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# The Business of Learning to Teach: A Critical Metaphor Analysis of One Teacher's Journey

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## Highlights

- We analyze one novice teacher's perceptions of her learning to teach process.
- Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) reveals conflicting frames of learning to teach.
- We discuss potential consequences of learning to teach in neoliberal contexts.
- We use CMA to make visible the realities many teachers face within these contexts.

## Abstract

This article analyzes the learning to teach process of one novice teacher, Rachael, enrolled in an Urban Teacher Residency (UTR) in Harbor City, United States. Building on Loh and Hu's (2014) scholarship on neoliberalism and novice teachers, we employ Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to make visible the ways in which Rachael contends with conflicting frames of learning to teach—TEACHING IS A JOURNEY vs. TEACHING IS A BUSINESS—within her program. Rachael encounters three primary obstacles: programmatic incompatibility, pedagogical paralysis, and, ultimately, programmatic abandonment. The discussion explores the potential consequences of learning to teach in neoliberal contexts.

**Keywords:** Urban teacher residency, Novice teachers, Learning to teach, Critical Metaphor Analysis

## 1. Introduction

Throughout the last twenty years, educators have grown more attuned to how neoliberal ideologies shape the profession of teaching as well as the structure and aims of schooling. Broadly, neoliberalism is a “theory of political and economic practices” (Harvey, 2007, p. 2) that advances the notion that market-based solutions and privatization best promote opportunity. Kretchmar, Sondel, and Ferrare (2014) provide a useful synthesis of neoliberalism:

Neoliberalism prioritizes freedom and individualism over the collective, and defines freedom and individualism in commercial and consumer terms ... In language, it sounds like ‘public is bad, private is good’ rhetoric. In action, neoliberalism favors increased privatization and deregulation and decreased state intervention, coupled with the defunding of public services, such as higher education, libraries, and healthcare (Apple, 2006; Ball, 2007; Burch, 2009; Harvey, 2005; Hursh, 2005). (p. 3).

Loh and Hu (2014) note that the United States and the UK are two of the most well-known neoliberal states; however, the orientation to market-based solutions, individualism, and privatization has been occurring *globally* since the 1970s. Neoliberalism, however, is not a coherent set of explicit beliefs, and thus does not play out in the same ways around the world (or even within a country): neoliberalism in Chile is not the same as neoliberalism in China, or in Spain, or in Singapore (Freidrich, 2014). Despite differences within and among different countries, globally neoliberalism has become “ingrained in popular consciousness as a kind of common-sense” (Harvey, 2007, p. 3).

In this article, we build on Loh and Hu's (2014) scholarship exploring how novice teachers learn to teach within neoliberal policy contexts. One reason why Loh and Hu's (2014) scholarship is so useful is because it moves beyond conceptual work in the field and into the empirical documentation of how neoliberal common sense shapes teacher learning. Our work aims to add to

this growing base of empirical work on neoliberalism and teacher education so that we might understand in more concrete ways the ways in which neoliberal contexts shape teachers' conceptions of themselves, their students, and the aims of teaching. Using Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), we analyze one teacher's experience of learning to teach within an Urban Teacher Residency (UTR), an innovative and rapidly growing model of teacher preparation in the United States. While each of the 17 residencies that are part of the Urban Teacher Residency United network (<http://www.utrunited.org/>) approach their residency model a bit differently, commonalities among UTRs include a paid, year-long classroom apprenticeship with concurrent Masters-level coursework; a cohort-based experience; and a commitment to teaching three years in one of the district's schools. During that time, the residents receive intensive induction and professional development support.

Although our analysis focuses on one teacher learning within a UTR, a unique pathway gaining traction in the United States, it is important to note that both "alternative" and "traditional" programs in national and international contexts are similarly shaped by neoliberal common sense. In the United States, this includes traditional university-based teacher education as well as alternative routes like Teach for America (TFA) and the Teaching Fellows; on the global level this comprises "Teach for All" programs (the international expressions of TFA) including Teach for India, Teach for China, and Teach for Argentina (Freidrich, 2014). A growing body of research explores how neoliberal common sense shapes teacher education writ large (Apple, 2001; Zeichner, 2010; Zeichner and Sandoval, 2015), whether that be the preparation of teachers as technicians, the focus on teachers' testable content knowledge, and the shortening (or even bypassing) of teacher preparation altogether (Sleeter, 2008).

In this article, we aim to contribute to this growing body of research on neoliberalism and teacher education (i.e., Loh & Hu, 2014) through an analysis of one novice teacher, Rachael, enrolled in an Urban Teacher Residency (UTR). In particular, we show how Rachael encountered two diametrically opposed frames for learning to teach: her own conception of TEACHING IS A JOURNEY and the program's conception of TEACHING IS A BUSINESS. It is this conflict of frames that we work to make visible in this paper to help illuminate the struggle that novice teachers—nationally and internationally, in "traditional" and "alternative" programs—might encounter while learning to teach in settings where neoliberal ideologies animate policies, practices, and program structures.

## 2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis

The theoretical lens of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is a powerful approach to the study of language, conceptual systems, human cognition, and general meaning construction thus providing a "window into the mind" of the teacher as she engages in the social practice of learning to teach (Fauconnier, 1999, p. 96). Incorporating CL into analyses of interview data (as opposed to analysis of other types of discourse such as media discourse where CL is frequently incorporated) is a relatively new approach that is particularly useful in combination with other approaches to qualitative analysis, allowing for deepened understanding of how the participant conceives of the topic at hand (Catalano & Creswell, 2013). Like other approaches to qualitative analysis, the use of CL depends on whether the analysts' interests lie in the content,

structure, performance, or context of the narrative (Reissman, 2008) or case study. In this article, where we seek to better understand how Rachael, the focal participant, constructs the learning to teach process in her mind, CL—and in particular, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)—is decidedly helpful.

As a theory within the field of cognitive linguistics, CMT is largely known to the public through the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the concepts that control our thought also structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to people. "Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). However, we are often unconscious of our conceptual system, merely thinking or acting automatically along certain lines that are not obvious to us. Because communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, looking at language is one way that we can find evidence of what that system is like (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Through examining linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson have found that most of our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature, meaning that we structure how we think and what we do through metaphorical thought. Thus, metaphor is a "cognitive operation performed in order to make sense of experience" (Hart, 2010, p. 126) that involves "understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5).

This process can be demonstrated more easily through a common metaphor example such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY.<sup>1</sup> In the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the concept of LIFE (known as the TARGET domain) is comprehended in terms of the SOURCE domain, JOURNEY. This connection is systematic, and involves the mapping of correspondences between the two domains such as in the following (taken from Kövecses, 2006, p. 116):

JOURNEY → LIFE

Traveler → person leading a life

Journey/motion (toward a destination) → leading a life (with a purpose)

Destination → purpose of life

Obstacles → difficulties (in life)

Distance covered → progress made

Path/way of the journey → manner/way of living

Choices about the path → choices in life

As shown above, certain elements of the JOURNEY domain are mapped onto elements of the LIFE domain or frame.<sup>2</sup> This type of mapping, where there is a connection between two concepts and where we use our understanding of one element (SOURCE) to help us comprehend another (usually more abstract) one called the TARGET, is what we mean by metaphor. Some examples of how we might see evidence of this metaphor in discourse include the following:

- "I came to a **crossroads** in my life where there was **no turning back**."
- "I'm not going to worry about college yet. I guess I will just **cross that bridge** when I get to it."

As Santa Ana (2013) explains, "Metaphor is more than poetic color and superficial ornamentation. It shapes everyday discourse, and by this means it shapes how people discern and enact the everyday" (p. 26). Metaphors can highlight certain aspects of a concept, and hide others by "focusing on (or keeping us from focusing on) other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10). In this manner, metaphor

1. In CL, the convention for writing metaphors is to refer to them in small capitals.

2. Another way to refer to domain is the term "frame" or ICM (Idealized Conceptual Model), which can be defined as a structured mental representation of a conceptual category or the way we view the world (Kövecses, 2006).

can “privilege one understanding of reality over others” and can also be used strategically because text-producers can choose to “select certain source domains and disregard others” thus transmitting particular ideas and values to a target domain (Chilton, 1996, p. 74). In this sense, the study of metaphorical thought through its linguistic realizations in case studies such as this facilitates deeper understanding of how the learning to teach process is conceived and experienced by preservice teachers.

To understand the potential power of language to shape society, culture, and power relations (Meadows, 2007), our analysis incorporates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is a scholarly perspective in language study that “critically analyzes discourse—that is to say language in use—as a means of addressing social change” (Scollon, 2001, p. 140). This synthesis of CDA and CMT was first demonstrated by Charteris-Black (2004) who coined the term “Critical Metaphor Analysis” (CMA) to capture the integration of these two theoretical perspectives. Thus, CMA is simultaneously a subpart of cognitive linguistics (because of its focus on metaphor) and of CDA (because of its focus on critical approaches). Charteris-Black’s CMA work demonstrated the usefulness of CMA in identifying how metaphors consist of verbal evidence for underlying ideologies that may be ignored if we are not aware of them (Meadows, 2007). In addition, Charteris-Black explains how to uncover conventionalized social hierarchies as they appear in language that reflects conceptual metaphors (2004). (Other recent examples of CMA include Meadows, 2007; Sandikcioglu, 2000; Catalano & Moeller, 2013). Here we employ CMA to help us understand how the metaphors imposed on the participant through the use of systematic programmatic language of the Leaders for Equity in Education (LEE) residency<sup>3</sup> (e.g. *signature strategies, residency*<sup>4</sup>) not only influence but also conflict with the resident’s own perceptions of what learning to teach is.

### 3. Methods

This focal case was selected from a larger, year-long multi-case study (Stake, 2006) examining the learning to teach process of nine novice English teachers enrolled in two different teacher education programs. Primary participants were selected based on their expressed commitment to teaching in urban<sup>5</sup> schools and their articulated desire to facilitate text-based literary discussion in secondary English classrooms (Gatti, 2012). In accordance with the ethics of social science research, IRB approval was granted to conduct this study.

#### 3.1. Participant

We selected Rachael for several reasons. First, because Rachael is a teacher of color and a career changer, two demographic populations that the residency actively seeks to recruit, we thought it important to analyze her learning to teach process in order to understand the specific nature of her experience. Additionally, because Rachael was the only person in the larger study who did continue teaching, we sought to understand her experiences more fully in order to develop greater insight into the learning to teach process.

Finally, given that the UTR is a rapidly growing model of teacher preparation, we believed that an in-depth analysis of one teacher’s experience might illuminate larger issues, opportunities, and obstacles in this form of teacher preparation. This is an important area of inquiry given the proliferation of the Urban Teacher Residency model of teacher preparation in the U.S., where novice teachers receive a stipend for their time working with a master teacher before taking on a classroom of their own.

#### 3.2. Rachael’s program context: the LEE residency

The LEE residency is a partnership between a private nonprofit created by a venture philanthropist, Leaders for Equity in Education, and a university.<sup>6</sup> LEE’s mission is two-fold: to turnaround a portion of the city’s failing schools, and to prepare urban teachers—through its paid residency program—to teach in that network of turnarounds. LEE’s presence in the city is a controversial one. When schools in the city are labeled failing, closed, and targeted for turnaround (a process which includes almost complete re-staffing of faculty), they are taken over by one of two organizations: the district’s School Improvement Office or LEE.

A competitive program, LEE admits only 10% of its applicants. Those who are accepted are paid an \$18,000 salary plus a \$12,000 stipend for their residency year (they are also eligible for a \$5500 AmeriCorps grant). Importantly, they commit to teaching in a LEE turnaround school for four years after their residency year. If the resident does not finish her residency year or if she does not teach the full four years, she must pay back some or all of the \$12,000 stipend.<sup>7</sup> Professors from LEE’s partnering university teach summer courses which include subjects like urban education, foundations of education, and subject methods. Additionally, residents take a course focused exclusively on learning and practicing classroom management techniques taken from Doug Lemov’s (2010) book *Teach Like a Champion*. Residents entering the program without a certification earn a Master of Arts in Teaching (M.A.T) from the partnering university; those entering with a certification receive a Master’s in Urban Education (M.Ed.). Graduate tuition is discounted, and those who remain teaching for five years are eligible for tuition forgiveness.

Residents are placed in one of LEE’s network schools—a turnaround school or one of LEE’s teacher training academies. Placed in pairs with a mentor who has been selected and trained by LEE, residents work on select strategies throughout the year. They are responsible for three “lead teaches” wherein they assume all classroom responsibilities related to planning and teaching for two weeks. They also continue taking coursework through LEE’s partnering university throughout the year and engage in occasional professional development at their placement schools.

The residents’ mentors are trained in “real-time coaching” which means that while the resident is teaching a lesson, the mentor is encouraged to instruct the resident in front of the students. Residents also receive almost constant feedback from their co-residents, LEE instructional coaches, and their supervisors from the university. Finally, a fundamental component of this program is the commitment that residents make to teach in LEE’s network

3. All names—programmatic and individual—are pseudonyms.

4. Words in italics indicate that they are Rachael’s words.

5. Our use of the word “urban” is rooted in our understanding of the complicated interaction between a number of variables: the size of school systems, the breadth of bureaucracy, the economic and ethnic heterogeneity of people, and concentrations of poverty (Chou & Tozer, 2008). Additional contextual challenges include old and outmoded physical infrastructures; overextended school personnel; demographic shifts within the urban space (migration, immigration, flight to suburbs); increasing cost of security; lack of mentoring, professional development, and support for teachers (which leads to high turnover); and teacher disengagement from urban communities (Solomon & Sekayi, 2009, p. 8–9).

6. LEE actually used to partner with a different university within the city, but due to philosophical differences related to school turnarounds, LEE terminated that partnership and approached its current university partner.

7. The amount the resident would owe were she to not finish the residency year would be prorated.

of turnaround schools for four years after their internship; thus, residents are observed and interviewed by LEE principals at the end of the residency. If LEE does not hire the resident and if the resident does not find employment (on their own) at another high-poverty school within the city's district, they are required to pay LEE back for the discounted Master's degree (Gatti, 2014).

### 3.3. Data collection and analysis

Data sources included interviews, classroom observations, and documents from the program as well as from Rachael's residency classroom. Data collection occurred throughout 2010–2011. In total, there were four in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Rachael lasting between 45 and 120 min. Because the researcher was not a part of Rachael's program, each interview and observation happened outside the purview of her formal training in the residency. Interviews focused on Rachael's perception of learning to teach English, her experience with the LEE program, and her relationship to her students, cooperating teacher, and co-resident (see Appendix B for interview protocols). Data collection also included four classroom observations lasting between one and 4 h. Analytic field notes were maintained throughout the data collection process, allowing for a process of Constant Comparative Method (CCM) to identify, refine, and follow up on themes from interviews. All interviews were recorded and transcribed; observation notes were taken by hand and on a personal laptop.

To understand how Rachael conceived of learning to teach and how the programmatic language of LEE influenced her thought processes, a systematic metaphorical analysis was conducted on Rachael's utterances from the transcribed interviews to determine dominant, secondary, and occasional metaphors occurring in the data (as modeled by Santa Ana, 2002). Once the interview data was selected (including only utterances from the participant and not the researcher asking the questions), it was converted to plain text format and entered into AntConc3.2.4 m (concordance program). First, a word list was produced to systematically determine patterns and frequencies of lexical items; the authors then used this to search for metaphors with target domains of LEARNING TO TEACH/EDUCATION, TEACHERS, UTR PROGRAM/SCHOOL and others. Lists of metaphor tokens were then compiled—as per Santa Ana's 2002 model—and source domains were determined and compared with existing metaphor studies regarding language and language education metaphors (e.g. Santa Ana, 2002). (For a complete list of metaphor target domains, as well their corresponding sources and examples, see Tables 1–4 in Appendix A.)

After metaphors were determined from the word lists, they were searched again manually in order to interpret the characteristics of the tokens on the basis of ample context. After metaphors were coded, the first and second author met on several occasions to triangulate and ensure agreement regarding the classification of the metaphors; furthermore, these meetings allowed the authors to engage in discussion about the metaphorical data and its relation to a thematic analysis of the interviews and its macro-context. These discussions led to the finalizing of classifications in which dominant, secondary, and occasional metaphors were categorized and tabulated, followed by a detailed analysis of the dominant metaphors in relation to the learning to teach context of the participant.

## 4. Findings and discussion

Critical metaphor analysis revealed a rich variety of ways that Rachael conceived of education and the learning to teach process

(see Table 1 in Appendix A.) as well as other related elements/people (see Tables 2–4 in Appendix A.). The conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus illuminate how programmatic language and ideology influenced Rachael's thinking, resulting in a double-bind<sup>8</sup> between her own conceptions of learning to teach and those imposed on her by the LEE "system." These dominant—and clashing—metaphors revealed by CMA include LEARNING TO TEACH IS A JOURNEY and LEARNING TO TEACH IS A BUSINESS. These two dominant metaphors involve radically different mappings of the LEARNING TO TEACH experience.

In the metaphorical mapping of LEARNING TO TEACH IS A JOURNEY (see Figure 1 in Appendix), the traveler (i.e., Rachael) prepares for the journey, which in the "everyday frame of understanding entails a starting point, an endpoint, a route to be traversed, with some impediments, and a sense of directness on the part of the traveler to follow the path toward the endpoint" (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 177). Rachael's journey begins with acceptance into LEE, where she must follow the route established by the program in order to arrive at her destination: becoming a teacher who *empowers* her students. This route contains a succession of slopes or gradients of increasing difficulty: a five-week long intensive summer program; placement in a year-long "residency" (with her mentor, her travel guide on the journey); the successful passing of three intense, high-stakes "lead teaches" wherein Rachael takes full responsibility for all planning and teaching in her classroom; formal and informal observations by any number (and combination) of evaluators; and a final commitment to teach for four years in the LEE program. As with all journeys, there are obstacles that the traveler encounters. For Rachael, we identified three central obstacles: Programmatic Incompatibility, Pedagogical Paralysis, and Programmatic Abandonment. As she faces these obstacles, Rachael must make decisions about which direction to go until eventually, unable to overcome the final obstacle, Programmatic Abandonment, she ceases pursuing her journey by leaving the program.

Conflicting with Rachael's metaphorical conception TEACHING IS A JOURNEY was another powerful frame of learning to teach containing the ideological components of the LEE program. In this metaphorical mapping (see Figure 2 in Appendix), EDUCATION is viewed as a BUSINESS and LEARNING TO TEACH is part of the BUSINESS of education. Thus in the LEE program, preservice teachers correspond to future knowledge producers who must be highly skilled and knowledgeable in particular teaching techniques. To become highly skilled they must be trained, a process that consists of learning and enacting various strategies (e.g. *signature strategies*) in order to reach their goal of joining the workforce in one of LEE's network of turnaround schools. Once in the internship (or residency), novice teachers are assigned coaches that are also knowledge producers whose success is measured by the quality of their product: the novice teachers they mentor.

### 4.1. Programmatic incompatibility

From the beginning, Rachael recognized significant incompatibilities between her conception of learning to teach and LEE's. For Rachael, education is a *dynamic* FORCE, a conceptual metaphor captured in Rachael's speech:

But I think that for me I saw the classroom as being **empowering** in that sense. **Empowering** not like "Oh, these are the great works we think you should read," not that we think like that, but it really was a matter of you can read anything, you

8. "Double bind" (Engeström, 1986) is a theoretical term that comes from cultural-historical activity theory. The double bind describes a seemingly unresolvable problem or conflict whose resolution requires collective action and the creation of new tools.

can write, you can communicate. I really saw it as “This is really **powerful** and this can **transform**” whether they decide to go to college or wherever they want to go.

However, during her five-week summer preparation Rachael's conception of teaching was directly confronted. These courses, taught by professors from LEE's partnering university, were held in one of LEE's newly turned around schools, Orion Academy, located in a disinvested, poor, African American part of the city (Gatti, 2014). In addition to coursework, LEE residents tutored and worked with Orion's summer school students. Rachael recounted a community research project assigned to her by her Urban Education professor. Wanting to make the assignment more student-centered, Rachael let her students use her flip camera to record interviews (as opposed to her filming them). Given the intention that undergirded this pedagogical decision, Rachael was surprised at a student's reaction.

He said, “Yeah I'll come out with you and make your movie because I know you all want to see a **bunch of dumb niggers clown on film**,” or something. And I was like, Ahh! It is, but it is the **elephant in the room**. That's how they feel with all of those **observers** and **all of these people with clipboards** and all of these people with **agendas**. And he was like, “I'm sorry, Ms. Johnson. I don't think you feel that way personally, but that's what it looks like. That is exactly what it looks like.”

Rachael's recounting of and reaction to the student's experience indexes deeper issues of insider/outsider and of cultural trust/mistrust that the students experience with *all of these people with clipboards* and *agendas*. Additionally, this passage reflects Rachael's thought processes and intrapersonal conflict as a teacher of color: Rachael might be a black woman who shares the students' racial demographic, but to the students with whom she is working, she is perceived as part of the dominant structure including mostly white teachers coming from outside the community and viewing the students as if they were doctors (e.g. *people with clipboards*) viewing specimens in a lab.

For Rachael, the *elephant in the room* is RACE. With this metaphor comes the attendant fact that most of the residents learning to teach in LEE's network of turnaround schools are white community outsiders coming in without in-depth knowledge of the cultural, socioeconomic, or racial realities of their students. Throughout her interviews, Rachael refers to race as the *elephant in the room* five times, implying that this issue is simultaneously omni-present and willfully ignored. Her need to talk about the racial elements involved in being one of few teachers of color in an UTR is suppressed, as seen through Rachael's comments to the researcher about their interviews. Rachael shared after one particularly emotional interview, “I feel like we should be paying you. This is like therapy for teachers. I wish we had a place to talk about this stuff” (Field notes, January 26, 2011). In this sense, Rachael's understanding that education and teaching ought to be about empowerment is challenged by the fact that, as resident within LEE, she is interpellated (Althusser, 1972) into a system that disallows self-definition.

#### 4.2. Journey vs. business

The most dominant metaphor in the corpus (21.2% coverage), LEARNING TO TEACH IS A JOURNEY, is expressed 136 times (see Table 1). The following examples illustrate how Rachael conceives of the learning to teach experience as a JOURNEY:

- “I have a job. I've lived long enough that you may want to change jobs. You may want to take a **different path**, you may have to reinvent what it is that you do”
- “And we did a little bit about that with the anticipation guide and we need to **bring it back**. And at that point I told her [Laurie], ‘I'm having a difficult time **navigating this territory**.’”

The following example of Rachael's difficulty in engaging her students in text-based discussion provides an example not only of how the JOURNEY metaphor shapes her thinking about learning to teach, but also of how the path to enlightenment—for her as well as for her students—is compromised by LEE's emphasis on testing, an approach that is linear, scripted, and undergirded by a need for efficiency. Rachael explains,

In terms of teaching the content and facilitating discussion, it **goes back** to the whole culture of what is allowed? And if what's allowed is **very confined** then it is very difficult to facilitate, because discussion is not something you can script, you can't, as opposed to a test with multiple choice ... They're not going to **get to the place**, and this **goes back** to what I was saying before, they're not going to **get to a place** where it doesn't matter what the exam is or the test if I'm telling you what to think, then I've completely **shortcutted** the whole process. You need to think. Period ... I'm not saying that's the program's intention, I'm not even saying that's my mentor's intention, I think that because of all of the other stuff that we have, all of the have-to's that we just don't have time. That's really what it **comes down** to. That's what it feels like. It feels very like we don't have time for discussion.

The repetition of the language of movement—*goes back*, *get to the place*, and *shortcutted*—reflects Rachael's larger conception LEARNING TO TEACH IS A JOURNEY; however, as a novice teacher enrolled in LEE, she is necessarily exposed to LEE's conceptualization EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS as communicated through the emphasis on testing, measurable gains, and efficiency. This neoliberalist ideology is interwoven throughout LEE materials and professional development sessions. Neoliberalism in educational systems has been well-documented worldwide, and has resulted in “increased competition for school funding”, the marketization of academic achievements, and teacher appraisal systems that not only control teacher motives and competence but also cause fear and uncertainty (Loh & Hu, 2014, p. 14). Rachel's experience at LEE is no exception, and the contrasting conceptualizations of JOURNEY vs. BUSINESS both reflect and shape Rachael's thinking and practice. She simply cannot find a way to enact teaching as a JOURNEY—something that requires time, *honoring what they bring*, and *illuminating* things for each other—when efficiency and test scores are primary goals. “Honoring” cannot be measured.

But this relationship between LEARNING TO TEACH IS A JOURNEY vs. EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS is inherently polyphonic in nature (Bakhtin, 1981). This polyphony is made visible through Rachael's talk about her learning experience: although her conception of learning to teach is that of JOURNEY (illustrated in her linguistic realizations above), her utterances are infused with programmatic language adopted from Doug Lemov's (2010) *Teach Like a Champion* as well as with business terminology used by LEE faculty and administrators. While Rachael uses these lexical choices, they do not emerge from her own conceptions of teaching. They are imposed on her by the “system” and reflect a systematic conceptualization of EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS as seen in Figure 2.

For example, Rachael shared how LEE framed programmatic feedback: “Yes. Again a lot of the feedback is couched in Lemov. We have different cycles that we move through. Like this past week I was working on **cold calling**, wait time, and so the idea is like mixing it up. But that’s very much **the language**.” In this example, Rachael’s reference to *cold calling* is an example of the metaphor EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS. The phrase “cold calling” refers to the practice of making an unsolicited contact with a potential customer with the intention of selling them a product. However, the way that Rachael knows about this practice is through LEE’s selection of Doug Lemov’s *Teach Like a Champion* (2010). Lemov appropriated this technique—calling on someone who is not expecting it—from his time at Harvard Business School. This phrase is perhaps the clearest instantiation of the ways in which business practices are mapped onto education. Furthermore, Rachael’s acknowledgment that this is *the language* of the program indexes her meta-awareness that this language emanates **from** the program. As a dominant metaphor in the interview corpus (20.2% coverage), there were 127 instances (or “tokens”) of the EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS metaphor. The linguistic sampling below illustrates this point:

“I’m like why did I know how much my mentor made the first month of week? She told me how much of a bump she got in her pay for taking us on. So I’m like there’s obviously a sort of **price tag** attached to me and the prestige.”

- “I think that a lot of the kids are buying in. I think that Orion is a really interesting example in terms of **culture clashing** with this whole **corporate mentality**.”
- “But that’s also part of the Lemov, **every minute counts** because we’re closing the achievement gap we have to be careful how we use each minute. **Minutes spent** dealing with somebody for disciplinary or whatever is a **minute not spent** on instruction and closing the achievement gap. That’s one of the **strategies**. **Every minute counts**.”

In these examples, Rachael’s articulations illustrate how the business model of the LEE program shapes how she sees herself as well as the work of teaching. In contrast to her conception of education as *empowerment* and learning to teach as a JOURNEY, LEE’s approach to education stems from a “corporate mentality.” It is about efficiency, as understood by Lemov, about every moment “counting.” TIME IS MONEY. And minutes are not the only things that “count”: from the beginning of her residency year, Rachael has been made to understand that there is a price tag attached to **her**. She is an investment.

The influence that this programmatic language has on Rachael’s conceptualization of teaching is similar to Loh and Hu’s discovery that neoliberal discourse “seeped into” the practices of their participant in Singapore (2014, p. 19) and highlights the global reach of neoliberal ideologies. Furthermore, metaphor analysis allows us to view the underlying reasons for her *praxis shock* i.e., “confrontation with the challenges and responsibilities of being a teacher that puts one’s teaching beliefs to the test ...” (Loh & Hu, 2014, p. 19) as seen through these conflicting ways of conceiving of the teaching process.

Contributing to the LEARNING TO TEACH/EDUCATION IS A BUSINESS metaphor is the co-opting of sports metaphors that have been re-appropriated for use in the corporate sector

and then naturally incorporated into the BUSINESS frame. For example, the “Bible”<sup>9</sup> of the LEE program, *Teach Like a Champion*, contains even in its title a reference to the COMPETITION frame (“champion”) (Lemov, 2010). Unsurprisingly, the book is laden with sports terminology. The reader encounters this frame immediately: “If John Madden- enthusiastically drawing Xs, Os, and squiggly lines on our TV screens, diagramming games, down by down – is the explainer par excellence of professional football, Doug Lemov is the John Madden of professional teaching” (Lemov, 2010, p. xi). And other examples abound: “control the game skills”<sup>10</sup>; “at bats”; “champion teachers”; “if you are a sprinter, your strategy might be to get out of the blocks fast and run from the front ...”; “pepper”<sup>11</sup>; “on your mark”; “change the pace”; and “hit rate.” Importantly, the sports frame melds with the medical frame in the LEE-created metonymy<sup>12</sup> *resident mentor coach*. In this metonymy, the professionalism of the medical arena is mapped onto the LEE program by using the term *resident*. *Resident* was adapted from the medical field and contains the conceptualization of the hospital as a home.

Modeling teacher preparation around the medical residency is one way that education has responded to the need for novice teachers to have more contextualized and immersive learning opportunities for teaching while being mentored by an expert in the field, and so the language of medicine and medical observation finds its historic antecedents in that framework (See Fraser, 2007). However, when these medical metaphors merge with the sports metaphor in the word *coach* (in the metonymy *resident mentor coach*), Rachael is left with a confusing combination that erases—or at least downplays—what should be the main function of a mentor, that is, to guide the teacher learner on their journey. This example of the semiotic process of erasure (when ideology renders people, actions or events invisible) (Gal & Irvine, 1995) further demonstrates Rachael’s experience with programmatic incompatibility.

#### 4.3. Pedagogical paralysis

Rachael’s awareness of how LEE’s BUSINESS conception of education shaped her learning to teach experience creates a profound sense of loss of control and power, which leads to another obstacle: Pedagogical Paralysis. The required use of the *signature strategies*—in combination with a tightly scripted and highly surveilled program that precludes opportunities for creativity, exploration, and even failure—leaves Rachael feeling paralyzed on her journey. This powerlessness is revealed through Rachael’s linguistic realizations, TEACHER IS A MACHINE:

- “I had to really stop and I had to think about some of the ways, the strategies, were being used. And I did, at one point I had a bit of a **breakdown**. I was like I can’t be part of this because I felt very much like, in the way that we’re **coached** and the **strategies** and this is part of, it’s one of those things where I get it.”
- “As a group dynamic they have days where they are spunky and funny and they have other days where they are mean to each other and mean to me, and some of my darkest days I’m like I’m just going to **pull the plug on this operation**. I have no **business** being here. And that’s a horrible feeling.”

These examples of TEACHER IS A MACHINE underscore Rachael’s loss of control. Rachael’s realization that she is in a

9. Eduardo, one of the professors of LEE’s partnering university, used this description for Lemov when discussing its role in the program: “This is our Bible,” he said as he pointed to his copy of *Teach Like a Champion*.

10. This was included in the section entitled “Making reading instruction productive and accountable: Control the game.”

11. Pepper was adapted from a warm-up for baseball players.

12. Metonymy in CL is where one entity stands for another it is closely associated with or related to.

position where she is deploying strategies to which she is ideologically opposed (i.e., *Cold Call*) leads her to experience *bit of a breakdown*. Additionally, she conceives of her teaching experience as something that she might *pull the plug on*. In this sense, Rachael not only understands herself as a machine (and one on the brink of breaking down), but a machine in the factory of her classroom. This attention to efficiency and standardization expresses itself in the scripted nature of the program (i.e., Lemov, 2010), resulting in a lack of control. Rachael's response to the researcher's question about her learning to teach process illustrates this:

I think I expected it to be more, your own unique perspective and what you can bring to the whole process, and I think what I'm finding is it's how much can you acclimate and become part of this system. But the irony is that when it comes to the planning what I'm finding is, my unique situation, that that's all you in terms of how you physically move in that space and **logistics** and being this. I think I've said this before, it always makes me think of "Happy Feet" where he shows up with the weird monitor on his back. But it makes me feel like a **remote control teacher** sometimes.

Rachael's linguistic realization of *remote control teacher* indicates not a partial loss of control, but a complete one. Stripped of agency, choice, and creativity, Rachael is a machine that someone else is controlling, similar to Loh and Hu's findings in Singapore that the beginning teachers had to stick to the program "no matter what" (2014, p. 18).

This experience of being a *remote control teacher* emerges not only from the scripted program requirements, but also from what can only be described as a sort of "programmatically surveillance." One of LEE's distinguishing characteristics is what they refer to as "real-time coaching." This means that the mentor teacher is encouraged, at any point during the resident's teaching, to intervene and model the kind of teaching that LEE values. Additionally, residents understand that at any given moment, any number and permutation of observers can walk into their classroom to watch—and even video record—they teach: university supervisors, school administration, resident mentor coaches, other LEE residents, and principals from LEE's network of turnaround schools. Rachael described the loss of power and control associated with this constant observation, scrutiny, and evaluation as she attempted to learn to teach within this residency: "In a nutshell the camera makes me paranoid. Not that I'm doing anything I shouldn't do or harming [anyone], but it does, it makes me **scrutinize**, instead of focusing on the lesson it makes me focus too much on me as a **product** and as a **performer** and I can't stand it." Rachael's description of herself as a *product* and a *performer* powerfully illustrate how her conception of education as empowerment and learning to teach as a JOURNEY are overpowered by the program's framing of her as a commodity and a performer. Crucially, being a product and a performer shifts the goal of teaching from empowering students to appeasing management in the business and theater of teaching.

Perhaps paradoxically, Rachael's feeling like a remote control teacher performing for managers leads her to experience a profound vulnerability. Because LEARNING TO TEACH IS A PERFORMANCE aimed at pleasing the bosses who have "invested" in her, it is both public and open to critique and review. She has no control over who observes her, what they look for when they do, and what they do with the information they collect on her—both written and visual—when they leave. Rachael explains,

Yeah I was like the **loss of privacy** to having delivered a child that you have a succession of doctors that come in and feel very comfortable **putting their hands in your vagina**. It's like

oh do you mind? There are constantly people coming in and I guess I liken it to that because I'm a very private person that the idea of **surrendering** my image and my voice and all of those things that it's not second nature for me. I think in terms of the process they're able to get really good **data**; I think in terms of training teachers it may actually **produce the results** that they want, but in terms of your person I think in some ways it is **degrading, that sort of scrutiny**.

The above comments are reminiscent of Loh and Hu's findings where the participant, tired of constant scrutiny, asks with frustration "Can't they just leave me alone?" (Loh & Hu, 2014, p. 18). Rachael's choice of metaphor, *putting their hands in your vagina*, not only underscores the lack of agency and power Rachael experiences in her placement, but also illuminates the overwhelming sense of personal violation she felt when she was observed. More than this, her inability to function as the kind of machine LEE desires—*produc[ing] the results* (i.e., LEARNING TO TEACH IS A BUSINESS wherein profit is the most important priority)—leads to Rachael's sense of personal degradation. Rachael feels watched and not seen, acted upon and not agentive.

#### 4.4. Programmatic abandonment

As Rachael continues her journey of learning to teach, she encounters her final obstacle: Programmatic Abandonment. As depicted in Table 1, one of the central actors within the JOURNEY metaphor is the travel guide. This guide's role is to help the traveler, in this case Rachael, navigate the journey. In fact, one of the main reasons Rachael applied to LEE was because the program centralized the role of these "travel guides" or mentors. Rachael explained, "Part of the reason I chose this particular program is [because of] the whole mentoring [thing], and it may be that for some people, I have not experienced that. My situation is unique and I want to make sure that I say that. I'm not speaking for everyone's experience."

The bi-directional and instantaneous lack of trust between Rachael and her mentor/travel guide Laurie is the central reason Rachael does not experience the mentoring relationship she had anticipated. Rachael explains,

I determined there was a problem with this woman after three days of working with her. We didn't even have students in the classroom yet and I said look, I had asked her about something and she decided she didn't want to talk to me, so she stared at me right in the face and decided she refused to talk to me. So I said, "Are you not speaking to me? Because I don't know what to make of that. Because I don't know you." And she basically told me she didn't like me touching her things. And I'm like, "Guess what, bitch? I'm going to be in this classroom for the next year touching all sorts of stuff." And the things that I was touching were books, not like I was touching her purse or her hair."

Rachael's description of this mentoring relationship powerfully illustrate the depth of this Programmatic Abandonment:

- "There is some part of me that's on a **path**. I'm like where are my **fairy helpers**? Where are my **guides and helpers**?"
- "But at this point do I really feel like I could go somewhere and be heard? No. I'm feeling very much like oh, ok getting closer. I think I hit **that journey point** over the break. I'm like I'm not going to get what I need, but I have an opportunity to teach, I'm learning things, I'm sort of **picking and choosing** in terms of feedback, like oh I can use that or that completely misses the point because it's not what I was

asking for. And I'm sort of learning. It's like **teaching myself how to ride a bicycle**. And falling."

Rachael is aware that on her journey of learning to teach—her *path*—she should not be alone; she should have *guides and helpers*. But she does not find them. Her metaphor of learning to teach as *teaching myself how to ride a bike*. And *falling* powerfully illustrates the extent to which she feels alone in this process of learning to teach.

Importantly, from the very beginning, Rachael expressed concern about her relationship with Laurie, a lack of trust between that felt racial in nature. Rachael explains,

My mentor has even said as much that she feels more comfortable with Sam [Rachael's white co-resident] the first week that we met... Initially I sought help. I confronted her. I was like is this racial? The comfort thing? Because you're telling [Sam] passwords and things I [also] need to know, and it was very much like [begrudgingly] 'Oh, okay, here they are.' ... I was like, 'When you're telling me that you're reluctant to give me locker combinations and passwords, and then you follow that up with, 'I'm just more comfortable with the person who is white,' it makes me wonder, okay, let's look at ourselves.' And one of the first exchanges we had during the first week before there were students in the building I said, 'Do you believe that you're capable of mentoring me? That you have my best interest at heart?'... [And I told people in the program about this early on, but] it felt very much like, 'Just deal with it. Don't let this interfere with your ability to get a job. Part of your getting a job is getting along with all sorts of personalities. So don't you want a job?' I was like okay, [but] I'm not talking about a job right now. I'm talking about someone who feels hostile towards me, who has their own agenda with me. That's what I'm saying.

Another example of how race factored into Rachael's relationship with her mentor can be seen in this excerpt of Rachael's exit interview. In this interview, Rachael was reflecting on the ways in which she felt that her resistance to some of LEE's programmatic practices was interpreted as being *cocky* or difficult. This is comparable to Loh and Hu's Natalie, who expressed her doubts at departmental meetings but was "taken to task" for "questioning authority" (2014, p. 19). In fact, both participants demonstrated significant resistance and received similar reactions (although Natalie eventually gave up and was "subdued", while Rachael eventually left the program). Rachael compares this experience of being positioned as a *problem* to her experience with racism as a child when she was falsely accused of misbehaving. Rachael recounts,

And it was really the first time I encountered that sort of racism and you don't always know what to make of it and I did start to act out in her class. Because she would do things like lining up for class, she would grab my arm and I told my mom, "She snatch grabbed me!" ... This woman grabbed my arm and pulled me out into the room and I bit her. So that's when they brought in the, "Oh, clearly she's autistic." Then there was a little white girl who was in the class used to push me out of the chair and I finally got sick of it and I pushed her back and the woman made me sit out in the hallway and I missed lunch. **This experience has been very akin to that** .... I think about the things the students have said to me, the **role they feel the teachers play** in terms of mentoring, watch them in their **natural habitat** and comments like **don't go native**. It makes me think of that first year, first grade.

These metaphors illuminate how deeply historical and racial factors interplay and affect Rachael's experience with and perception of her mentor. The problematic nature of the mentor as travel guide mapping surfaces when we understand the conflict Rachael has in being led on her journey by someone she likens to a childhood bully in a dominant majority-populated school, and the above examples illustrate how she has begun to understand her conflict as related to the interplay of racial issues and school turnaround ideology: *don't go native*.

At the end of the year, Rachael discussed her understanding of her preparation within the residency program in the language of BUSINESS:

Rachael: You have to **comply** in order to be **trained** ... you have to **buy-in wholesale** to whatever program, you have to **buy-in to the doctrine** that this is the right way to do it, that in terms of the rapport you don't question whether that's the **right way to go**, you don't question whether or not this is the best way to teach or that you're teaching the **skills** that you feel are important.

Rachael's description of her preparation as a process of "training" and the position of compliance that being trained requires illustrates how LEE's business model has permeated Rachael's conceptualization of her work. She must *buy-in wholesale* and not question the training process. Unlike a JOURNEY, where the traveler must make hard decisions related to direction, path, and how to address obstacles, in a BUSINESS there is one way that must be adhered to.

At the end of her residency year, Rachael concedes, "I've allowed myself to become bound by silence. I just want to **get through the program**. And since I had to **negotiate** so hard in order to be able to do it I didn't want to **rock any more boats**. I'm just like look I'm just going to **make it through** and in that sense I don't feel like I've done justice to my students because I've had to **stop fighting**." Without a guide, Rachael cannot complete her journey.

## 5. Conclusion

As our CMA analysis of Rachel's learning to teach experience shows, the differences between her conception of learning to teach as a JOURNEY and LEE's conceptualization of LEARNING TO TEACH IS A BUSINESS where TEACHERS ARE MACHINES expose profound and irreconcilable ideological variations in the approach to and enactment of teaching. These ideological differences are not just about what kinds of curriculum and instruction are encouraged by Rachael versus LEE; they are also about the ways in which students are framed and, relatedly, how teachers are oriented to teaching them. Rachael's approach to teaching as a process of *empowerment* is predicated on two assumptions: that interpersonal relationships are central and that the purpose of schools—and, relatedly, Rachael's position as a teacher—is rooted in the larger aim of flourishing. The business model of teaching and learning advanced by LEE frames students in less personal ways: teaching is not aimed at flourishing, but rather at the production of results and measurable gains (as indicated by test scores). Students are workers. Teachers are machines. In many ways, these framings index the larger problem of neoliberal approaches to education: they disrupt the humanizing aims of education, and replace those aims with platitudes of career and college readiness.

The emotional consequences of these conflicting frames were significant. When we emailed Rachael about reading and responding to our analysis, Rachael responded that she had "*no*

objections to our analysis” and that the account appeared “accurate” and “meshed with her recollection of things.” Furthermore, she noted how difficult it was to read the analysis, because it “conjured up bitter feelings” that still “haunt” her, but she was glad that we “brought these issues to light” that she had previously “sublimated”. She also added that she felt that “an examination of teacher training programs is essential in this age of reform”.

Rachael’s description of *sublimating these experiences and bringing these issues to light*, points metaphorically to how these emotional processes occur in a subterranean way, surfaced only through the analytic process. Rachael’s emotional response to reading our analysis foregrounds the difference between our analysis (using CMA) and more common types of analyses in educational research where intellectual processes (as opposed to emotional) are addressed. As Hargreaves reminds us, “Emotions are at the heart of teaching ... Good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy” (1998, p. 835). Unlike many other methodological and analytic tools used in education research, CMA enabled us to expose the deeply personal and emotional process that learning to teach is, therefore enabling us to humanize Rachael’s case in unique ways. CMA helped us make her struggle visible and “give a central place to teacher’s career experiences and, in particular, to the meaning these experiences have for the teacher” (Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2001, p. 106) thus enabling our work as “critical secretaries” (Apple, 2013, p. 158).

The BUSINESS frame of learning to teach that Rachael encounters in her residency placement compliments Loh and Hu’s (2014) research on how neoliberal inclinations and practices in school conflict with constructivist orientations to teaching. Taken together, these studies illustrate the powerful and often unseen ways in which the larger neoliberal policy context shapes teacher learning. Neoliberalism is far from a theoretical abstraction for novice teachers; rather, it is instantiated in discrete practices and policies, whether that is the “worksheet syndrome” that the participant in Loh and Hu’s (2014) study describes, or Rachael feeling like she has a “price tag” attached to her. Perhaps most problematically, as Rachael’s case illustrates, neoliberal ideologies and the policies that bear those fingerprints infiltrate into the cognitive processes of novice teachers, creating metaphors such as TEACHERS ARE MACHINES.

Loh and Hu (2014) implore us to consider, “what can be done to counter the dismal onslaught of neoliberal forces?” (p. 20). We believe that documenting through empirical research how neoliberal teaching contexts shape teachers’ thinking and practice is one concrete way to expose how neoliberal common sense seeps into the learning to teach process, and in doing so to provide a basis from which to begin formal push-back in teacher preparation. Including novice teachers in conversations about different frames of learning to teach might better prepare them to enter these school contexts with a fuller awareness of the visible and invisible challenges they will encounter, and by doing so help teachers be more deliberate and conscious about cultivating and defending robust (counter) frames for learning to teach.

**Acknowledgments** — We would like to thank Rachael for her willingness to share her vulnerability and her frustrations.

**Appendix A. Tables and Figures**

**Table 1.** Metaphors with target domain LEARNING TO TEACH/ EDUCATION

Type	SOURCE domain	Totals	Pct
Dominant	JOURNEY e.g. <i>different path, distance, equal footing, fall by the wayside, shuttled along, progressing, last leg, moving</i>	136	21.2%
Dominant	BUSINESS (including SPORT/ COMPETITION/GAME) e.g. <i>invested, signature strategy, cold call, negotiate, price tag, corporate mentality, produce</i> e.g. <i>player, fishing with me, compete, relay race, coached</i>	127	20.2%
Secondary	PERFORMANCE/SHOW e.g. <i>played a role, acting, performance, clown, orchestrate, behind the curtain, showcase, ring master, circus</i>	49	8.0%
Secondary	BUILDING e.g. <i>support, foundation, basing that upon, building, arch of the lesson, tools</i>	46	7.2%
Secondary	SENSORY EXPERIENCE e.g. <i>see, hearing, touchy feely, put me in touch with, sense</i>	44	7.0%
Secondary	ART/SCIENCE e.g. <i>lab, white coats and clipboards, down to a science, create, cut &amp; paste</i>	36	5.6%
Secondary	(UN) COMFORTABLE ROOM e.g. <i>comfortable, cushy, discomfort, uncomfortable</i>	35	5.5%
Occasional	WAR, COMEDY, LEARNING A LANGUAGE, FOOD, FORCE, MEDICAL EXAM, FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL, RIVER, FIRE, SECRET CODE, MISSION	136	26.1%
Total		640	100%

More than 20% = Dominant.  
Less than 20% = Secondary.  
Less than 5% (individually) = Occasional.

**Table 2.** Metaphors with target domain TEACHERS

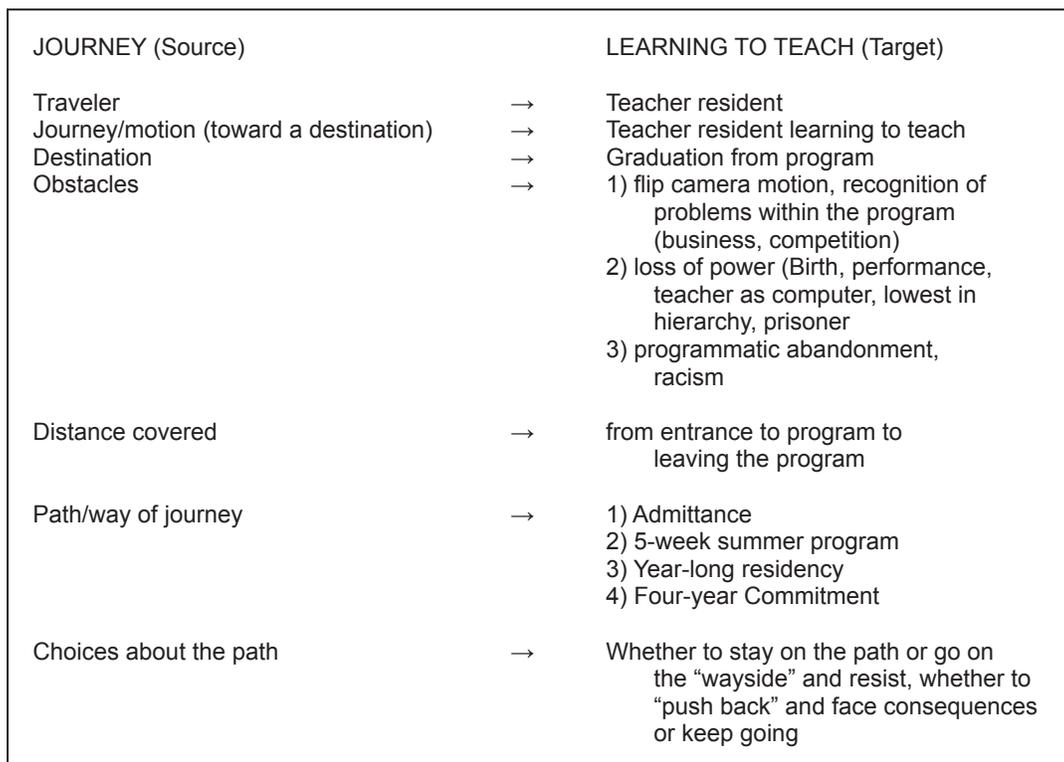
Type	SOURCE domain	Totals	Pct
Dominant	MACHINE/COMPUTER e.g. <i>breakdown, jerky, work out some of those bugs, pushed your buttons, remote control teacher, pull the plug on this operation</i>	66	67.3%
Secondary	HIERARCHY e.g. <i>position, status, elevated, subservient, low on the totem pole</i>	13	13.3%
Secondary	ANIMALS/PUPPETS e.g. <i>grooming us, cocky, dog fight, sort of a puppet</i>	12	12.2%
Secondary	PRISON GUARDS/PRISONERS e.g. <i>training academy, Stockholm’s syndrome, feel like I was in a prison</i>	7	7.1%
Total	98	100%	

**Table 3.** Metaphors with target domain LEE/SCHOOL

Type	SOURCE domain	Totals	Pct
Dominant	HOUSE e.g. <i>residents, residency, mucking it up, mess, shit on your shoes</i>	88	53.4%
Secondary	NATION/COUNTRY e.g. <i>hot seat, warming things up, climate, the culture, ambassador</i>	47	28.6%
Secondary	OBJECT/CONTAINER e.g. <i>fit, pressure, boils down to, stepping in, throw me in there</i>	29	17.7%
Total		164	100%

**Table 4.** Metaphors with miscellaneous target domains

TARGET domain	SOURCE domain	Totals
STUDENTS	FAMILY e.g. <i>my kids, the kids, akin to being a parent</i>	100
STUDENTS	SOLDIERS/CADETTES/ANIMALS e.g. <i>square up, academy, come to the zoo, monkey business, chomping at the bit</i>	22
IDEAS/CONVERSATIONS	OBJECTS/LIQUIDS e.g. <i>wrap this up, spurts, solidifies</i>	22
RELATIONSHIPS	CONNECTIONS e.g. <i>interconnectedness, bridge, connected</i>	15
TEXT	OBJECT/MACHINE e.g. <i>make that click, holes, break it down</i>	6
UNDERSTANDING	SEEING THE LIGHT e.g. <i>illuminate, light bulb, gleam</i>	5
RACE	OBJECT/ANIMAL e.g. <i>elephant in the room, tinged with racism</i>	5
Total		175



**Figure 1.** Learning to teach is a journey (adapted from Kövecses, 2006, p. 118).

BUSINESS (Source)		EDUCATION (Target)
Consumers	→	Parents
Product	→	Students and their skills
Training/skills needed for job	→	Learning
Producers of products	→	Teachers
Managers	→	Educational stakeholders and administrators
Strategies to produce the best product	→	Learning/teaching strategies
Strategies to assess the product	→	Standardized tests
Capital	→	Students with skills
Investment	→	Students as human capital
Marketing	→	Students' skills as a resource
Profit	→	Student becomes part of the workforce

Figure 2. Education is a business.

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## Appendix B: Interview questions

### **Interview 1:**

- 1) How has your experience in the program been so far?
- 2) How does the program interact with the community?
- 3) Tell me a bit about your experience with the curriculum you are asked to use at Teaching Academy high.
- 4) What sorts of things are you learning in your university coursework around teaching English?
- 5) What are some of the differences between the way you are learning to teach with Laurie and the way you are learning to teach at the university? Similarities?
- 6) Tell me a little bit about the other teachers you work with at Teaching Academy. What is the interpersonal culture there like?
- 7) How are things going with your co-resident, Sam? You mentor, Laurie?
- 8) It sounds like there were some stressful parts of your summer experience at Orion. Can you talk more about that?
- 9) What kind of feedback do you get on your teaching?

### **Interview 2:**

- 1) What have you been up to in class since we last met?
- 2) How was your experience team teaching with Sam and Laurie?
- 3) How is it working with your mentor in terms of negotiating what you want to teach and how you want to teach it?
- 4) I noticed today that Laurie actively participated in your lesson, in addition to giving you public feedback. How did that feel?
- 5) I know that you are required to use specific Lemov strategies in your teaching. Which ones are you working on now? How do you feel they are working?
- 6) One year ago when you were in the process of applying to this program what did you imagine teaching high school English would be like?
- 7) So what are you learning about teaching English?
- 8) What are you learning about yourself?
- 9) What have you discovered about your content knowledge walking in?
- 10) I'm wondering if you could talk about what you're learning about teaching in general, and what you're learning about facilitating discussion in the context of your placement?

### **Interview 3:**

- 1) So you were just saying before I turned on the recorder, that you have been observed constantly. What is that like?
- 2) Are there certain things you feel yourself doing differently when you see the video camera come out?
- 3) Where do you get support for how to facilitate and scaffold discussions in class?
- 4) How are things going with Sam? Laurie?
- 5) Did you feel in the moment-- or do you feel now-- that there is a place to go for you to go to talk about some of the difficulties you and Laurie are having?
- 6) What are you learning about your purpose for teaching?
- 7) You mentioned that some colleagues feel like you don't have the right "professional attitude." Who's talking to you about that? What are those conversations like?
- 8) What are you learning about teaching at this point in your year?

9) What are you learning about teaching English?

**Interview 4 (Exit Interview)**

- 1) So how has the rest of your school year gone?
- 2) How did the residency react when you told them that you will not be continuing in the program?
- 3) From what you're describing, it sounds like it was really hard for you to figure out your authentic teaching style, or your teaching personality. Can you talk more about that? How come?
- 4) Do you feel like there was anyone in the program-- or any other kind of space-- for you to process this stuff in a way that you felt like it wouldn't come back at you?
- 5) What role did Lemov's signature strategies play in your learning to teach process?
- 6) What was your opinion on the content of the curriculum you were asked to teach?
- 7) What did you learn from your university courses and how translatable were they into your classroom setting?
- 8) Could you trace your use of the signature strategies throughout the year?
- 9) Throughout the year, the topic of race has come up in all of our conversations. How does the program address the issue of race? You said it's "the elephant in the room."
- 10) So a year ago, what were your images for urban English teaching in this program?
- 11) If you can, I would like you to come up with a simile or metaphor for your experience learning to teach. What would it be?

**Notice of Action**  
**University of Wisconsin–Madison**  
**Institutional Review Board (IRB)**

**Principal Investigator:** Kenneth M Zeichner  
**Department:** Curriculum and Instruction  
**Co-Investigator:** Lauren Gatti  
**Point of Contact:** Lauren Gatti  
**Protocol Title:** Learning to Teach English in Two Different Urban Teacher Education Programs: A Comparative Analysis  
**Protocol Number:** SE-2010-0219  
**IRB:** Education Research IRB (Contact: Mike Bingham, 262-9710)  
**Committee Action:** Approved on: **September 09, 2010** Expires: **September 08, 2011**

We have received the information you sent regarding the above named protocol. This information complies with the modifications required by the Institutional Review Board, and your protocol is now approved. You may begin collecting data at any time.

Thank you for your cooperation.

**Special Notes or Instructions:** This protocol was reviewed by the expedited subcommittee, and approved pending the receipt of modifications. Modifications have been received and approved. Therefore, this protocol is approved pursuant to 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1), expedited categories 6 & 7.

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**INVESTIGATOR RESPONSIBILITIES:**

Unless this protocol is exempt, or the IRB specifically waived the use of written consent, an approved consent form that is stamped with approval and expiration dates can be found on IRB WebKit. To find the stamped consent form, go to IRB WebKit at <https://rcr.gradsch.wisc.edu/irbwebkit/Login.asp>. Login and open this protocol number. The link to the consent form can be found on the left side of the page. All copies of the form must be made from this original. Any changes to the consent form must be approved in advance by the IRB.

Any changes to the protocol must be approved by the IRB before they are implemented.

Any new information that would affect potential risks to subjects, any problems or adverse reactions must be reported immediately to the IRB contact listed above.

If the research will continue beyond the expiration date indicated above, a request for renewal/continuing review must be submitted to the IRB. You must obtain approval before the current expiration date. If you do not obtain approval by the expiration date noted above, you are not authorized to collect any data until the IRB re-approves your protocol.

Signed consent forms must be retained on campus for seven years following the end of the project.