 U.S.C. § 6301 (2015)

54 Fairtest. (2023, October). *What's wrong with standardized tests?* Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://fairtest.org/facts-whatwron-htm/

55 Adams, C. & Chiwaya, N. (2024, March 2). *Maps: See which states have introduced anti-DEI bills*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.nbcnews.com/data-graphics/anti-dei-bills-states-republican-lawmakers-map-rcna140756

56 American Library Association. (2024, March 14). *American Library Association reports record number of unique book titles challenged in 2023*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.ala.org/news/2024/03/american-library-association-reports-record-number-unique-book-titles

57 Markham, A., Cheng, B., & Aceves, P. (2023, May 8). 28 States, 71 Bills, and an education system transformed. A running tally of how Republicans are remaking the American classroom. *Intelligencer, New York Magazine*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2023/05/us-education-state-school-laws.html

58 Ingersoll, R.M. & Collins, G.J. (2018). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine, J. Spade, & J. Stuber (Eds.), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education, 6th Ed.* (pp. 199-213). Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.

Kraft, M.A. & Lyon, M.A. (2024). *The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century*. (EdWorkingPaper: 22-679). Retrieved from Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.26300/7b1a-vk92

Lin, L., Parker, K., & Horowitz, J.M. (2024, April 4). *What's it like to be a teacher in America today?* Pew Research Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2024/04/04/whats-it-like-to-be-a-teacher-in-america-today/

Peetz, C. (2022, November 15). The status of the teaching profession is at a 50-year low. What can we do about it? *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/the-status-of-the-teaching-profession-is-at-a-50-year-low-what-can-we-do-about-it/2022/11

59 Kraft, M.A. & Lyon, M.A. (2024). *The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century*. (EdWorkingPaper: 22-679). Retrieved from Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.26300/7b1a-vk92

Lin, L., Parker, K., & Horowitz, J.M. (2024, April 4). *What's it like to be a teacher in America today?* Pew Research Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2024/04/04/whats-it-like-to-be-a-teacher-in-america-today/

60 Weiss, E. & Garcia, E. (2020, Feb 24). How teachers view their own professional status: A snapshot. *Kappan*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://kappanonline.org/how-teachers-view-own-professional-status-snapshot-garcia-weiss/

61 AFT & BAT. (2017). *Educator quality of work life survey*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.aft.org/sites/default/files/media/2017/2017_eqwl_survey_web.pdf

62 Carver-Thomas, D. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2017, August). *Teacher turnover: Why it matters and what we can do about it*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/media/174/download?inline&file=Teacher_Turnover_REPORT.pdf

63 Weiss, E. & Garcia, E. (2020, February 24). How teachers view their own professional status: A snapshot. *Kappan*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://kappanonline.org/how-teachers-view-own-professional-status-snapshot-garcia-weiss/

64 Weiss, E., & Garcia, E. (2020, February 24). How teachers view their own professional status: A snapshot. *Kappan*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://kappanonline.org/how-teachers-view-own-professional-status-snapshot-garcia-weiss/

65 Kraft, M.A. & Lyon, M.A. (2024). *The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century*. (EdWorkingPaper: 22-679). Retrieved from Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.26300/7b1a-vk92

Lin, L., Parker, K., & Horowitz, J.M. (2024, April 4). *What's it like to be a teacher in America today?* Pew Research Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2024/04/04/whats-it-like-to-be-a-teacher-in-america-today/

66 Tang, S.Y.F. & Choi, P.L. (2009). Teachers' professional lives and continuing professional development in changing times. *Educational Review, 61*(1), 1-18.

67 Goodwin, A.L. (2017). Who is in the classroom now? Teacher preparation and the education of immigrant children. *Educational Studies, 53*(5), 433-449. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2016.1261028

68 Kraft, M.A. & Lyon, M.A. (2024). *The rise and fall of the teaching profession: Prestige, interest, preparation, and satisfaction over the last half century*. (EdWorkingPaper: 22-679). Retrieved from Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.26300/7b1a-vk92

69 Evetts, J. (2011). A new professionalism? Challenges and opportunities (p. 407). *Current Sociology 59*(4), 406–422. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392111402585

70 Cohen, J., Hutt, E., Berlin, R.L., Mathews, H.M., McGraw, J.P., & Gottlieb, J. (2020). Sense making and professional identity in the implementation of edTPA. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *71*(1), 9-23.

DeVoto, C. & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). The struggle to professionalize teaching: Examining edTPA as a professionalization and deprofessionalization tool. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(9), 57-86.

DeVoto, C., Olson, J.D., & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). Examining diverse perspectives of edTPA policy implementation across states: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *72*(1), 42-55.

Sato, M. (2014). What is the underlying conception of teaching of the edTPA? *Journal of Teacher Education*, *65*(5), 421-434.

71 Patrick, S.K. (2024) *How preparation predicts teaching performance assessment results in California*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.54300/544.849

72 DeVoto, C. & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). The struggle to professionalize teaching: Examining edTPA as a professionalization and deprofessionalization tool. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(9), 57-86.

DeVoto, C., Olson, J.D., & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). Examining diverse perspectives of edTPA policy implementation across states: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *72*(1), 42-55.

73 Peck, C.A., Young, M.G., & Zhang, W. (2021). *Using teaching performance assessments for program evaluation and improvement in teacher education* (p. 8). Evaluating and Improving Teacher Preparation Programs. National Academy of Education.

74 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (2024). *edTPA General Information*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from https://aacte.org/faq/edtpa/

edTPA (2024). *About edTPA*. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from https://edtpa.org/about

Pecheone R.L., Shear B., Whittaker A., & Darling Hammond L. (2013). *2013 edTPA field test: Summary report*. The Stanford Center for Assessment, Learning and Equity.

Sato, M. (2014). What is the underlying conception of teaching of the edTPA? *Journal of Teacher Education*, *65*(5), 421-434.

75 Cochran-Smith, M., Stern, R., Sánchez, J.G., Miller, A., Keefe, E.S., Fernández, M.B., ... & Baker, M. (2016). *Holding teacher preparation accountable: A review of claims and evidence*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/teacher-prep

Cochran-Smith, M., Carney, M.C., Keefe, E.S., Burton, S., Chang, W.C., Fernandez, M.B., ... & Baker, M. (2018). *Reclaiming accountability in teacher education*. Teachers College Press.

Lohwasser, K., Long, C., Shim, S.Y., & Windschitl, M. (2024). “Protected teaching spaces”: Opportunities and constraints when teaching for the edTPA. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *46*(1), 106-132. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737231162112

76 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (2024). *edTPA General Information*. Retrieved June 5, 2024, from https://aacte.org/faq/edtpa/

Whittaker, A., Pecheone, R., & Stansbury, K. (2018). Fulfilling our educative mission: A response to edTPA critique. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 26*(30). Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.3720

77 Barron, L. (2019). Candidate success: Providing effective support strategies for edTPA. In *Performance-based assessment in 21st century teacher education* (pp. 143-161). IGI Global.

Peck, C.A., Gallucci, C., & Sloan, T. (2010). Negotiating implementation of high-stakes performance assessment policies in teacher education: From compliance to inquiry. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *61*(5), 451-463.

Peck, C.A., Singer-Gabella, M., Sloan, T., & Lin, S. (2014). Driving blind: Why we need standardized performance assessment in teacher education. *Journal of Curriculum and Instruction*, *8*(1), 8-30.

Pecheone, R.L. & Whittaker, A. (2016). Well-prepared teachers inspire student learning. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *97*(7), 8-13.

Sloan, T. (2013). Distributed leadership and organizational change: Implementation of a teaching performance measure. *The New Educator, 9*(1), 29-53

Whittaker, A., Pecheone, R., & Stansbury, K. (2018). Fulfilling our educative mission: A response to edTPA critique. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 26*(30). Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.3720

78 Peck, C.A., Young, M.G., & Zhang, W. (2021). *Using teaching performance assessments for program evaluation and improvement in teacher education*. National Academy of Education Committee on Evaluating

and Improving Teacher Preparation Programs. National Academy of Education. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://naeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Revised-Final-pp-for-NAEd-EITPP-Paper-6-Peck_Young_Zhang.pdf

79 Patrick, S.K. (2024) *How preparation predicts teaching performance assessment results in California*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.54300/544.849

80 Education Deans for Justice and Equity (2019). *Seven trends in U.S. teacher education, and the need to address systemic injustices*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/seven-trends

Reagan, E.M., Schram, T., McCurdy, K., Chang, T.H., & Evans, C.M. (2016). Politics of policy: Assessing the implementation, impact, and evolution of the Performance Assessment for California Teachers (PACT) and edTPA. *Education policy analysis archives*, *24*, 9-9.

81 DeVoto, C. & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). The struggle to professionalize teaching: Examining edTPA as a professionalization and deprofessionalization tool. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(9), 57-86.

DeVoto, C., Olson, J.D., & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). Examining diverse perspectives of edTPA policy implementation across states: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *72*(1), 42-55.

82 Dover, A.G., & Schultz, B.D. (2015). Troubling the edTPA: Illusions of objectivity and rigor. *The Educational Forum*, *80*(1), 95–106. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2015.1102368

Schultz, B.D. & Dover, A.G. (2017). “We do everything with edTPA” Interrupting and disrupting teacher education in troubling times. In J. Carter & H. Lochte (Eds.), *Teacher performance assessment and accountability reforms: The impacts of edTPA on teaching and schools* (pp. 107-117). Palgrave MacMillan.

83 Behizadeh, N. & Neely, A. (2018). Testing injustice: Examining the consequential validity of edTPA. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *51*(3-4), 242-264.

DeVoto, C. & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). The struggle to professionalize teaching: Examining edTPA as a professionalization and deprofessionalization tool. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(9), 57-86.

DeVoto, C., Olson, J.D., & Gottlieb, J.J. (2021). Examining diverse perspectives of edTPA policy implementation across states: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *72*(1), 42-55.

84 Au, W. (2013). What’s a nice test like you doing in a place like this? *Rethinking Schools*, *27*(4), 22-27.

Hutt, E.L., Gottlieb, J., & Cohen, J.J. (2018). Diffusion in a vacuum: edTPA, legitimacy, and the rhetoric of teacher professionalization. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *69*, 52-61.

Ledwell, K. & Oyler, C. (2016). Unstandardized responses to a “standardized” test: The edTPA as gatekeeper and curriculum change agent. *Journal of Teacher Education, 67*(2), 120-134.

85 Clayton, C.D. (2018). Policy meets practice in New York State: Understanding early edTPA implementation through preservice candidates’ eyes. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 45*(3), 97-125.

Clayton, C.D. (2018). Voices from student teachers in New York: The persistence of a subtractive experience of the edTPA as a licensure exam for initial certification. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *26*, 27-27.

Cronenberg, S., Harrison, D., Korson, S., Jones, A., Murray-Everett, N.C., Parrish, M., & Johnston-Parsons, M. (2016). Trouble with the edTPA: Lessons Learned from a Narrative Self-Study. *Journal of Inquiry and Action in Education*, *8*(1), 109-134.

Paugh, P., Wendell, K.B., Power, C., & Gilbert, M. (2018). ‘It’s not that easy to solve’: edTPA and preservice teacher learning. *Teaching Education*, *29*(2), 147-164.

86 Clayton, C.D. (2018). Voices from student teachers in New York: The persistence of a subtractive experience of

the edTPA as a licensure exam for initial certification. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *26*, 27-27.

Choppin, J. & Meuwissen, K. (2017). Threats to validity in the edTPA video component. *Action in Teacher Education*, *39*(1), 39-53.

Ledwell, K. & Oyler, C. (2016). Unstandardized responses to a “standardized” test: The edTPA as gatekeeper and curriculum change agent. *Journal of Teacher Education, 67*(2), 120-134.

Paugh, P., Wendell, K.B., Power, C., & Gilbert, M. (2018). ‘It’s not that easy to solve’: edTPA and preservice teacher learning. *Teaching Education*, *29*(2), 147-164.

Shin, M. (2021). ‘I felt so removed from student teaching’: Shared voices of preservice student teachers regarding the edTPA and student teaching. *Teaching Education*, *32*(2), 224-235.

87 Petchauer, E., Bowe, AG., & Wilson, J. (2018). Winter is coming: Forecasting the impact of edTPA on Black teachers and teachers of color. *The Urban Review*, *50*, 323-343.

88 Will, M. (2020, June 12). Georgia eliminates the edTPA requirement for teacher candidates. *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/georgia-eliminates-the-edtpa-requirement-for-teacher-candidates/2020/06

89 Saunders, S. (2022). *Regents dump edTPA requirement for teacher certification*. NYSUT. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.nysut.org/news/nysut-united/issues/2022/may/edtpa

90 New Jersey Education Association (February 1, 2023). *Elimination of edTPA a victory for all members*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.njea.org/elimination-of-edtpa-a-victory-for-all-members/

91 Hancock, P. (2023, April 11). *Bill calls for review of teacher licensing standards*. Capitol News Illinois. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://capitolnewsillinois.com/news/bill-calls-for-review-of-teacher-licensing-standards/

92 Lambert, D. (2024, April 19). *California moves a step closer to eliminating one of the state’s last teacher assessments*. Ed Source. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://edsource.org/2024/california-moves-a-step-closer-to-eliminating-one-of-the-states-last-teacher-assessments/710227

93 Werblow, J. (2024, May 6*). Opinion: Connecticut ditch the edTPA teacher certification requirement*. Connecticut Mirror. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://ctmirror.org/2024/05/06/ct-edtpa-teacher-certification/

94 Ingersoll, R.M. & Collins, G.J. (2018). The status of teaching as a profession (p. 299). In J. Ballantine, J. Spade, & J. Stuber (Eds.), *Schools and society: A Sociological approach to education* (6th ed.). (pp. 199-213). Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.

95 AFT & BAT. (2017). *Educator quality of work life survey*. AFT. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.aft.org/sites/default/files/media/2017/2017_eqwl_survey_web.pdf

Darling-Hammond, L., & Goodwin, A.L. (1993). Progress toward professionalism in teaching. In, G. Cawelti (Ed.), *Association for supervision and curriculum development 1993 yearbook* (pp. 19-52). ASCD.

Etzioni, A. (1969). *The semi-professions and their organization: Teachers, nurses, social workers*. Free Press.

Goodwin, A.L. (2012). Teaching as a profession: Are we there yet? In C. Day (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of teacher and school development* (pp. 44-56). Taylor & Francis.

Milner, H.R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/policy-reforms-deprofessionalization

96 Giroux, H.A. (1988) *Teachers as Intellectuals*. Bergin & Garvey.

97 Zumwalt, K. (1989). Beginning professional teachers: The need for a curricular vision of teaching. In M.C. Reynolds (Ed.), *Knowledge base for the beginning teacher* (pp. 173-184). Pergamon Press.

98 Clandinin, J.D. & Connelly, M.F. (1992). Teachers as curriculum makers. In Jackson, P.W. (Ed.), *Handbook of research on curriculum* (pp. 363-401). Macmillan.

99 While outside the scope of this brief, the curriculum bans in some ways overlap with curricular reform efforts related to the rise of scripted curriculum in the "science of reading" movement as a new and powerful way to de-professionalize teachers.

100 Aydarova, E. (2024). What you see is not what you get: Science of reading reforms as a guise for standardization, centralization, and privatization. *American Journal of Education*. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/730991

Aydarova, E. (2023). "Whatever you want to call it": Science of reading mythologies in the education reform movement. *Harvard Educational Review, 93*(4), 556–581. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.17763/1943-5045-93.4.556

Compton-Lilly, C.F., Mitra, A., Guay, M., & Spence, L.K. (2020). A confluence of complexity: Intersections among reading theory, neuroscience, and observations of young readers. *Reading Research Quarterly, 55*(S1), S185-S195. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1002/rrq.348

Edling, S. (2015). Between curriculum complexity and stereotypes: Exploring stereotypes of teachers and education in media as a question of structural violence. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 47*(3), 399–415. Retrie Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2014.956796

Hoffman, J.V., Hikida, M., & Sailors, M. (2020). Contesting science that silences: Amplifying equity, agency, and design research in literacy teacher preparation. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *55*(S1), S255–S266. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1002/rrq.353

Rigell, A., Banack, A., Maples, A., Laughter, J., Broemmel, A., Vines, N., & Jordan, J. (2022, November). Overwhelming whiteness: A critical analysis of race in a scripted reading curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 54*(6), 852–870. Retrieved February 25, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2022.2030803

101 Feingold, J. & Weishart, J. (2023). *How discriminatory censorship laws imperil public education*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved December 4, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/censorship

102 Adams, C. & Chiwaya, N. (2024, March 2). *Maps: See which states have introduced anti-DEI bills*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.nbcnews.com/data-graphics/anti-dei-bills-states-republican-lawmakers-map-rcna140756

103 CRT Forward. (2024). (para 1; emphasis in original). Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://crtforward.law.ucla.edu/

104 Schwartz, S. (updated 2024, August 28). Map: Where Critical Race Theory is under attack. (para. 5) *Education Week*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/map-where-critical-race-theory-is-under-attack/2021/06

105 Cohn, C. (2023). *School boards in Chino and Temecula raise worries about local control*. EdSource. Retrieved February 6, 2025, from https://edsource.org/2023/school-boards-in-chino-and-temecula-raise-worries-about-local-control/694698

Hamilton, V.E. (2024). *The conflict over parents' rights*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/parents-rights

Natanson, H. (2023, March 6). ‘Slavery was wrong’ and 5 other things some educators won’t teach anymore. *Washington Post*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/03/06/slavery-was-wrong-5-other-things-educators-wont-teach-anymore/

Neuman, S. (2022, November 13). *The culture wars are pushing some teachers to leave the classroom*. National Public Radio. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.npr.org/2022/11/13/1131872280/teacher-shortage-culture-wars-critical-race-theory

The Economist. (2023, December 9). *Anti-woke activists are winning the culture war in America*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.economist.com/united-states/2023/12/09/anti-woke-activists-are-losing-many-of-their-school-board-battles

106 Hamilton, V.E. (2024). *The conflict over parents' rights*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/parents-rights

Markham-Cantor, A., Cheng, B., & Aceves, P. (2023, May 8). 28 states, 71 Bills, and an education system transformed. A running tally of how Republicans are remaking the American classroom. *Intelligencer, New York Magazine*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2023/05/us-education-state-school-laws.html

107 American Library Association. (2024, March 14). *American Library Association reports record number of unique book titles challenged in 2023*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.ala.org/news/2024/03/american-library-association-reports-record-number-unique-book-titles

108 Natanson, H. (2023, March 6). ‘Slavery was wrong’ and 5 other things some educators won’t teach anymore. *Washington Post*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/03/06/slavery-was-wrong-5-other-things-educators-wont-teach-anymore/

109 Natanson, H. (2023, March 6). ‘Slavery was wrong’ and 5 other things some educators won’t teach anymore. *Washington Post*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/03/06/slavery-was-wrong-5-other-things-educators-wont-teach-anymore/

Natanson, H. & Balingit, M. (2022, June 16). Caught in the culture wars, teachers are being forced from their jobs. *Washington Post*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/06/16/teacher-resignations-firings-culture-wars/

Neuman, S. (2022, November 13). *The culture wars are pushing some teachers to leave the classroom*. National Public Radio. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.npr.org/2022/11/13/1131872280/teacher-shortage-culture-wars-critical-race-theory

The Economist. (2023, December 9). *Anti-woke activists are winning the culture war in America*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.economist.com/united-states/2023/12/09/anti-woke-activists-are-losing-many-of-their-school-board-battles

110 Markham-Cantor, A., Cheng, B., & Aceves, P. (2023, May 8). 28 states, 71 bills, and an education system transformed. A running tally of how Republicans are remaking the American classroom. *Intelligencer, New York Magazine*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2023/05/us-education-state-school-laws.html

111 AFT & BAT. (2017). *Educator quality of work life survey*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.aft.org/sites/default/files/media/2017/2017_eqwl_survey_web.pdf

Bruno, R. (2018, June 20). When did the U.S. stop seeing teachers as professionals? *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://hbr.org/2018/06/when-did-the-u-s-stop-seeing-teachers-as-professionals

Peetz, C. (2022, Nov 15). The status of the teaching profession is at a 50-year low. What can we do about it?

Education Week. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/the-status-of-the-teaching-profession-is-at-a-50-year-low-what-can-we-do-about-it/2022/11

Weiss, E., & Garcia, E. (2020, February 24). How teachers view their own professional status: A snapshot. *Kappan*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://kappanonline.org/how-teachers-view-own-professional-status-snapshot-garcia-weiss/

112 Shaffer, D.W., Nash, P., & Ruis, A.R. (2015). Technology and the new professionalization of teaching. *Teachers College Record, 117*(12), 1-30.

113 Zheng, B., Warschauer, M., Lin, C.H., & Chang, C. (2016). Learning in one-to-one laptop environments: A meta-analysis and research synthesis. *Review of Educational Research, 86*(4), 1052-1084.

114 Kimmons, R. & Veletsianos, G. (2015). Teacher professionalization in the age of social networking sites. *Learning, Media and Technology, 40*(4), 480-501.

115 Kim, J., Gilbert, J., Yu, Q., & Gale, C. (2021). Measures matter: A meta-analysis of the effects of educational apps on preschool to grade 3 children's literacy and math skills. *AERA Open, 7*, Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211004183

116 Shaffer, D.W., Nash, P., & Ruis, A.R. (2015). Technology and the new professionalization of teaching. *Teachers College Record, 117*(12), 1-30.

117 Jacob, B.A. & Stanojevich, C (2024, Aug. 16). *Rewiring the classroom: How the COVID-19 pandemic transformed K-12 education*. Retrieved December 16, 2024, from https://www.brookings.edu/articles/rewiring-the-classroom-how-the-covid-19-pandemic-transformed-k-12-education/

118 Chen, C. (2023, March 9). *AI will transform teaching and learning. Let's get it right*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://hai.stanford.edu/news/ai-will-transform-teaching-and-learning-lets-get-it-right

119 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Technology (2023, May). *Artificial intelligence and the future of teaching and learning: Insights and recommendations*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://tech.ed.gov/files/2023/05/ai-future-of-teaching-and-learning-report.pdf

120 Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

121 Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

122 Diliberti, M., Schwartz, H.L., Doan, S., Shapiro, A.K., Rainey, L., & Lake, R.J. (2024). *Using Artificial intelligence tools in K-12 classrooms*. RAND. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA956-21.html

123 OpenAI (2023, August 31). *Teaching with AI*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://openai.com/index/teaching-with-ai/

124 Kirtaker, A. & Hendricks, B. (2024, June 24). *New AI tools for Google Workspace for Education*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://blog.google/outreach-initiatives/education/workspace-gemini-classroom-iste-2024/

125 Hamilton, I. (2024, June 6). *Artificial intelligence in education: Teachers' opinions on AI in the classroom*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.forbes.com/advisor/education/it-and-tech/artificial-intelligence-in-school/

126 Blose, A. (2023, April 12). *As ChatGPT enters the classroom, teachers weigh pros and cons*. Retrieved October

10, 2024, from https://vtnea.org/advocating-change/new-from-vt-nea/chatgpt-enters-classroom-teachers-weigh-pros-and-cons

Diliberti, M., Schwartz, H.L., Doan, S., Shapiro, A.K., Rainey, L., & Lake, R.J. (2024). *Using Artificial Intelligence tools in K-12 classrooms*. RAND. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA956-21.html

127 Grose, J. (2024, August 14). What teachers told me about A.I. in school. *New York Times*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/14/opinion/ai-schools-teachers-students.html

128 Mao, J., Chen, B., & Liu, J. C. (2024). Generative artificial intelligence in education and its implications for assessment. *TechTrends, 68*(1), 58-66.

Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

129 Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved December 17, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

130 Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved September 24, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

131 Partelow, L. (2024, September 19, 2024). *Using learning science to analyze the risks and benefits of AI in K-12 education*. Center for American Progress. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.americanprogress.org/article/using-learning-science-to-analyze-the-risks-and-benefits-of-ai-in-k-12-education/

Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

132 Marcus, G. (2024, April 21). Humans versus machines: The hallucination edition [blog post]. *Marcus on AI*. Retrieved February 13, 2025, from https://garymarcus.substack.com/p/humans-versus-machines-the-hallucination?

Narayanan, A. & Kapoor, S. (2024. *AI snake oil: What artificial intelligence can do, what it can't, and how to tell the difference* (pp. 139-143). Princeton University Press.

133 Mao, J., Chen, B., & Liu, J.C. (2024). Generative artificial intelligence in education and its implications for assessment. *TechTrends, 68*(1), 58-66.

134 Williamson, B., Molnar, A., & Boninger, F. (2024). *Time for a pause: Without effective public oversight, AI in schools will do more harm than good*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/ai

135 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Technology (2023, May). *Artificial intelligence and the future of teaching and learning: Insights and recommendations*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://tech.ed.gov/files/2023/05/ai-future-of-teaching-and-learning-report.pdf

U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Technology (2024, July). *Designing for education with artificial intelligence: An essential guide for developers*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://tech.ed.gov/files/2024/07/Designing-for-Education-with-Artificial-Intelligence-An-Essential-Guide-for-Developers.pdf

136 AI for Education (2025, January 24). *State AI guidance for K12 schools*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.aiforeducation.io/ai-resources/state-ai-guidance

137 Darling-Hammond, L. (2021). Defining teaching quality around the world (p. 294). *European Journal of Teacher Education, 44*(3), 295–308. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2021.1919080

138 Cochran-Smith, M., & Reagan, E. M. (2022). Beyond "best practices": Centering equity in teacher preparation evaluation. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 30*(66).

139 Au, W. (2013). What's a nice test like you doing in a place like this? *Rethinking Schools, 27*(4), 22-27.

Clayton, C.D. (2018). Policy meets practice in New York State: Understanding early edTPA implementation through preservice candidates' eyes. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 45*(3), 97-125.

Clayton, C.D. (2018). Voices from student teachers in New York: The persistence of a subtractive experience of the edTPA as a licensure exam for initial certification. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 26*, 27-27.

Cronenberg, S., Harrison, D., Korson, S., Jones, A., Murray-Everett, N.C., Parrish, M., & Johnston-Parsons, M. (2016). Trouble with the edTPA: Lessons learned from a narrative self-study. *Journal of Inquiry and Action in Education, 8*(1), 109-134.

Hutt, E.L., Gottlieb, J., & Cohen, J.J. (2018). Diffusion in a vacuum: edTPA, legitimacy, and the rhetoric of teacher professionalization. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 69*, 52-61.

Ledwell, K. & Oyler, C. (2016). Unstandardized responses to a "standardized" test: The edTPA as gatekeeper and curriculum change agent. *Journal of Teacher Education, 67*(2), 120-134.

Paugh, P., Wendell, K.B., Power, C., & Gilbert, M. (2018). 'It's not that easy to solve': edTPA and preservice teacher learning. *Teaching Education, 29*(2), 147-164.

140 Hamilton, V.E. (2024). *The conflict over parents' rights* (p. 3). Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/parents-rights

141 Hamilton, V.E. (2024). *The conflict over parents' rights* (p. 3). Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/parents-rights

142 Schwartz, S. (2025, January 22, para. 1). This is how "woke" schools really are—according to students. *Education Week*. Retrieved February 8, 2025, from https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/this-is-how-woke-schools-really-are-according-to-students/2025/01

143 Cohn, C. (2023). *School boards in Chino and Temecula raise worries about local control*. EdSource. Retrieved February 6, 2025, from https://edsource.org/2023/school-boards-in-chino-and-temecula-raise-worries-about-local-control/694698

144 Mehta, J. & Teles, S. (2014). Professionalization 2.0: The case for plural professionalism in education. In M. McShane & F. Hess (Eds.), *Teacher Quality 2.0: Will Today's Reforms Hold Back Tomorrow's Schools?* (pp. 109-134). Harvard Education Press.

145 Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions*. University of Chicago Press.

Bureau, S. & Suquet, J. B. (2009). A professionalization framework to understand the structuring of work. *European Management Journal, 27*(6), 467-475.

146 Mehta, J. & Teles, S. (2014). Professionalization 2.0: The case for plural professionalism in education. In M. McShane & F. Hess (Eds.), *Teacher quality 2.0: Will today's reforms hold back tomorrow's schools?* (pp. 109-134). Harvard Education Press.

147 Mezza, A. (2022, August). *Reinforcing and innovating teacher professionalism: Learning from other*

professions (p. 14). OECD Education Working Paper No. 276. OECD.

148 Mehta, J., & Teles, S. (2014). Professionalization 2.0: The case for plural professionalism in education (p. 119). In M. McShane & F. Hess (Eds.), T*eacher quality 2.0: Will today's reforms hold back tomorrow's schools?* (pp. 109-134). Harvard Education Press.

149 Mezza, A. (2022, August). *Reinforcing and innovating teacher professionalism: Learning from other professions* (p. 21). OECD Education Working Paper No. 276. OECD.

150 Becher, A. (2024). Holding our ground in the face of public mistrust: The future of professionalism in teaching and teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1177/00224871241268552

151 Becher, A. (2024). Holding our ground in the face of public mistrust: The future of professionalism in teaching and teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1177/00224871241268552

152 Ellison, S., Anderson, A.B., Aronson, B., & Clausen, C. (2018). From objects to subjects: Repositioning teachers as policy actors doing policy work. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 74*, 157-169.

Heineke, A.J., Ryan, A.M., & Tocci, C. (2015). Teaching, learning, and leading: Preparing teachers as educational policy actors. *Journal of Teacher Education, 66*(4), 382-394.

153 Cochran-Smith, M., Carney, M.C., Keefe, E.S., Burton, S., Chang, W.C., Fernandez, M.B., ... & Baker, M. (2018). *Reclaiming accountability in teacher education*. Teachers College Press.

154 Hamilton, V.E. (2024). *The conflict over parents' rights* (p. 3). Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/parents-rights

155 Mezza, A. (2022, August). *Reinforcing and innovating teacher professionalism: Learning from other professions* (p. 14). OECD Education Working Paper No. 276. OECD.

156 Villavicencio, A., Klevan, S., Patton Miranda, C., Jaffe-Walter, R., & Cherng, H.S. (2024). "The freedom to teach": The role of (re)professionalization in cultivating responsive schooling for immigrant students. (p. 168). *Educational Studies, 60*(2), 156–176. Retrieved October 20, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2024.2315981