

No Child Left Behind and Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front:

Exploring the Relationship between National Education Reform Policy,

Intergovernmental Agendas, and Deception Strategy

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Abstract

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Strategy

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Reformers in general and education reformers specifically are currently unable to identify whether or not deception is part of a policy. Further, they are unable to identify whom the deception benefits, and whom it places at a disadvantage. Using No Child Left Behind as an example of a policy of reform that claims to be for the benefit of the disadvantaged, this work seeks to identify whether or not it is actually an example of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Borrowing from and synthesizing key themes in strategy, deception, cooptation and poverty pimping theories, this work seeks to combine classical, critical and community observations to theoretically define and conceptually frame cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Using qualitative content analysis, No Child Left Behind is examined for evidence of deception, cooptation and cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Confirming the presence of all three, the intergovernmental network was scanned for evidence that cooptation was occurring. Policy documents from the United Nations and the World Bank were examined for the

timely congruence of main agenda items carried in the No Child Left Behind Act.

Congruence was found in documents from both organizations, suggesting that the cooptive agenda was generated at the intergovernmental level.

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Chapter 1:

Seeking New Ways for Analysts and Advocates to Understand Policy That Claims to Serve Disadvantaged Communities

All too frequently, policies are presented as solutions to challenges facing disadvantaged communities. Almost as often, especially at the national level, these policies fail the communities they claim to serve. Despite generations of political promises to end inequalities in social sectors such as education, income, housing, and criminal justice, asymmetry remains a hallmark of every sociopolitical system in the United States.

One of the more recent examples of a national reform policy that was promoted in the name of the disadvantaged, but never produced the equality it claimed it could achieve, is the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Over a decade after it was promoted as the agenda that would close the achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students in the public education system, No Child Left Behind has completely failed to deliver on its promise (State and Local Governance Coalition, 2012; U.S. Department of Education, 2011; National Education Association, 2009).

This failure can be attributed to two strategic possibilities that are worth noting here. The first is that the agenda was, in fact, designed to benefit disadvantaged students, but there were failures in the execution process. The second possibility is that the agenda was never designed to support the agenda of disadvantaged students, but rather its function was to serve another group or network in the name of the disadvantaged.

This is not to say that every participant was acting under deceptive intent. Often, the best intentions of the most well-meaning individuals can be used against them and the communities they serve in political competition. Many deception strategies, for example, depend on manipulating the predictable responses of individuals and organizations operating with specific intents, some of which might be labeled as “good” (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2006). It is to say, though, that those at the highest level of strategic design knew that the direct beneficiaries of the agenda were not the disadvantaged populations, as the attached narratives claim.

Research Question

Disadvantaged communities have long been used as fronts by outside groups attempting to advance their own agendas. For example, in the earliest examples of a federalized education system in the United States, “Indian Boarding Schools” were presented as beneficial to indigenous communities, while their practical goals included military containment of tribal behavior and dismantling tribal cultures, languages, and interpersonal relationships. As Henry Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School explains in a speech about the education of indigenous peoples,

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man. (National Indian Education Association, 2012, pg. 1)

In this way, cultural extermination was sold as salvation through education by federal actors, against the will and to the disadvantage of indigenous communities.

So frequently, in fact, have their causes been used as fronts to pass the agendas of outside parties, communities of disadvantage have coined a term for it that is used in colloquial discourse: “poverty pimping.” While this term is not commonly recognized or well received in classical research dialogues, the main hallmarks of the process it describes have been observed by this same community. The term used by classically trained analysts is “cooptation.” Validating the observations of disadvantaged communities confronting poverty pimping with observations made by classically trained cooptation theorists observing from outside perspectives for purposes of implementation or defense, this work seeks to answer the question: *Does No Child Left Behind contain the major strategic hallmarks required to assume cooptation with a disadvantaged front?*

Research Problem

Policy researchers in general, and education policy researchers specifically, attempting to answer this question would be confronted almost instantly with a number of theoretical and conceptual challenges. For example, formally analyzing a policy for the presence or absence of a deceptive strategy such as cooptation requires at least three foundational tools:

- 1) an understanding of strategy,
- 2) an understanding of deception in general, and cooptation specifically, and
- 3) conceptual frameworks with which to apply these understandings to practical contexts, in this case the education system in the United States.

Unfortunately, to date, these tools have either been denied to or passed over by education policy researchers working to support the most disadvantaged communities—or

quite possibly never been imagined by them in the first place. Detached from strategy theory and its applications, these researchers are unable to identify the strategic significance of policies designed to work against them, or to the advantage of their opponents, in the political field. In other words, they are left without a political defense.

Although the contributions of researchers in general, and education policy researchers specifically, are integral to the political process, theoretical barriers and a lack of conceptual tools have limited their ability to inform this process from either offensive or defensive positions. Whether intentionally or unintentionally downplayed or omitted, the results of strategic failure in a competitive field remain the same: they increase the odds of both losses for the “home team” and wins for the opponent.

This work seeks to contribute to the field of policy research in general, and education research specifically, by:

- 1) introducing theories used by more advantaged and politically successful actors in the political reform arena,
- 2) confronting the theoretical barriers that have prevented researchers from accessing and applying this information previously, and
- 3) providing a conceptual framework that can be used by policy analysts that would like to apply these theories to specific analytical and practical contexts.

More specifically, this research will help classically and community trained analysts alike come together to understand the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 under more inclusive theoretical frameworks and more strategically efficient conceptual frameworks. It does so by

transcending the current geopolitical boundaries of policy borrowing discourse to include the agendas of the intergovernmental network, describing the role deception strategies play in political analysis, providing tools with which to identify deception in general and cooptation with a disadvantaged front specifically, and encouraging analysts from varying traditions and training to collaborate together as equals to defend the most disadvantaged communities from organizations and networks working against them.

Summary of Chapters

Emphasizing the importance of theoretical and practical applicability for both classically trained analysts and community analysts, efforts are taken throughout this work to ensure that the documents chosen and the methods applied exclude neither. More specifically, the documents chosen were limited to those accessible to the general public, written in common English, and easily translatable to other languages through no cost internet applications. The methods of analysis were chosen for their ability to answer the question at hand as well as their ability to be taught to and applied by analysts without prior access to formal training in classical research methods. While this approach does not overcome all barriers, it does seek to formally confront and overcome many of the linguistic and procedural barriers that prevent classical and community analysts from engaging in collaborative research, on equal footing, together.

With collaboration in mind, Chapter Two: Strategy, Deception, and Education Research: Realigning Dominant and Critical Discourses with Strategy Theory ultimately produces a term and definition that honors the observations of classical cooptation researchers and poverty pimping analysts by combining both theories to describe one common process: cooptation with

a disadvantaged front. To formally ground this discussion in a strategic framework, a brief description of strategy theory and one of its subfields, deception & denial theory, are provided. This foundation is followed by a description of boundaries that have prevented traditional and critical education policy researchers from rooting in or relating to these approaches previously. The chapter concludes by synthesizing cooptation and poverty pimping theories, into a common term, definition, and theoretical framework that can be used by both classical and community analysts in order to discuss and potentially confront cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Chapter Three: Methodology: Qualitative Content Analysis details how the exploration to confirm or deny the presence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 is conducted with the methodology of qualitative content analysis. This chapter describes why qualitative content analysis is the most appropriate methodological tool with which to approach the research question at hand. Special attention will be given to applying this methodology in ways that both theoretically and practically maintain the inclusion of both classical and community analysts.

Chapter Four: Mapping the Contextual Environment builds an important bridge needed to put the strategy theories described into practice. In this chapter, a process by which a strategic map of the environment in context can be produced is described. In particular, a strategic map of the education system in the United States during the time of promotion and passage of No Child Left Behind is produced. This map can be used by classically trained researchers and community analysts alike to ground strategic conversations of competitive maneuvers and relationships. For the purpose of this study specifically, contextual mapping will

play an important role in the identification of the main hallmarks of cooptation with a disadvantaged front in Chapter Five and the strategic level where the diffusion of the cooptive legislation originated in Chapter Six.

Chapter Five: Identifying Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front in the No Child Left Behind Act describes in detail how to confirm the presence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front by 1) identifying a deception story in a policy and 2) identifying the strategic beneficiaries of the policy. These tasks are accomplished with the assistance of the US Military's See-Think-Do model of deception, qualitative content analysis, and the strategic map of the education system. Described as a disconnect between See and Think, qualitative content analysis is used to differentiate between components of No Child Left Behind that would be observable during implementation (See) and the framing used to create meaning around and describe these components (Think). Incongruities between the two that cross the line between persuasion and manipulation, or framing and deception, served to indicate that a deception story is present in the narrative of No Child Left Behind.

Chapter Six: Using Qualitative Content Analysis and Strategic Mapping to Identify the Core of a Deceptive Policy moves forward with the assumption that No Child Left Behind is an example of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. It also continues with the assumption that efforts have been made to conceal the true beneficiaries of the policy, and as such, the grand strategists. Having confirmed the presence of a deception story and the strategic beneficiaries of No Child Left Behind, Chapter Six describes a process by which researchers can embark on a search for the center of command from which a deceptive policy is generated. Specifically, qualitative content analysis were applied to strategic documents from influential

intergovernmental organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations in order to assess for congruities of agenda. The documents selected were 1980 *World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper*, the “Education for All” portion of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) 1982 *General Resolutions*, and UNESCO’s 1984 *International Conference on Education 39th Session*. As cooptation requires targets to shift their behavior to align with the agendas of an outside group or network, alignment will, and in this case does, suggest that the command center from which the policy was designed and diffused was located at the intergovernmental level.

To be clear, this chapter does not claim to identify the parent individual, organizations, networks or documents that produced and communicated the agenda to alter the education system of the United State and other nations around the world in the likeness of No Child Left Behind. It does describe, though, the earliest evidence of the main agenda components contained in No Child Left Behind at the broadest level of geopolitical influence in the education sector.

Finally, Chapter Seven: A New Understanding of No Child Left Behind pulls all of this information together to describe an alternative narrative to the one currently accepted and assumed by classical analysts and observers. Pushing the origins of the policy over two decades prior to 2001 and expanding the sphere of influence to include intergovernmental organizations that have proven effect on the policies of the United States and around the globe, this chapter describes the influence of the intergovernmental community on the global education network which includes the education system of the United States. Most specifically, this narrative describes how the agenda that led to the cooptation with a disadvantaged front that led to the

passage of No Child Left Behind was produced at the intergovernmental level before being promoted as a policy designed specifically to meet the needs of the disadvantaged in the US. This chapter also describes significant limitations to this research, alternative interpretations of the findings of the research, and opportunities for other researchers to join and expand this dialogue.

Conclusion

From the perspective of political actors representing the most disadvantaged communities, No Child Left Behind can be described as an example of poverty pimping. Using the language of traditional researchers making similar observations from a classical perspective, NCLB can be described as an example of cooptation. Bringing together traditional research and community scholarship, this work seeks to create a common language, theoretical framework, and conceptual method by which researchers and practitioners alike can formally confirm or reject the presence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front in policies such as No Child Left Behind. This effort will begin with a brief summary of the basic foundations of strategy and deception theories.

Chapter 2:

Strategy, Deception, and Education Research: Realigning Dominant and Critical Discourses with Strategy Theory

In one of the more honest admissions of this political reality, Sun Tzu reminds us,

All warfare is based on deception. Hence, when we are able to attack, we must seem unable; when using our forces, we must appear inactive; when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away; when far away, we must make him believe we are near. (Sun Tzu, 2009, pgs. 4-5)

While the relationships between strategy, deception, and politics are casually acknowledged by participants, analysts, and observers alike, they are rarely formally addressed in political discourses. This omission benefits those designing deceptive agendas, but it leaves targets at a significant disadvantage. Without common languages through which to discuss, analyze and counter strategic maneuvers, targets and those that support them have little chance of defending themselves against it.

The inability to consistently identify, analyze, and counter strategic maneuvers carries with it consequences that should be especially important considerations for researchers and practitioners working in support of the most disadvantaged communities. The political environment is asymmetrical. As such, the benefits and consequences of a policy will distribute differently according to the level of advantage at which they're applied (Strolovich, 2007). Because the most disadvantaged are with the least support and defense, the negative effects of a policy will accumulate most heavily in the deepest degrees of disadvantage. Unable to defend themselves against the offensive maneuvers of opposing competitors on the political field, the most disadvantaged communities are also left unable to gain the support,

momentum, and leverage necessary to advance their own agendas. The result has been a consistent inability for analysts and practitioners from any position to make the systemwide adjustments necessary to level the playing field in most sectors of reform including, but not limited to employment, income, housing and education.

Without a strong defense and an organized offense, the likelihood that the most disadvantaged communities and those that support them will succeed in advancing their agendas while defending against opponent groups is slim to none. This work seeks to create a space through which policy analysts working in support of the most disadvantaged communities can overcome barriers to the application of strategy and the identification of deception in their fields.

Strategy Theory

In the field of education research, there is a distinct absence of work that formally roots itself in a strategic framework. The informal approach that currently dominates the field has resulted in a number of theoretical incongruities that have led to practical inefficiencies. These inefficiencies have led to a consistent pattern of losses, both offensively and defensively, in the overwhelming majority of areas of social reform for the most disadvantaged.

Casual versus Formal Applications of Strategy

As Harry R. Yarger, author of *Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy*, explains,

One sees the term strategy misapplied often. There is a tendency to use it as a general term for a plan, concept, course of action or 'idea' of a direction in which to proceed. Such use is inappropriate. Strategy is the domain of the

senior leader at the higher echelons of the state, the military, business corporations, or other institutions. (Yarger, 2010, pg. 45)

In other words, casual notions of strategy may include descriptions of ends, ways, and means, but a formal claim to the application of strategy demands more complexity. Just as there are specific knowledge bases, processes and formats required to claim expertise in fields such as critical pedagogy, educational leadership and policy analysis, there are similar requirements that must be met to claim strategic relevance. The integrity of strategic applicability should be of greatest importance in the design and diffusion of agendas geared at defending or supporting the most disadvantaged communities. As Colin S. Gray unapologetically asserts in *Modern Strategy*,

Carl von Clausewitz was persuasive when he wrote: 'Everything in strategy is very simple, but that does not mean that everything is very easy.' Key relationships among policy, strategy and tactics are simple and can be expressed in simple terms. Often in practice, however, the noun and the adjective, 'strategy/ and /strategic', are purloined by the unscrupulous or misapplied by those who are careless or ignorant. Such sins, or errors can have dire consequences in practice for a realm of behavior that is, after all, about life and death, victory or defeat. (Gray, 1999, pg. 16)

As the most disadvantaged are the most exploited, least protected and most underrepresented members of the political field, these life and death consequences are most frequently distributed to these communities. In other words, people live and die on the basis of strategic strengths and weaknesses of those that defend and support them. It is no waste of time or energy to familiarize oneself with strategy theory when engaging in reform-based research and practice.

The Foundations of Strategy Theory

The formal study of strategy in the west traditionally dates back to Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1873) although, as a practice strategy is as old as survival itself. Predominantly developed in military institutions such as the US Army War College, the Naval War Academy, the National Intelligence University, the Department of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, strategy theory has largely been housed in the military sciences.

Defining Strategy

While there are a number of common themes that guide theoretical and conceptual discussions in the field, there is no rigid definition for the term "strategy." Most common among these themes, as previously described involves ends, ways and means and the specific relationships between the three. For example, strategy has been defined in the following ways:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (von Clausewitz, 1873) | "the employment of the battle as the means towards the attainment of the object of the War." (von Clausewitz, 1873, pg. 944) |
| (Yarger, 2008) | "Strategy is all about <u>how</u> (way or concept) leadership will use the <u>power</u> (means or resources) available...to exercise control over sets of circumstances and geographic locations to achieve objectives (ends)." (Yarger, 2010, pg. 45) |
| (Dorff, 2001) | "One of the key elements in teaching strategy at the United States Army War College is the strategy framework. Conceptually, we define strategy as the relationship among ends, ways, and means. Ends are the objectives or goals sought. Means are the resources available to pursue the objectives. And Ways or methods are how one organizes and applies the resources." (Dorff, 2001, pg 11) |

The relationships between ends, ways, and means as applied by strategy theorists are bound by a number of assumptions specific to the field (Smith, YEAR). While it is beyond the scope of this exercise to outline all of these assumptions here, a basic understanding of two of them is important to the dialogue at hand. They are:

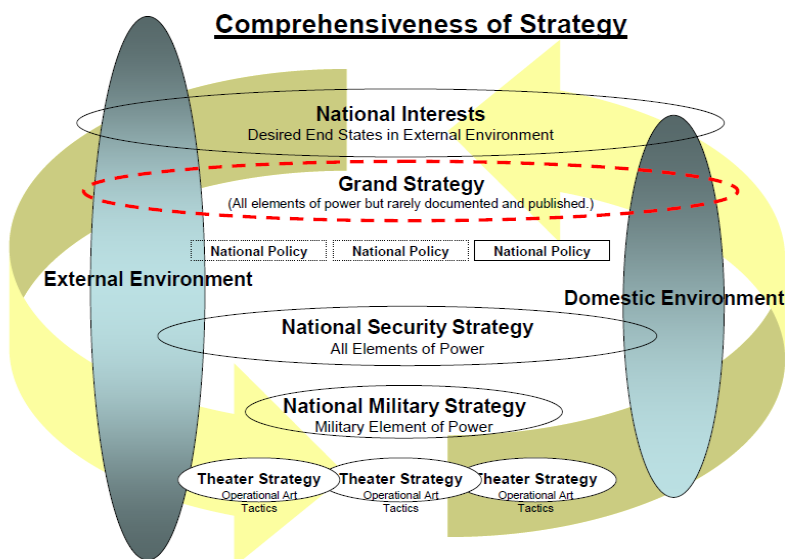
1. Strategy is hierarchical.
2. Strategy is related to, but distinct from, operations and tactics.

Assumption one: Strategy is hierarchical. Strategy is stratified. There are different levels of organization that operate under different sets of constraints and opportunities, but relate to each other to form patterned relationships. Understanding how strategy theorists understand and apply these patterns can help strategists working for the most disadvantaged communities more effectively design, diffuse and monitor their own offensive and defensive agendas. As Yarger elaborates,

The hierarchical nature of strategy facilitates span of control. It represents a logical means of delegating responsibility and authority among senior leadership. It also suggests that if strategy consists of objectives, concepts, and resources each should be appropriate to the level of strategy and consistent with one another. This strategy at the national military level should articulate military objectives at the national level and express the concepts and resources in terms appropriate to the national level for the specified objective. (Yarger, 2006, pgs. 11-12)

To complement this description, Yarger provides the diagram seen in Figure 2.1. As illustrated, all of the elements of strategy are embedded and anchored within the interests of the strategizing entity, in this case, the nation. Grand strategies are designed to facilitate national interests, and they are often concealed. National policies are developed under the auspices of the grand strategy. National security strategies are guided and bound by national policy. National military strategy and subsequently theater strategies operations and tactics developed to support it are derived from national military strategy.

Figure 2.1. Yarger's Strategic Hierarchy



Without an understanding of the strategic hierarchy, it's almost impossible to locate one's own strategic position or the position of others. Learning to apply the strategic hierarchy and its levels to practical contexts allows researchers to approach the analysis of a policy in more strategic and structured manner; it also encourages researchers to overcome strategic inefficiencies in their own work.

Assumption two: Strategy is neither operations nor tactics. A second assumption of strategy theory, closely related to the first, is that there are very important differences between strategy, operations, and tactics. As Gray reminds us, the consequences of misapplying and misidentifying these levels and their relationships can and do result in the loss of life. Their nuances should not be presented casually and their consequences should not be taken lightly.

The identification of these three levels of strategy in western literature is credited to Carl von Clausewitz and his canonical work *On War* (1873). They are strategy, tactics, and operations. In modern terms, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), one of the most powerful

transnational and multilateral military and political organizations in the world, describes these components in more modern terms as follows:

Military intelligence appears in three basic forms: strategic, operational, and tactical. Strategic intelligence is intelligence that is required for the formulation of strategy, policy, and military plans and operations at national and theater levels. It involves a focus on overarching factors such as foreign geography, infrastructure, and force planning, or long-term trends such as the application of new tactics, techniques, and procedures or the development of new resources. It is an important tool in the effort to anticipate and counter threats throughout the world. (Defense Intelligence Agency, 2011, pg. 3)

In other words, strategy describes the big picture. Operations describes the planning and management processes, including campaign planning. Tactics describes the details of operations, campaigns, actions, maneuvers, and battles. While strategy, operations, and tactics interact and entwine intimately, they are distinct instruments that must be approached with respect to their individual complexity (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2-2. Yarger's Strategic Hierarchy and Levels



(Yarger, 2006)

Researchers should be encouraged to formally incorporate the strategic hierarchy and its levels into their work – especially if they are seeking to defend their communities from the advancement of agendas designed by opposing organizations and networks. The consequences of not applying a strategic framework increases the likelihood of losses on the political field.

Yarger again details,

Too many military professionals confuse strategy and planning. As a consequence, planning level thinking is often applied at the strategic level. When this occurs, even though the plan may be successful, the resulting strategic effects fail to adequately support, or are actually counterproductive to, the stated policy goals or interests.”
(Yarger, 2006, pg. 48)

Yarger’s description of the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of strategy point to another important consideration for researchers and practitioners navigating the political field: All is not as it seems. Rooting analysis in a strategic framework helps researchers identify important processes, variables and relationships involved in strategic competition. This process is complex enough, especially in light of persuasive tactics used by political rhetoricians. An additional level of complexity is added when approaching policies and agendas in which deception is applied. In these cases, an understanding of strategy theory is crucial.

Deception and Denial: An Instrument of Strategy

Without the assistance of strategy theory, researchers are often denied the option of exploring two of the oldest and most pervasive political instruments available to strategists, actors and analysts: deception and denial. As a result, the validity and practical applicability of their work is immediately called into question. In order to ensure that they are analyzing what they seek to analyze, at the levels they seek to analyze it, for the people they purport to analyze if for, in their proper contexts, policy analysts should be encouraged to evaluate their policies

for the presence of Deception and Denial (D&D) before proceeding with further analysis. As Godson and Wirtz assert, “Policymakers would be advantaged by recognizing that they may be either the target or channel for D & D” (2000, pg. 432).

Defining Strategic Deception & Denial (D&D)

In its most simplistic form, deception is an attempt to encourage a person or group of people to accept false information; denial is the attempt to withhold information from a person or group of people. Often these two are taken together under the label of deception. For example, the Joint Doctrine of Military Deception defines deception as,

...those actions executed to deliberately mislead adversary military decision makers as to friendly military capabilities, intentions, and operations, thereby causing the adversary to take specific actions (or inactions) that will contribute to the accomplishment of the friendly mission. (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2006, pg. vii)

Whether combined or separately articulated, deception and denial are present and pervasive throughout the political process.

The Complexities of Deception & Denial: Strategic Levels and Techniques

While a comprehensive overview of Deception Theories and Techniques are beyond the scope of this paper, there are two considerations important to note before proceeding. The first is that as a strategic instrument, Deception techniques are designed to respond to and compliment the three levels of warfare: strategy, operations and tactics. The second characteristic is that deception and denial strategies are largely produced and identified through the lens of the See-Think-Do model.

The strategic levels of deception. In *Foreign Denial and Deception: Minimizing the Impact to Operational Intelligence*, Major Brian P. Cyr, USMC describes,

The key difference between strategic and operational D&D is the target audience. Strategic D&D is typically aimed at the national level of government or senior military leadership. Operational D&D, in contrast, is more likely centered at combatant and subordinate joint force command, along with their component commanders. (Cyr, 2002, pg. 2)

Much like it is important to identify the levels of warfare for any other strategic analysis, careful consideration of the strategic levels should be employed when approaching maneuvers and policies that may include deception. The misapplication of the levels of warfare degrades the strategic applicability of the work of analysts and practitioners alike.

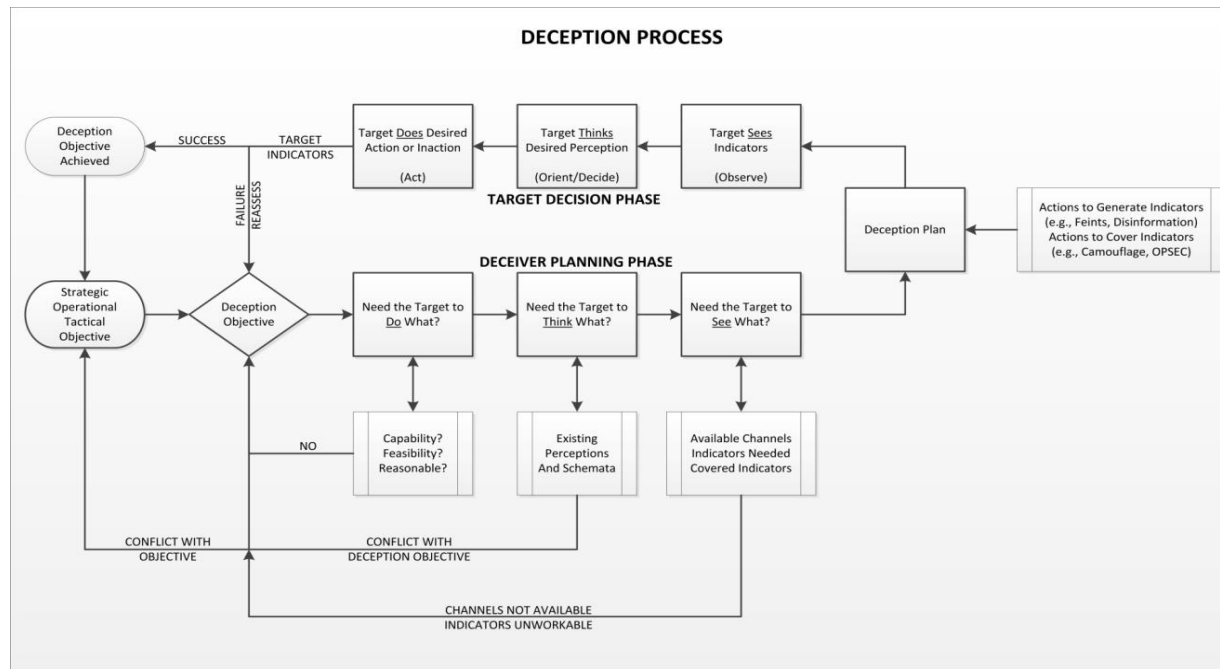
Techniques: See-Think-Do. The more familiar researchers and practitioners become with theories generated by the experts in the fields of strategy and strategic deception and denial, the easier it will be for them to identify these patterns and apply them to their own areas of reform. One of the most basic yet informative models applied by strategy theorists specializing in deception and denial is the See-Think-Do model of deception. This model can be used by researchers to identify patterns in the policies they are seeking to answer questions about.

James D. Monroe of the Naval Postgraduate Institute describes,

Military Deception. JP 3-13.4 utilizes a three step deception process: See-Think-Do. In the See-Think-Do model, the deception practitioner first decides what action or inaction the target must do in order to support the overall plan. This behavior becomes the deception objective. Next, the practitioner considers what the target must think in order to cause the deception goal. Finally, the practitioner formulates what the target must see in order to create the necessary perceptions to drive the target's thoughts. (Monroe, 2012, pg. 74)

This model shown in Figure 2-3 describes how deception is to be implemented. As will be described in more detail in Chapter Five, researchers assessing policy for the presence of deception can use this model to guide their explorations.

Figure 2.3. Monroe's Deception Process



Taken from *Deception: Theory and Practice* by James Monroe (Monroe, 2012)

Before strategy or deception and denial theories can be applied to policies in the field of education, though, efforts must be taken to identify and address gaps and fences between strategy theorists and education researchers. Once this is accomplished, efforts can be made to realign the dominant and critical discourses surrounding education policy with the strategic theories used by those that design these policies at the highest levels. This synthesis will provide the theoretical foundation necessary approach cooptation and formally assess a policy for its presence or absence.

Realigning Strategy with Education Research

The following sections seek to illustrate incongruities between strategy theory and dominant theories used to explore education policy critically and traditionally, in order to

realign them for future analyses. Most specifically, this work seeks to clarify how education researchers have removed both the top and the bottom of the strategic hierarchy and its levels. While policy borrowing theorists limit themselves to models that include the highest levels of political authority, critical theorists apply and replicate models that misrepresent the lowest levels of the hierarchy. This theoretical pigeonholing results in the omission of integral portions of the political field from analysis and the subsequent production and replication of strategically inappropriate work.

Loss of the Top: Policy Borrowing

Education researchers seeking to learn about the transfer of policy from one political space to another are encouraged to attach their work to Policy Borrowing Theory. In some ways, this attachment helps analysts discuss the process in very specific ways; it also hinders the exploration of policy transfer. Policy borrowing has been of casual interest to western researchers for generations; however, it was with the 1962 publication of Noah and Eckstein's *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* that policy borrowing solidified itself as a field of study. A widely accepted and applied conceptual framework was not built out of this theoretical foundation until 2004. The development of an accepted conceptual framework is a step forward in the evolution of any field; however, conceptual frameworks can also be limiting. This is the case with policy borrowing.

Phillips and Ochs' Four Stage Model of Policy Borrowing was created in order to "draw attention to ways which will help to structure investigation of the phenomenon of cross-national attraction in education and the consequent development of policy and its implementation" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). The four stages they identify are 1) Cross-National

Attraction, 2) Decision Making, 3) Implementation, and 4) Internalization. Cross-national attraction in particular, is a limiting construct in the conceptual framework of policy borrowing.

As currently applied, the concept of cross-national attraction unnecessarily binds researchers to one-to-one interactions between governmental entities. This excludes conversations of borrowing and transfer that occurs across governmental, political, economic, military, and social boundaries as well as their intersections. It also misdirects attention away from networked interactions and activities. The dialogues that stem from this model reinforce the notion that borrowing occurs between autonomous nations acting relatively independently of each other. Such a discourse encourages analysts to lose sight of both multilateral and intergovernmental networks and influences. It also obscures the agendas that bind these nations to the same strategic hierarchy.

While there is an evolving trend towards exploring the relationship between transnational networks and the diffusion of intergovernmental policy agendas (Strang, 1998, Simmons & Elkins 2004; Steiner-Khamsi, 2006), the dominant model currently applied in the field still places the nation state at the highest level of the strategic hierarchy. Without tools to engage in such analysis, researchers are left unable to identify, analyze, monitor, or counter the strategic agendas of the most powerful actors in the political arena. In other words, with a focus on one to one nation-centric models of borrowing, policy borrowers exclude information from organizations and networks that are able to influence multiple nations through one agenda. This omission is illustrated in Figure 2.4 below. The hierarchy on the left represents a strategically appropriate hierarchy. The right represents the hierarchy as applied by policy borrowing theorists. The "X"s represent the levels of the hierarchy that are omitted.

Figure 2.4. The Strategic Hierarchy as Exemplified by the Field of Policy Borrowing



Loss of the Bottom as Well as the Entire Hierarchy: Critical Theory

While the researchers in the field of education charged with examining the highest levels of policy have been limited in their abilities to identify and explore the most powerful actors and their agendas, those charged with identifying and/or defending those with the least political authority have misconstrued the bottom of the strategic hierarchy. Misapplying the strategic hierarchy and the levels of warfare, critical class analysts, critical race analysts and critical pedagogues have lost sight of three very important strategic considerations. First, they have lost the position of the most disadvantaged communities; second, they reinsert a false disadvantaged community in its place; third, they misrepresent interpersonal and organizational dynamics to the point they are no longer indistinguishable. Subsequently, they have positioned themselves outside the strategic dialogue altogether.

Critical Theory. Critical Theory in general—and Critical Race, Gender, and Pedagogy Theory specifically—are examples of theoretical foundations upon which education researchers, seeking to describe political phenomenon from the perspective of or on behalf of disadvantaged and most disadvantaged subgroups, are encouraged to ground their work. While these fields have allowed for more inclusion in the critical dialogue for some, they have simultaneously established and replicated barriers to inclusion for others. This curious pigeonholing has resulted in at least two practical problems. The first is that critical theorists lose the dynamic nature of the most disadvantaged subgroups within any given strategic context. The second is that they choose and reinsert their own populations for this subgroup, thus misleading researchers and practitioners into faulty strategic postures.

Critical Class Analysis. The most widely recognized critical theorists have struggled to identify the strategic locations of the most disadvantaged subgroups. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for example, are often cited across numerous fields as the fathers of class analysis. While their observations clarified and pioneered the dialogue on the relationship between labor and capital, or proletariat and bourgeoisie, they all but completely obscure the existence, positions, and relationships of the most disadvantaged communities that strategically occupy the strategic levels *below* that of labor class. They write:

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles....

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new

classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — bourgeoisie and proletariat.” (Marx and Engels, 1848)

Similarly, in “Teaching against globalization and the new imperialism: Toward a revolutionary pedagogy,” McLaren and Farahmandpur overamplify the labor class’s position in the struggle for equality, and redraw political complexities into an oversimplified labor-capital dichotomy. In doing so, they create a false bottom in which the true bottom of the strategic hierarchy is all but completely obscured. They write,

We have secured our analysis within a Marxist problematic that takes seriously the imperative of steering critical pedagogy firmly toward anticapitalist struggle (see McLaren, 2000; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2000). We contend that within critical pedagogy, the issue of class has too often been overlooked. Critical pedagogy has, of late, drifted dangerously toward the cultural terrain of identity politics in which class is reduced to an effect rather than understood as a cause and in which a hierarchy of oppression is (usually unwittingly) constituted as a controlling paradigm that frequently leaves the exploitative power of capitalist social relations largely unaddressed. Understanding exploitation as embodied in forms of racist and patriarchal social practices should constitute a central focus of critical pedagogy. On this point we have no quarrel. However, this objective should not be achieved at the grievous expense of understanding how political economy and class struggle operate as the motor force of history and society (Parenti, 1997). With this assertion, we identify the political architecture necessary to contest the enfeeblement and domestication of critical pedagogy and to develop what we call a revolutionary working class pedagogy.

(McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001 pg. 137)

As a result of this overwhelming exclusion and its pervasiveness in the field of critical theory in general and critical class analysis specifically, these isolated and intersected disadvantaged groups, their networks, and the researchers that support them must not only struggle for voice in the dominant dialogues, but in critical dialogues as well. Critical Race and Gender theorists similarly lose sight of the true position of the most disadvantaged and reinsert their own single-axis, fixed subgroup.

Critical Race and Gender Analysis. In their attempts to overcome the biases presented by the predominantly Caucasian, male dialogue in critical theory, women and non-Caucasian researchers developed spaces for critical race and critical gender dialogues. In claiming their own scholarship, however, they also fall into the trap of creating their own false hierarchical bottoms that are both insufficient to describe the complex political interactions of different subgroups and too fixed in place to allow for exploration of models where gender and race are not the primary foci of stratification.

Over a decade after bell hooks wrote, "...it is seen as crucial to building a mass-based feminist movement that theory would not be written in a manner that would further erase and exclude black women and women of color, or, worse yet, include us in subordinate positions. Unfortunately much feminist scholarship dashes these hopes, largely because critics fail to interrogate the location from which they speak...." (hooks, 1991, pg. 77), over 25 years after Crenshaw criticized the perpetuation of "single axis" frameworks (Crenshaw, 1989, pg. 140), and decades after Collins brought the theory of intersectionality into the dialogue (Collins, 1990), the work of Gloria Ladson-Billings exemplifies the stronghold single-axis frameworks still have in the critical discourse. She writes, "A critical race perspective always foregrounds race

as an explanatory tool for the persistence of inequality...For African Americans, their understanding of inequity is filtered through the lens of race and racism” (Ladson-Billings, 1997, page 132).

The overuse and dominance of such single-race models of analysis has led researchers into a fixation on identity politics, and thus interpersonal dialogues. Where multilateral operations may be the most appropriate, intersectionality is substituted. Where intersectionality is demanded, single-axis frameworks are promoted. Collaboration comes through overcoming single axis identity frameworks; they are not currently facilitated by them. Further, the focus on identity and interpersonal interactions has left the field of critical education studies without the abilities to participate in the organizational or strategic dialogues that transcend identity politics. The current framework also excludes information from people and communities that are already living, analyzing and strategizing from points of intersection. Critical pedagogues have similarly removed themselves from the most influential strategic and organizational dialogues.

Critical Pedagogy. One of the most popular and widely cited books in the field of critical education is Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). In this work, Freire outlines the interpersonal relationships of the colonizer and the colonized and how this relationship influences the transmission of information from the classroom down to the level of consciousness. At the highest levels, Freire comments on pedagogical relationships that extend no further than the level of the classroom. At the lowest levels, Freire has further detached from a strategic dialogue by inserting an internal or psychological discourse where other critical theorists might apply an already strategically deficient interpersonal discourse. Focusing on

number of prescribed shifts in consciousness necessary to create reform for the benefit of the most disadvantaged subgroups, he writes:

In this way, critical analysis of a significant existential dimension makes possible a new, critical attitude towards the limit-situations. The perception and comprehension of reality are rectified and acquire new depth. When carried out with a methodology of *conscientizacao* the investigation of the generative theme contained in the minimum thematic universe (the generative themes in interaction) thus introduces or begins to introduce women and men to a critical form of thinking about their world. (Freire, 1970, pg. 104)

Theorists building off of Freire's observations, then, are led to delve deeper into interpersonal relationships, classroom dynamics, and tactics geared at creating shifts in consciousness as opposed to shifts in systems. As such, critical researchers and practitioners constrain themselves to a lower level, tactical discussions at best, or remove themselves from a strategic and organizational conversation altogether in favor of an interpersonal dialogue, at worst. Figure 2.6 below illustrated this strategic omission. The hierarchy on the left represents a strategically appropriate hierarchy. The right represents the hierarchy as applied by policy borrowing theorists. The "X"s represent the levels of the hierarchy that are omitted.

Fig 2.6: The Strategic Hierarchy as Exemplified by Critical Theorists in Education



Critical theory: Disconnection from strategy. There is limited to no discussion in critical policy circles, especially those with an educational focus, about the differences between strategic, operational, and tactical levels of strategy. As a result, researchers are not able to account for which type of knowledge they are producing, how that knowledge will be used as part of these agendas in the political theater, or if the production of this knowledge will contribute to the advancement of the agendas of the communities they claim to support at the most appropriate levels.

Realigned with strategy theory, though, and armed with the foundations of deception and denial theories, researchers are much better equipped to approach political analysis in a way that can strategically support the most disadvantaged subgroups. Having removed key barriers to analysis in the dominant and critical fields of education research and described the basics of strategy and deception & denial theories, this research seeks to support the most

disadvantaged subgroups by describing deceptive maneuvers such as cooptation from their strategic position in the hierarchy. It also seeks to push the discourse past the theoretical phase by offering practical ways in which researchers and practitioners can apply the discussed theories in order to identify deception, the beneficiaries of deception, and whether or not cooptation was used to achieve the benefits of deception.

Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front

Countless policies have been promoted and passed as solutions to ending social inequities and advancing the agendas of disadvantaged communities. More often than not these agendas are designed by groups and individuals outside the disadvantaged communities they act in the name of. Almost as frequently, these agendas serve the outside group while failing to create the social equity claimed in the rhetorical narrative. Classical, critical, and community researchers alike have observed this phenomenon, although they have observed this phenomenon, although they use different terms to describe the same process. While classical and critical researchers most frequently describe this process as cooptation, community observers refer to this pattern of interaction as poverty pimping. This section will seek to synthesize the observations of traditional and non-traditional researchers in order to create a framework through which invites both to come together to identify, discuss, and analyze policy in terms of cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Poverty Pimping

Described by these communities observers as,

Any social worker, do-gooder, social service agency, or faith-based organization who comes into a hood not their own and plays at being the savior to folks that don't need savior. Expects said folks, most often minorities, to be grateful and happy and do all that is recommended. Poverty pimps do this in place of supporting real community organizing of the people who live in these communities to solve their own issues. Poverty pimps often directly benefit financially from pretending at saving people and communities, usually based on their job. Most often interested in keeping people from dying, but not succeeding. (Urban Dictionary, 2012, N/A)

Individuals, groups and organizations that represent the disadvantaged have had to account for this strategic maneuver since before Richard H. Pratt tried to Kill the Indian, Save the Man. While poverty pimping has not gained wide attention in academic discourse, it has not gone entirely unnoticed, either. University researchers Marcelo Diversi and Susan Finley, for example, have recognized the theoretical importance of the term and made it the central focus of their article "Poverty Pimps in the Academy: A Dialogue About Subjectivity, Reflexivity, and Power in Decolonizing Production of Knowledge" (Finley & Diversi, 2010, pg. 15). In doing so, they call out the role that researchers may play as pimps and suggest that they identify and question their potential to pimp. Susan Finley specifically reports:

I think this is the type of unconscious colonizing gate keeping that results from lack of critical self-reflection about one's own participation in keeping the more oppressed out of the editorial process of knowledge construction. To avoid such folly, then, I think we need to come down from our moral higher ground (that is, that of the righteous Postcolonial knight) and examine our potential for unwitting exploitation of the Other. How can we avoid becoming pimps-of-the-suffering, as Samuel Veissiere (2009 [this issue]) has called the condition, or poverty pimps of academy, as you have problematized in our own scholarship? This, to me, seems to be one of the central questions of current decolonizing scholarship. (Finley & Diversey, 2010, pg. 15)

In order to identify poverty pimping in themselves and others, researchers and practitioners need a common framework through which to identify and discuss the hallmarks of poverty pimping. There are three main characteristics that can be used to facilitate such a dialogue.

1. The actual or rhetorical needs of a less advantaged group must be used to advance the agenda of a more advantaged network, organization, group, or individual.
2. The agenda of the more advantaged group includes maintaining leverage over, gaining advantage on, and/or neutralizing the resistance of the less advantaged target(s).
3. The gain is achieved through deception.

There is another way to describe this phenomenon. In military, political, and corporate circles, these characteristics can be attributed to a process called cooptation.

Cooptation Theory

In his 1948, Phillip Selznick defined the cooptation process as one of “absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy-determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence” (Selznick, 1948, pg. 34). This definition was used again by Selznick in the book that is credited as the founding work on cooptation studies: *TVA and the Grassroots: A Study in the Sociological Study of Formal Organization*. While there are obvious differences in approach, Selznick’s descriptions align with poverty pimping theorists’ descriptions of maintaining leverage, neutralizing resistance, and aligning agendas.

These components became important points of focus for future cooptation researchers. For example, in *Cooptation and Corporate Profits: Networks of Market Constraints and Directorate Ties in the American Economy*, Ronald S. Burt emphasizes the potential influence of market constraints and corporate ties, as exemplified by board of director membership, in the cooptive process. (Burt, 1983). In *Two Step Leverage Managing Constraint in Organizational Politics*, Martin Gargiulo focuses in on the leveraging functions of cooptation. He describes how “an actor can gain leverage on a limiting party by building a cooptive relation with a party that may control this party’s behavior.” (Gargiulo, 1993, pg. 1) In what he describes as complex cooptation, he expands the cooptive relationship between two parties to include a third party that is better positioned to apply pressure. Farrer, Zingher, and Thomas discuss cooptation within a specifically electoral or democratic environment, with special attention to the importance of targeting “niche interest” groups in *The Co-optation of Niche Interest Community Support: Descriptive Representation and Minority Candidacy in Britain and Australia* (Ferrer, et al., 2012). These reflections support the assertion that there are many types of cooptation that can be described in many ways.

Subsequently, while there are common themes and theoretical origins that researchers build upon, there is no core theory or definition that unites the field. This research seeks to highlight the constants presented by prior cooptation researchers in order to combine them with the hallmarks of poverty pimping. This foundation will be used to articulate a clear definition combining the two under a new term: cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Organizational versus Interpersonal Cooptation

Organizations and individuals do not operate in the same way. As Everett M. Rogers describes in *Diffusion of Innovations*, “The general assumption of research on innovation in organizations is that organizational variables act on innovation behavior in a manner over and above that of the aggregate of individual members of the organization. Thus the organizational context adds a kind of supercharger to the analysis.” (Rogers, 1995, p. 391) While those designing and diffusing policy are applying this supercharged model, policy researchers in general, and education policy researchers specifically, continue to stagnate their own progress by confusing interpersonal and organizational dynamics. Understanding the difference between the two is important when trying to understand strategy, deception and cooptation.

Selznick explains the difference between interpersonal and organizational cooptation in terms of informal and formal cooptation in *TVA and the Grassroots*. (1949) there is a difference between interpersonal cooptation and organizational cooptation, or formal and informal cooptation as Selznick describes. In his observations, formal cooptation occurs when there is a need to establish or reestablish “legitimacy of authority” on the part of the cooptive organization (Selznick, 1949). Through formal cooptation, participation is expanded, but it is expanded only enough to a) regain legitimacy and b) share responsibility, but not power (Selznick, 1949). The goal is to sway the opinion of the mainstream within the target community. Informal cooptation, on the other hand, targets specific individuals or interest groups that are in positions to alter agendas. (Selznick, 1949).

Informal, or what might be strategically described as tactical cooptation, has been the focus of the majority of researchers in the field (Sheng, 2008; Gargiulo, 1993; Wuthnow, 2006). For example, Burt’s work on the relationship between corporate interlocks was widely

championed as a major step in the evolution of the field.(Cook & Whitmere, 1992). As a result, many researchers that followed also turned their focus to board interlocks and informal cooptation (Mizrucchi, 1996; Galaskiewicz et al., 1985). The focus on tactical, interpersonal cooptation, though, has led to a gap in theory surrounding formal, or strategic, organizational cooptation. This work seeks to expand the understanding of formal cooptation by describing the process through the lens of strategy theory.

Defining Formal Cooptation

Where other researchers have limited their discourse to specific fields such as economic (Burt, 1980), political (Gandhi & Przeworski, 2006; Allen, 1974) , social (Margonis, 1992; Swan & Fox, 2008) or military cooptation (Irwin, 1970), this work seeks to articulate a definition that can be applied to global multilateral contexts that span across all of these boundaries. It also seeks to highlight the use of disadvantaged narratives in the cooptive process. While it is not a condition of cooptation itself, the exploitation of the socially, politically, and economically disadvantaged is a commonly employed maneuver, frequently observed by disadvantaged communities themselves, and often described as poverty pimping. With these considerations the following definition of cooptation will be applied moving forward:

Cooptation can be describes as an attempt by one group to use deception to convince another group to alter their behavior in a way that aligns with the agenda of the coopting group, either offensively or defensively.

Unpacked, the definition of cooptation of the disadvantaged can be thought of as exhibiting the following characteristics:

1. *It is a strategic maneuver designed by one group or network and used against another group, organization or network located at a more strategically disadvantaged position.*
2. *It calls for an adjustment in behavior that aligns with the goals of the coopting party. This adjustment can garner support or neutralize resistance or both.*
3. *The alignment is achieved through deception.*
4. *The deception benefits the coopting party.*

Cooptation, collaboration or compromise. Cooptation differs from collaboration and compromise in distinct ways worth mentioning. Cooptation differs from collaboration in that while collaboration involves more than one group and calls for a coordination of agendas, it does not use deception and it is not part of an effort to gain leverage over another party (Thomson & Perry, 2006). Compromise similarly involves two or more groups, and calls for an alignment of agenda; however, deception may or may not be applied and benefits and consequences are mutually discussed and distributed.

Two-step and three-step cooptation. It is important to note that organizations can be coopted directly, indirectly, or through a combination of direct and indirect cooptation. In direct cooptation, or what cooptation theorist Martin Gargiulo might describe as one step cooptation (1993), one group, organization, or network sets out to adjust the behavior of another group directly. In indirect cooptation, or two-step cooptation, the coopting party targets a third party or parties to place pressure on the group to be coopted (Gargiulo, 1993).

The Case of No Child Left Behind, which will be described in detail in the following chapters, is an example of both. According to the theory of cooptation with a disadvantaged front, the executive branch can be described as engaging in a strategic attempt to coopt Congress directly and indirectly with the goal of passing the act. Indirectly, political actors and constituent groups that are in positions to either support or counter the passage of the act by placing pressure on Congressional representatives can be described as being coopted to secure popular support and neutralize popular resistance.

Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front

As described previously, many deceptive tactics may be used to facilitate cooptation. Of particular concern to members of disadvantaged communities and the researchers, practitioners, organizations, and networks that support them, is cooptation that is accomplished in the name of the disadvantaged. As such, when trying to identify cooptation through a disadvantaged front, the following considerations must be made and added to the checklist:

5. *Does the narrative or framing of the agenda explicitly target or invoke disadvantaged communities?*
6. *Do the behavioral adjustments called for strategically benefit the coopting community over the disadvantaged community?*

In the following chapters, a process is outlined by which these theoretical descriptions of cooptation with a disadvantaged front can be translated into a practical model by which researchers and practitioners alike can identify, analyze and discuss cooptation with a disadvantaged front. This diagnostic tool can be used to help individuals, organization and

networks alike form a common narrative through which a dialogue that can form defensive solutions can be established.

Conclusion

As members of disadvantaged communities in general, and poverty pimping theorists specifically, have observed, disadvantaged communities have long been the targets of cooptive maneuvers. As a result, community members and the researchers that support them should be encouraged to take immediate pause when a policy is presented as beneficial to disadvantaged communities and networks. This pause should be extended when the policy is presented by an outside group. Currently, though, there is no process available to researchers and practitioners to systematically identify formal cooptation in a policy during this pause. This work seeks to fill this gap.

No Child Left Behind provides a strong foundation for the exploration of cooptation with a disadvantaged front and the articulation of a process to identify it for a number of reasons. First, it was created by organizations of authority and presented as an agenda that would serve the disadvantaged. Second, it is an agenda designed to reform an entire sector of federal operations in the United States. Third, it calls for an adjustment of behavior and increased participation in the federal agenda. As a result, at face value, it exhibits many of the major characteristics of strategic cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Chapter 3:

Methodology: Qualitative Content Analysis

This research seeks to answer the question, “Does the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 contain the major strategic hallmarks requires to assume cooptation with a disadvantaged front?” The motivation behind answering this question arises from the need to be able to more effectively support the defense of disadvantaged communities from more advantaged groups that attempt to use them to advance their own agendas. As described in the previous chapter, though, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks available to researchers trying to answer this question are limited and often strategically inappropriate. Before choosing the most appropriate methodology with which to answer this question, new frameworks would have to be constructed. Once constructed, the choice of which methodology would best facilitate their application could be made.

In the previous chapter, cooptation and poverty pimping theories were synthesized to create a theoretical foundation through which to discuss cooptation with a disadvantaged front. In the following chapters, conceptual frameworks that can be used to complement this theory will be presented. This chapter will describe how strategy theories were used to guide the construction of conceptual frameworks that could be used in the identification of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Next, a description of why qualitative methods were chosen over quantitative methods is presented. This is followed with a description of the reasoning behind choosing qualitative content analysis over quantitative content analysis. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the boundaries and limitations of this research.

Conceptual Framework

A conceptual model can be defined as a visual or written product that represents a 'network,' or 'plane,' of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena. The concepts that constitute a conceptual framework support one another, articulate their respective phenomena, and establish a framework-specific philosophy. Conceptual frameworks possess ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions, and each concept within a conceptual framework plays an ontological or epistemological role" (Jabareen, 2009, pg 51).

As exemplified in the overview of policy borrowing theory in Chapter Two, conceptual frameworks can both guide and limit research dialogues. On the one hand, conceptual frameworks can openly formalize key theoretical themes and assumptions. On the other hand, frameworks can also limit an analyst's ability to see beyond what is highlighted by dominant and critical discourses (Maxwell, 2005). They can also obscure observations that might emerge out of the unique context and units of analysis themselves, in favor of focusing in on predetermined patterns.

With these opportunities and constraints in mind, and with the goal of contributing to the development of a language and structure that can hold a solid strategic discourse about cooptation with a disadvantaged front from various vantage points while still maintaining contextual flexibility—the decision to proceed with the construction of a conceptual framework was made. Strategy theory was used to anchor the process.

For the purpose of this effort, it was assumed that the strategists that designed and diffused the agenda and rhetoric carried by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 were trained in or exposed to military and political models of strategy developed in institutions of higher learning. This assumption was made on the basis that organizations responsible for developing

military and political strategies at the highest levels of national influence - the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Department of Defense and the Defense Intelligence Agency, for example – produce numerous publications filled with research and policy directives rooted in strategy and deception theories. While there is no conceptual framework that can be borrowed from these communities of analysts that can be used to identify cooptation with a disadvantaged front, this work attempts to develop a model of counterdeception based on the models used to design and diffuse strategic deception.

Specifically, the strategic levels and hierarchy were combined with the See-Think-Do model of deception in order to identify positions and hallmarks that would be activated in order to design and diffuse a policy through cooptation with a disadvantaged front. In Chapter Four, the strategic hierarchy and levels are used to create a map of the strategic environment in context. This map serves as a strategic representation of the education system in the United States at the time of passage of the No Child Left Behind Act and, in Chapter Five, is used as part of a process to identify a deception story in a political narrative. The map is also used in Chapter Five to identify both cooptation and cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Qualitative content analysis plays a key role in extracting information from the No Child Left Behind Act, in order to describe it in terms of the strategic context. In Chapter Six, a new map of the strategic environment is created to facilitate an exploration for evidence of generation of this strategy at the highest strategic levels possible. Again, qualitative content analysis is used to extract data from relevant documents to facilitate this process. Below is an explanation as to why qualitative methods in general, and qualitative content analysis specifically, was the most appropriate choice to support these strategic processes.

Qualitative versus Quantitative Analysis

First and foremost, the analysis of the No Child Left Behind Act is an act of counterinsurgency. As such, it requires a “fuzzy” lens (Yarger, 2006) that can synthesize broad strategic themes (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2011) that reflect the approach most likely applied by the strategist(s) that designed the policy. It also requires both the integrity and flexibility needed to maintain strategic and contextual relevance. As a result, a qualitative method that could hold both emergent and a priori coding comfortably was given preference over more rigid, a priori centered quantitative methods.

Need for a Strategically Fuzzy Lens

Quantitative theory concerns itself more with measurements than with observations. As such, it is more suited to inform a strategic dialogue than it is to guide one. In *Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy*, Harry R. Yarger explains:

The good strategist seeks to understand all these dimensions of effects and capitalize on or compensate for them in his strategy. Thus, he prepares for those effects he foresees and maintains a degree of adaptability and flexibility for those he cannot foresee. Fuzzy ‘thinking’ helps the strategist to understand the possible manifestations of effects by revealing the shades of reality. (Yarger, 2006, pg. 46)

This fuzzy approach requires a wide and flexible methodological lens. If this were a discussion of tactical, or informal, cooptation, more rigid quantitative exercises such as those performed by Burt, Gargiulo, or Bertocci and Spagat (1980, 1993, 2001), would be appropriate. As this work seeks to understand strategically applied formal cooptation, adopting such inflexible, tactically oriented approaches would be inappropriate. In contrast, qualitative analysis offers both the flexibility and “fuzziness” needed to approach a strategic effort.

Emergent versus A Priori Coding

The need for flexibility also calls into consideration the use of emergent or a priori coding. As described by Steve Stemler in *An Overview of Content Analysis*,

There are Two approaches to coding data that operate with slightly different rules. With emergent coding, categories are established following some preliminary examination of the data....When dealing with a priori coding, these categories are established prior to the analysis based upon some theory. (Stemler, 2001, n/a)

The majority of the a priori assumptions in this analysis are accounted for as components of the conceptual frameworks developed and applied in Chapters in Four, Five and Six. The research question, though, demands that information be allowed to emerge from the text in a manner that allows for qualitative descriptions of the data to be made in light of the theory of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Emergent coding appeared to be the most appropriate choice to support this process. Once cooptation with a disadvantaged front is identified, though, a priori coding should be used to identify alignment of predetermined agenda components. The flexibility needed to allow information to emerge from a policy itself coupled with the rigidity necessary to compare components across agendas called for a method that could blend emergent and a priori coding. Qualitative methods in general once again appeared to be the most appropriate choice. Specifically, qualitative content analysis was chosen as the most appropriate methodology to apply.

The Case for Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis has long been used to analyze communications. The earliest western applications of content analysis were seen the late 17th Century and 18th Century when churches commissioned frequency analysis of texts to make sure they aligned with the teachings of the church (Neuendorf, 2002). In the second half of the 18th century, newspapers became the first mass media tools. Content analysis was then applied to analyze newspaper themes (Schreier, 2012). In the twentieth century, there was a rise in the use of content analysis which contributed to the acceptance of content analysis as a distinct methodology. According to B Devi Prasad, “The development of content analysis as a full-fledged scientific method took place during World War II when the U.S. government sponsored a project under the directorship of Harold Lasswell to evaluate enemy propaganda” (Prasad, 2009, pg. 1). After the war, content analysis would be combined with quantitative applications beyond frequency measures, allowing researchers to start exploring relationships and correlations within and between communications (Schreier, 2012). Computer technology also became a more frequently employed tool for quantitative content analysts.

While quantitative content analysis has developed a strong foundation as a methodological field, qualitative content analysis has not enjoyed as much attention or support, nor has its potential been fully explicated or tested. In the *Content Analysis Guidebook* by Kimberly A. Neuendorf, the author writes,

The goal of any quantitative analysis is to produce *counts* of key categories, and measurements of the *amounts* of other variables....In either case, this is a numerical process. Although some authors maintain that a non-quantitative (i.e. “qualitative”) content analysis is feasible, that is not the view presented in this book. A content analysis has as its goal a numerically based summary of a chosen message set. It is

neither a gestalt impression nor a fully detailed message or message set. (Neuendorf, 2002, pg. 14)

Even though quantitative content analysis has received more attention from the field as a whole, the idea that content analysis is only applicable to quantitative explorations has been refuted since at least the 1950s. In defense of qualitative content analysis, Kracaur writes,

The more involved communications, however, reverberate with so many latent meanings that to isolate their manifest content and describe it in a 'straight' manner is not only almost impossible, but can hardly be expected to yield significant results. Such a focus on manifest content everywhere implies a naive extension of the limits implicit in the assumption, per se legitimate, that quantitative techniques are meaningful at the train-wreck end of the continuum. This explains why the qualitative analyst is in a better position than the quantifier to trace relevant characteristics which admit of frequency counts. (Kracaur, 1952, pg. 638)

Shreier takes a more diplomatic approach asserting that there is no fine line that divides qualitative analysis distinctly from quantitative analysis, and that value can be found in both. Qualitative content analysis allows the researcher to "engage in some degree of interpretation to arrive at the meaning of data" (Shreier, 2012) and interpret "underlying meaning of the text" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2008, pg. 106). It also allows researchers to inform their work with everyday experience (Shreier, 2012; Elo & Kyngas, 2007). This is especially important in the study of cooptation because it rests on an understanding of deception and disconnects between rhetoric, purpose, and practical application. Inherent to this type of analysis is the assumption that communications cannot be taken at face value. Interpretation is required. Qualitative content analysis creates a framework for researchers to engage in systematic interpretation that can extract direct and deceptive forms of meaning.

This is an exercise in making policy designs transparent, in order to reorient policy discourses around the actual, often hidden dimensions of policy, and to inform

“counterstrategy.” In other words, this work describes a process that can be used to identify cooptation with a disadvantaged front in order to better defend target communities from it. As such, it requires a “fuzzy” lens that reflects the approach most likely taken by the strategists that designed the policy. This analysis requires a methodology that can hold both emergent and a priori coding. It also requires an approach that allows for the creation of meaning without the replication of strategic ambiguity. Given these considerations, qualitative content analysis offers a better option for facilitating the analytic work of this dissertation.

Why not Discourse Analysis?

Having argued that qualitative content analysis is particularly appropriate for the purposes of this study, it is important to distinguish it from the other dominant qualitative methodology that policy analysts might be tempted to apply – discourse analysis. Both are geared at extracting information from communications; however, some important distinctions exist between the two. The first involves the types of questions each methodology can answer. The second involves the strategic levels at which each can be used to extract information.

Hardy, Harley, and Phillips describe, “While discourse analysis is concerned with the development of meaning and in how it changes over time, content analysis assumes a consistency of meaning that allows counting and coding” (Herrera & Braumoeller, 2004, pg. 20). In other words, discourse analysis is more concerned with answering questions of why and how, where content analysis is more appropriate for answering questions of what. In other words, while discourse analysis studies language in a cultural or social context, content analysis is more suited towards understanding language in a strategic context (van Dijk, 1993). Strategy

requires assumptions about organizational behavior. In this way, there is a consistency of meaning that is inherent in a strategic process, even if that process is deceptive.

The analysis for cooptation with a disadvantaged front is conducted by applying a diagnostic tool that encourages researchers to identify the major hallmarks of deception, cooptation in general and cooptation with a disadvantaged front in a given policy. In other words, analysts are asked to identify what hallmarks, if any, are present in a given policy. In this exercise, then, we are looking for what hallmarks of cooptation with a disadvantaged front, if any, are present in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. This work does not discuss the tactical maneuvers that were used to successfully diffuse the cooptation – that is a question of how. This work also does not attempt to describe through formal analysis the reasons grand strategists potentially designed an agenda to coopt the education system in the United States. That is a question of why.

A political narrative is offered in Chapter Six that synthesizes dominant, critical and community narratives with the information revealed in the prior chapters' analysis. This narrative can be used to describe the significance of the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act, but it is neither a historiography, nor is it an exploration of intent. In its most simplistic form, this work provides a checklist that can be used to identify and discuss what, if any, cooptive elements are present in a policy. Again, this is not a study of tactics or intent. Once it is confirmed that cooptation with a disadvantaged front is present, decisions regarding how to respond can be made in separate collaborative processes.

Questions regarding the strategic treatment of what has been diagnosed as cooptation with a disadvantaged front will almost undoubtedly include discussions of how and why. Just as

an object such as a pen or a pencil can be identified for what it is without requiring information about why it is there or how it got there, this work attempts to bring together classical, critical, and community researchers to identify and discuss a commonly observed phenomenon—even if they do not know how or why it is there, nor how yet to respond to it.

Taken together, the analysis of the No Child Let Behind Act of 2001 for the presence or absence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front requires a methodology that can complement a structured conceptual framework, allow for the fuzzy lens required to apply strategy theory, and facilitate a discussion of deception that can answer questions regarding strategic intent without being distracted into discussions of interpersonal or tactical intent. Qualitative content appeared to facilitate this process more succinctly than discourse analysis.

Applying Qualitative Content Analysis to No Child Left Behind

Having made the decision to apply qualitative content analysis to the examination of No Child Left Behind, decisions regarding sampling, the application of conceptual frameworks, and how the generation of meaning from the data produced could be confronted. Purposive sampling was used to choose the units of analysis and anchor documents. Conceptual frameworks were developed by building off of the theory of cooptation with a disadvantaged front and synthesizing models currently used by strategy and deception theorists. Qualitative content analysis was applied to the units of analysis and anchor documents in a way that facilitate the use of the conceptual frameworks. Finally, the information that emerged was combined with classical, critical, and community research to create an updated narrative of the origins and strategic importance of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Approach to Analysis

The actual analysis follows familiar stages in many traditions of qualitative research (Green et al., 2006; Glesne, 2011; Sheirer, 2012). In Chapter Four, a strategic map of the conceptual environment was created to capture and represent visually the strategic hierarchy and levels as translated for the context of the United States education system. These boundaries were then used to facilitate the identification of relevant and irrelevant portions of the Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind in order to eliminate those outside this particular strategic exploration. For example, portions related to teacher training were eliminated because teachers are viewed as managers, not generators of policy or target disadvantaged groups. As such, their influence is not relevant to this particular discussion. This is not to say that they do not play an important role in other discussions, but their role is not strategically relevant to this dialogue. As such, components of the Executive Summary focusing on teacher training and funding were removed from analysis.

Themes that emerged from the text of the Executive Summary of the No Child Left Behind Act were then captured and labeled to form categories. These categories were then described and differentiated in terms of “See” and “Think” from the See-Think-Do model of deception. Contextual mapping, as described in Chapter Four, was used to visually highlight discrepancies between what target groups were going to see as a result of the implementation of No Child Left Behind, and what they would be led to think about these shifts. The data collected was also applied to the map in order to identify the distribution of power, rewards,

and consequences. This information was then used to distinguish the rhetorical beneficiaries of the agenda from the strategic beneficiaries.

In the following chapter, the contextual map was adjusted to suit an exploration for agenda items similar to the ones found in *No Child Left Behind* at the intergovernmental level in attempts to identify the origins of the cooptive agenda. Documents from two dominant institutions, the World Bank and the United Nations, were purposively sampled, and qualitative content analysis was applied to them. Ultimately the, 1980 *World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper*, the “Education for All” portion of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) 1982 *General Resolutions*, and UNESCO’s 1984 *International Conference on Education 39th Session* report were identified and analyzed for their accessibility and relevance to the task at hand. The data that emerged from the intergovernmental documents was then compared to the rhetoric and agenda items in *No Child Left Behind* in order to find congruities. Timely congruities of agenda were presented as evidence that cooptation was generated at the intergovernmental level, and not at the national level as originally presented to the public and replicated by traditional and critical research communities. As will be described in detail in Chapter Six, the similarities were remarkable.

In the final chapter, the data collected from this two-part analysis was used to support claims that the agenda behind *No Child Left Behind* was generated at the intergovernmental level and later diffused to and adopted by member nations across the globe. Traditional, critical and community theories were then combined to create an updated narrative describing the significance of the passage of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*.

Limitations of the Study Methods and Design

This research design, just like any other, is subject to limitations. The limitations of this analysis as a whole will be described in more detail in Chapter Seven, but two are worth noting here before launching into the formal evaluation of No Child Left Behind for the presence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. One is that intentions are removed from this discussion; the other is that this process can only help analysts get closer to the ultimate grand strategists that designed and diffused the cooptive policy – it cannot guarantee that this is the original source.

The first limitation is that this analysis makes no claims regarding the personal, ethical or interpersonal intentions of those participating in the reform process. In terms of theory, this is a study of formal cooptation. Formal cooptation focuses on an organization or network's attempts to gain leverage and contain resistance; informal cooptation may focus on the tactics used to persuade individual actors with authority to adopt and promote the agendas of opposition groups. As a strategic analysis, intent will play a minor role in the recreation of the narrative that results from the information that emerges from analysis, but it will not be a formal variable in the research design.

This design is also limited in its ability to identify the core document and organization through which the cooptive policy is generated. As described in Chapter Two, the Grand Strategy is often concealed. This work does not claim to be able to reveal policies that are not accessible to the general public. It is only able to identify the strategic level at which a policy is designed and diffused, and point to key organizations and networks that may have participated in the process.

These limitations are more boundaries at which points of collaboration can be built. For example, discourse analysts and other classical, critical, and community researchers can be brought together to explore the how's and why's of the cooptation of the education system of the United States through the passage of No Child Left Behind. This information can be used to identify operational and tactical leverage points and facilitate a strategic response. Similarly, the conceptual models described in the following chapters can be used to ground further explorations for organizations in the intergovernmental network that may have influenced the design and diffusion of the agenda carried in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Researchers should be encouraged to build off of this work and support it from whatever methodological location they would like to participate from, in the proper strategic context.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the process outlined in the following Chapters will enable classical, critical, and community trained analysts to collaborate in efforts to defend the communities they represent from cooptation with a disadvantaged front. It combines strategy and deception theories with poverty pimping and cooptation theories to produce a framework through which to discuss and examine a policy in light of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Conceptual frameworks are used to connect theory to the practical context of the education system in the United States, and qualitative content analysis is applied to relevant portions of the No Child Left Behind Act and significant documents from the United Nations and the World Bank in order to identify cooptation with a disadvantaged front and where it came from. The following chapters will describe how this is accomplished in detail.

Chapter 4

Mapping the Contextual Environment

This chapter seeks to provide policy researchers with a formal process through which they can map the environmental contexts in which the policies they analyze are embedded. Using the Executive Summary of the No Child Left Behind Act as a cornerstone, a contextual map incorporating the strategic hierarchy, the strategic levels and political asymmetry will be produced. This map can then be used as part of a conceptual framework through which a deception story, the beneficiaries of a deception story, and agenda alignment between coopting and coopted entities can be analyzed. This information will enable researchers to confirm or deny the presence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front and the strategic level from which it was designed and diffused.

Mapping the Strategic Hierarchy

Most networks and organizations, especially those at the highest levels of influence, operate within the boundaries of what can be described as a strategic hierarchy. As described in Chapter Two – within this hierarchy - grand, national and theater strategies bind and drive each other in very specific ways. The relationships between these boundaries of influence largely direct the behaviors and efficacy of the actors and actions operating within them. (Marcella, 2010) The federal government of the United States is no exception.

The United States, as with other nations and geopolitical regions, has its own specific organizational structure. Each subsystem and sector within a nation similarly operates within the boundaries of its own hierarchy. The first step of contextual map making, then, becomes

translating Grand, National, and Theater strategies into the context of the organizational structure to which it is being applied.

No Child Left Behind is designed to reform the education system of the United States at the level of the nation. In other words, it can be considered a national strategy. Adjustments at lower levels are guided and bound by the adjustments made at this level. From this national strategic center, the remaining pieces of the hierarchy can be identified. National strategies are often the highest visible component of the hierarchy, but they are not the most influential. The peak of the hierarchy is the grand strategy (Fuerth, 2013). Grand strategy can be described as, "...the adaptation of domestic and international resources to achieve security for a state....grand strategy considers all the resources at the disposal of the nation (not just military ones), and it attempts to array them effectively to achieve security in both peace and war." (Stein, 1993, pg. 4)

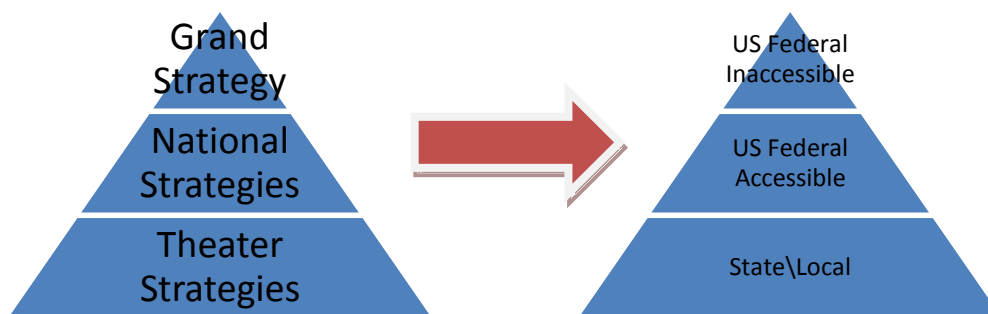
Grand Strategies, though, are often inaccessible. As described by Yarger, "Grand Strategy may be stated or implied" (Yarger, 2006, pg. 11). As a result of this inherent concealment, it can be assumed that the most influential actors and their agendas will be difficult, and in some cases impossible, to directly access. It should also be assumed, though, that grand strategies can be observed through the communications and motions of the hierarchical components under it's influence.

For example, national strategies can be thought of as those at the highest level of a nation's organizational structure that can be accessed by the general public and/or the research community. Often times, researchers and practitioners need not guess what the strategies of various actors are. In many countries, national strategy communications are available in the

form of white papers, strategy documents, and policies. In the United States, many of these documents can be found on the websites and in the archives of the government and adjacent organizations.

Under the level of influence of both the Grand Strategy and the National Strategy is the Theater Strategy. This level is responsible for the operational and tactical implementation of the overriding strategies (Bouchat, 2007). Applying this understanding to the political context at hand, analysts can identify the operational and tactical levels of the United States government through which the national strategy will be implemented. In the United States, states and local governments carry out federal strategies. As such they will round out the bottom of the strategic hierarchy, as illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Strategic Hierarchy of the United States



Mapping the Levels of Strategy

As described in Chapter Two, there is a close relationship between the hierarchical values of strategy and the three levels of strategy: strategy, operations and tactics (Yarger, 2008). This relationship was described in more detail in Chapter Two. Once the highest level of visible operations is identified, the map can be adjusted to describe the national hierarchy in terms of sector related functions.

In the case of No Child Left Behind, the strategic hierarchy of national strategy can be translated to reflect how the hierarchy of the nation influences the levels of the strategic hierarchy that represents the education sector. When we combine the hierarchy of the government in the United States with the levels of strategy as expressed in the education system of the United States, the organizational components begin to emerge. In order of influence and leverage, they are: federal inaccessible, Federal Accessible, State, District, local, traditional educational institutions (schools), alternative educational institutions, programs, parents and students (participants) (U.S. Department of Education, 2008).

It is important to emphasize that when zooming in on particular levels of a given strategy, the influence and boundaries of the higher levels are not negated or lost. For example, if translating the hierarchy at the level of a school policy, this does not mean the boundaries of the state and the nation fail to influence it. Much like an understanding of the heart does not negate the importance or influence of the entire vascular system, the functions of higher levels of strategy do not negate the importance or existence of higher levels. This focus only enables us to identify and engage at the most influential points of leverage within a strategic context. It also helps us avoid engaging in actions that are located at an inappropriate level of operations or tactics, an error that Gray already warned us about (Gray, 1999).

Strategic Level. The level of strategy is the highest level of influence at which a strategic agenda must openly respond to. Within the context of No Child Left Behind, the designers and directors of the policy rest in the federal government. As such, the federal government of the United States occupies this level. The US Department of Education can also be found at this strategic level.

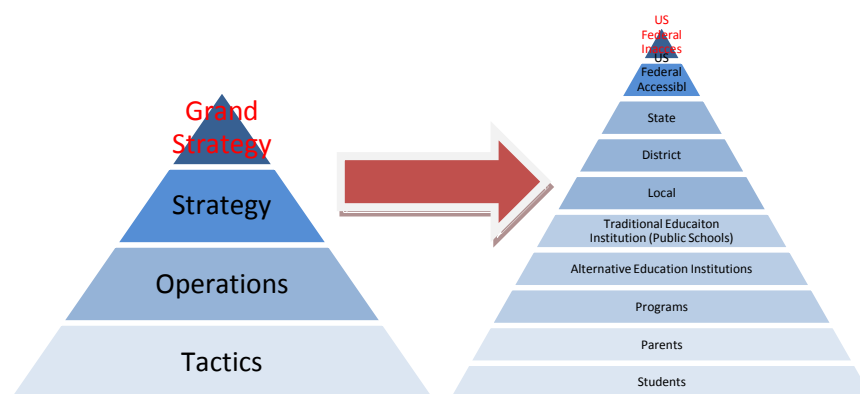
Operational Level. The Joint Chiefs of Staff define the operational level of strategy as the level that “links tactical actions to strategic objectives.” (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2006, III1) In many ways, operations can be thought of as the management level of the strategic hierarchy. In the case of No Child Left Behind, the organizational components responsible for managing the implementation of this national education policy are located at the state and district levels.

Charter schools, private schools, and alternative schools for example, are also important actors at the operational level of educational strategy in the United States Education System. These components can be thought of as tactical levels in terms of curricular implementation, but in terms of political implementation, they dictate the boundaries under which students and parents must carry out the process of achieving results. As such, in this specific context, dominant educational institutions, alternative educational institutions and programs will be considered operational components. Teachers, as paid employees of the system, much like principals, superintendants and other staff and administrators are absorbed as parts of these operational components.

Tactical Level. The tactical level is where the plan is executed. As defined by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, tactical control describes, “The authority over forces that is limited to the detailed direction and control of movements or maneuvers within the operational area necessary to accomplish missions or tasks assigned” (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2014, pg. 258). It is also the location of occupants still residing within the system, but having the least amount of influence in relation to that system. In the context of No Child Left Behind and the education system in the United States parents and students represent this group. The organizations and networks representing parents and students also occupy this level.

Taken together, the strategic, operational and tactical levels of the strategic hierarchy can be translated to describe the education system, as illustrated in Figure 4.2. Grand strategy is still assumed to be concealed. At the level of strategy are accessible federal actors. Carrying out the operations are the state, district, and local educational authorities. At the tactical levels are the schools and programs that must respond to the demands of operational and strategic authority. Schools and programs may also be viewed as operational in relationship to students and parents that must respond to their demands. Ultimately, the students and parents round out the tactical base of the hierarchy.

Figure 4.2 Strategic Hierarchy of the Education System in the United States



Mapping Asymmetry

The final step of this process is to contour the map to reflect imbalances, or asymmetry, in the political environment. Power, rewards, and consequences exhibit different accumulation patterns depending on the position in the hierarchy and degree of advantage they are distributed to. As described in *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics* (2007) by Dana Z. Strolovich, consequences will pool around lower levels of influence

and deeper degrees of disadvantage, while rewards will be distributed to higher levels of influence and more pronounced expressions of advantage. The reverse also holds true. Consequences are more likely to be avoided by those higher up the hierarchy and at more elevated levels of privilege. Rewards and power are least likely to be grasped by those deeper in disadvantage and lower on the hierarchy.

Advantage and disadvantage are not fixed properties, though. Organizations and networks evolve and devolve. As a result, the terrain of any political strategy map, much like the map of any natural ecosystem, will vary depending on time and context. The contours of the political landscape differ between nations, sectors, networks, organizations and groups. These contours are also likely to evolve and erode over time. Similarly, the positioning of disadvantaged groups is not static. For example, combinations of class, gender, race, indigenous status, religion, sexual identity, level of physical or cognitive divergence, dominant language exposure may alter the shape of the strategic terrain in different ways, in different places, at different times. Fortunately, there are a number of ways analysts can make sense of a particular contextual terrain.

Applying a Multifocal Strategic Lens

Single lens analysts can describe the hierarchy in terms of class stratification, race privilege or other socioeconomic distinctions, although this form of stratification is most often strategically limiting, especially in terms of broad policies applied to diverse populations. Theoretical models can be used to divide the hierarchy into sections representing advantaged, disadvantaged and most disadvantaged subgroups. These models may be limited in terms of temporal appropriateness. They may also be derived from the perspective of an outside

researcher or community, when counterdeception depends on intimately understanding the perspective of those designing, managing and implementing the deception. (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2009) Lines of division articulated in the policy itself can also be used, although they cannot be depended on alone because of the potentially deceptive nature of policy.

For the purpose of the examination of the No Child Left Behind of 2001, a combination of sources was used to verify patterns of asymmetry on the strategic terrain as approached by those designing deception at the national level in the United States. Information was gathered from the policy and checked against theoretical and community scholarship, as well as national census data, in order to operationalize “disadvantaged” and “advantaged” in this particular strategic context.

Race and class were identified as the dominant forces that shaped the strategic landscape surrounding the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. As described in Chapter Two, critical researchers have long validated lines of race and class stratification. The text of No Child Left Behind itself identifies gaps between “Anglo and minorities” and “rich and poor” (Bush, 2001). Census data also confirmed dramatic differences in education achievement between advantaged and disadvantaged income levels and race labels.

This is not to say that other disadvantaged and intersected communities are not negatively effected. Other researchers should include the effects of the policy on other subgroups, but they should be careful to make sure there is a distinction between how a policy was designed and how it plays out on various communities. Some of these distinctions are considered; others are externalities that are not designed, but still play out in predictable ways.

Stratification of the Geopolitical Environment

The strategic level identified for analysis is that of the state. No Child Left Behind, in this context, represents a shift in the behavior of the education system whose highest level of operations is the state. While there are important components of direct interaction between districts, schools, programs and the federal government, the majority of the power, rewards and consequences are diffused through the state. Finally, the state also represents the most manageable amount of data. In 2000, there were over 14,000 school districts and close to 100,000 public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). In contrast, there are 50 states.

Compiling the data for each school and district for patterns that can be observed at the state level is a detailed task, and one that has largely been accomplished by the Census Bureau. There are limitations to census data that should be acknowledge, though. For example, there is much debate surrounding the ineffectiveness of the data gathering measures on homeless populations (Kearns, 2012). In general, though, it can be assumed that census data is what policy strategists rely on to develop their strategies. Additionally, census data statistics is widely accessible to the general public and frequently accepted by the research community. For these reasons, despite its limitations, census data was used in the construction of the environmental map.

In order to reveal dominant themes of advantage and disadvantage in the United States Education system, the following questions were asked:

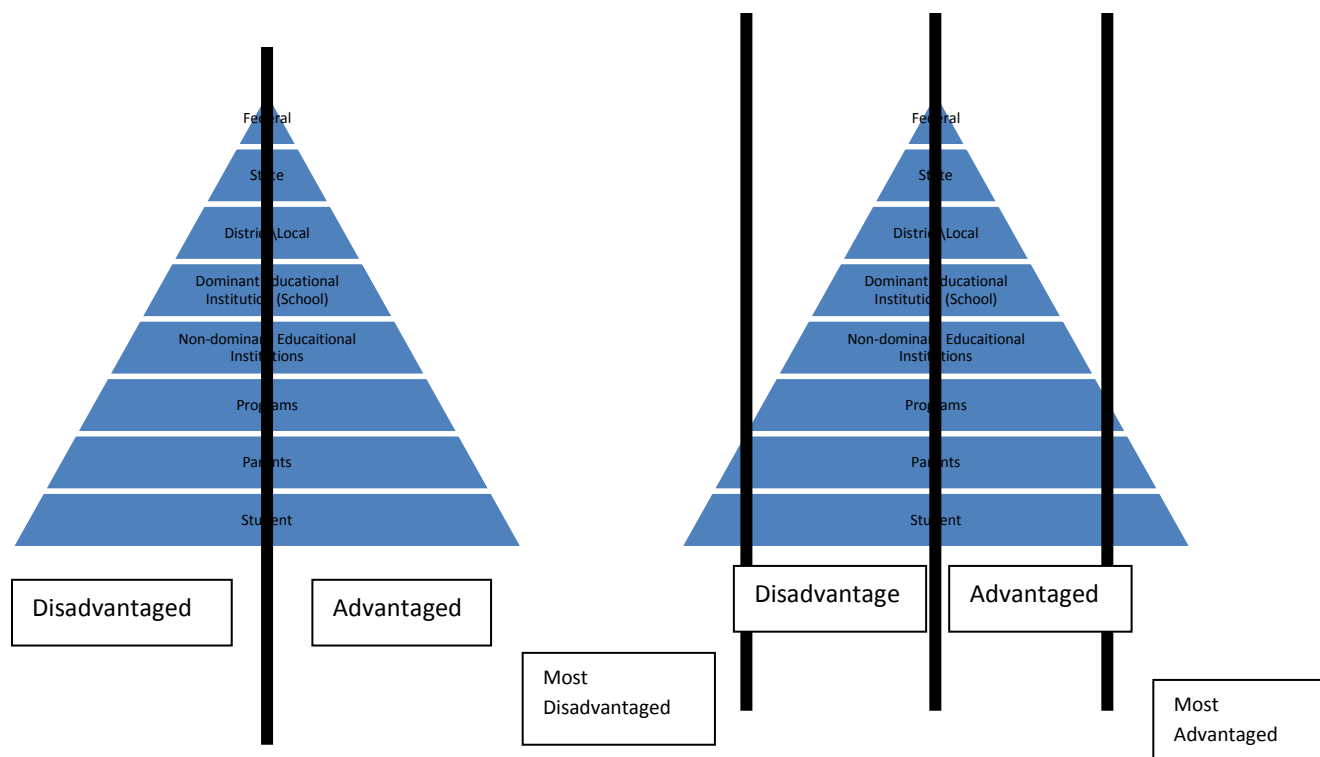
1. Which states have the lowest\highest percentages of people in poverty?

2. Which states have the lowest\highest percentages of dominant contextually disadvantaged minorities?
3. Which states scored the lowest\highest on math and reading achievement tests?
4. Can any patterns be articulated?

For the purpose of simplification, the hierarchy will be split in terms of most advantaged, advantaged, disadvantaged and most disadvantaged. Advantaged states were the 25 states with the lowest rates of target communities; disadvantaged states were the 25 with the highest rates of target communities. The most advantaged states were the 5 with the highest rates of target communities. Target communities were described in terms of race and class. Targets by racial categorization include Indigenous, Black Hispanic, and 2+\Other. Class was described by the percentage of people in poverty. These statistics were taken from data accumulated during the 2000 Census and published by the census bureau.

Data from the 2000 census was chosen because of its completeness, ease of accessibility and temporal distance from the passage of No Child Left Behind. The analysis of advantaged and disadvantaged in the strategic context of No Child Left Behind should seek information from in or around the time of passage. Data from 2002-2003 was chosen for its accessibility and alignment between Census data and National Center for Education Statistics alignment. This information was then plotted on the map of the education system as illustrated in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Stratified Contextual Hierarchy of the U.S. Education System



Race in context. In 2001, the US Census Bureau published *Census 2000 PHC-T6*.

Contained within it is a table entitled *Percentage of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for States, Puerto Rico and Places of 100,000 or More Population: 2000* (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001, n/a). This table provides an alphabetized list of states with information regarding percentages of dominant minority groups by race. Specifically, White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, Some other race, Two or more races, Hispanic or Latino (of any race) and White Alone, not Hispanic or Latino are identified. The five states with the highest percentages of disadvantaged minorities were identified. As those identified as White or Asian are economically and educationally advantaged in the United States, these subcategories were

excluded. For clarity, the three dominant clearly identified, as opposed to the general category of two or more races, minority racial categories were chosen. They are: Black, Hispanic, and Native American. They were then crossed with information gathered through the process of identifying the most educationally disadvantaged states.

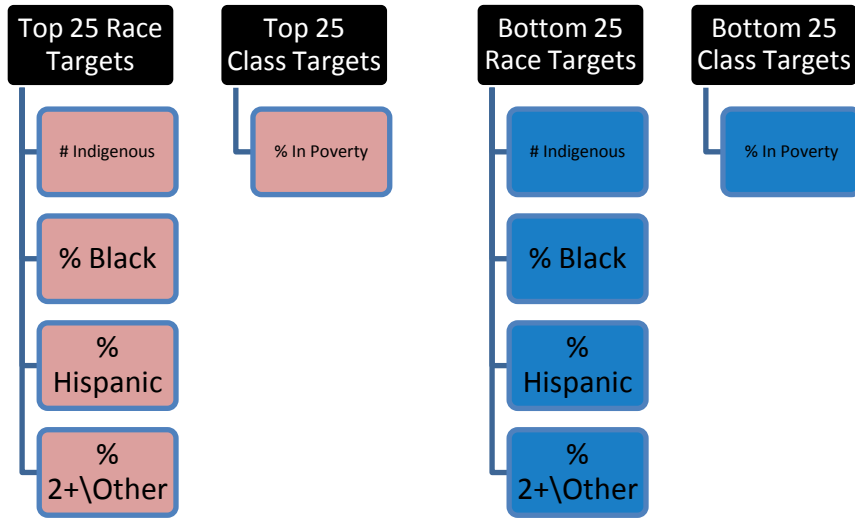
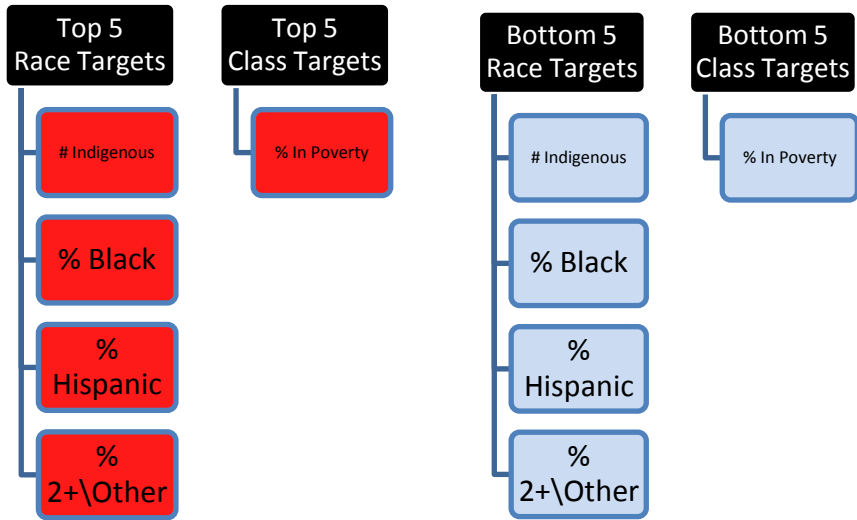
Class in context. In 2003, the US Census Bureau published *Poverty in the United States: 2002*. Contained within it is a table entitled “Percent of People in Poverty by State: 2000, 2001, and 2002” (Proctor and Dalaker, 2003, pg.10). Within this table is a ranking of states according to percentage of people in poverty averaged over the three year period from 2000-2002. The bottom 25 state serve to describe economically disadvantaged states (See Appendix A for the full list). In 2013, the National Center for Education Statistics published reading and math assessment scores for various years between 1998 and 2013. 2003 was chosen as the year of analysis because it had the results from all 50 states and is close to the time frame given. Seeking the most disadvantaged, the bottom five states, or the five states with the lowest math and reading achievement scores, were identified.

State population data was used to identify race and economic positions. Because the targets of the legislation are the disadvantaged, races privileged in the system were removed. Specifically, the categories of Asian and White were omitted from analysis. “Black” and “Hispanic, not white” population information was taken directly from census data. The category “Indigenous” was created by combining the categories of Native American, Alaskan Native and Hawaiian Native. The Category “2+” was created by combining the categories of two or more races plus the category of “other.” Percentage rates were used for all categories except indigenous.

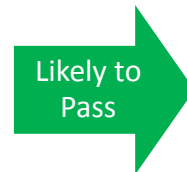
The indigenous population currently, and at the time of the passage of No Child Left Behind, rested between 1 and 2%. As such, it is unlikely in the generation of the strategy, that percentages were used to identify the indigenous using percentages. In order to find where these communities are located, numbers of indigenous were more likely applied. As such, the number of indigenous people per state was analyzed as opposed to percentage rates. The top and bottom 5 and 25 states were then identified in order to reflect both advantaged\disadvantaged and the most advantaged\ most disadvantaged states in terms of race and economics.

Achievement. The demographics of race and class were then compared against achievement rates in reading and math. These rates were taken from the National Center for Education Statistics. States were divided into two categories: top 25 and bottom 25. The number of states that were ranked in the top twenty-five for both reading and math was 21. These states were labeled as “Likely to Pass.” The number of states that were in the bottom twenty-five in either math or reading was 29. These states were labeled “Likely to Fail.” The number that were likely to fail both was 21.

Figure 4.4 Organizational Chart for Use in the Identification of Lines of Advantage in the Education System



- Federal Education System
- State Education System
- Local Education System
- Schools (Trad\Alt) and Programs



Patterns. The “fuzziest” patterns are those that emerge between advantaged and disadvantaged states. At this level, with very few exceptions, a state that is disadvantaged in terms of poverty and one or more racial groups were more likely to fail in terms of achievement. With few exceptions, states that were disadvantaged in terms of occupancy of target populations were more likely to fail if they were in the top half of three or more target population state rankings.

Lending to the notion that this policy was designed to target disadvantaged groups more than advantaged groups, patterns for the advantaged states are observable but less precise. Twenty one states passed both tests. With no exceptions, states that were advantaged in all categories of race and class as defined above were more likely to pass both tests. Of the states that were more likely to pass, there was an above average chance that they were advantaged in terms of amount of occupants from at least one of the target populations.

Stronger patterns were identifiable at the levels of the most advantaged and most disadvantaged. States with the top five highest rates of occupancy by target populations failed not just one, but both reading and math achievement assessments. Of the most advantaged states, once again, patterns are identifiable but not as strong as those associated with the most disadvantaged targets. All of the states with a low percentage of the population that identified as black passed both tests. All other states advantaged in terms of race and class had a greater than likely chance of passing both tests. These patterns are described in more detail in Figure

4.4

Figure 4.4 Patterns of Educational Achievement and its Relationship to Race and Class

- **Most Advantaged States By Race**
 - 100% of the states with the lowest percentage of black community members were likely to pass
 - 80% of the states with the lowest percentage of Hispanic community members were likely to pass
 - 60% of the states with the lowest number of indigenous community members were likely to pass
 - 60% of the states with the lowest percentage of 2+ community members were likely to pass
- **21 States Most Likely to Pass**
 - 100% of states with low rates of people of color and people living in poverty were likely to pass
 - 76% of the states with the lowest percentage of community members living in poverty were likely to pass
 - 71% of the states with the lowest percentage of black community members were likely to pass
 - 57% of the states with the lowest percentage of Hispanic community members were likely to pass
 - 62% of the states with the lowest percentage of Hispanic community members were likely to pass
- **Most Disadvantaged States**
 - **Likely to fail Both**
 - 100% of the states with the highest percentage of community members living in poverty were likely to fail both
 - 100% of the states with the highest percentage of Hispanic community members were likely to fail both
 - 100% of the states with the highest numbers of indigenous community members were likely to fail both
 - 100% of the states with the highest percentage of 2+\Other community members were likely to fail both
- **Disadvantaged States**
 - **Likely to fail One**
 - States with high percentages of community members living in poverty + high rates of people of color from 4 categories (except NY)

- States with high percentages of community members living in poverty + high rates of people of color from 3 categories
- States with high percentages of community members living in poverty + high rates of people of color from 2 categories (except ID)
- States with high percentages of community members living in poverty + high rates of people of color from 1 category (Except MT and ND)

Conclusion

These patterns reveal that there is in fact a gap between advantaged and disadvantaged socioeconomic communities in terms of educational achievement at the state level. States with high levels of minority and intersected poor and minority states were not likely to pass. States with low levels of minority and intersected poor and minority groups were, for the most part, likely to pass. This study also suggests that the function of the system creating this gap is more closely associated with the generation of disadvantage than the creation of advantage. So far, the external and internal boundaries of the environments, as well as the contours of the terrain of the environment, but it does not tell us how the policy in question attempts to influence this environment. It also does not tell us how this adjustment relates to a strategic agenda that would benefit the disadvantaged and the most disadvantaged states. As such, it is too early to formally confirm or deny the presence of deception. More information is needed.

Once a strong representation of the political field has been created, though, a policy can be analyzed for its effects on the environment and its inhabitants. It can also be analyzed for the presence of deception. In the next chapter, qualitative content analysis will be used to identify the presence or absence of a deception story, a key component of a deceptive process and policy.

Chapter 5:

Identifying Cooptation: Identifying the Deception Story in No Child Left Behind and the Strategic Beneficiaries of this Policy

As described previously, cooptation can be identified through four major hallmarks: 1) intergroup competition, 2) behavioral reform (support and/or neutralization, 3) deception, and 4) concealed beneficiaries. In the case of No Child Left Behind, the requirement for intergroup competition is met as a result of the federal administration's need to convince Congress to support or fail to counter the passage of the act (Direct Cooptation) and the need to garner popular support and neutralize popular resistance (Indirect Cooptation). As the legislation represents one of the largest shifts in the history of the education system and would have to pass a vote of Congress, the requirements for intergroup competition and behavioral reform are met. This Chapter describes processes by which a policy can be analyzed for the two remaining hallmarks: deception and concealed beneficiaries. It will also analyze the policy for the two items necessary to fulfill the requirements for cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

In a two-stage process, relevant portions of the *Executive Summary* of the No Child Left Behind Act will be analyzed for deception by combining the See-Think-Do model of deception with qualitative content analysis in order to identify a deception story. In the second step, qualitative content analysis will be combined with contextual mapping to identify the strategic beneficiaries of the policy. The findings will then be applied to, and described in terms of, the four item checklist for cooptation and six item checklist for cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Focus of Analysis

Qualitative content analysis was applied to relevant portions of the *Executive Summary of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* in an attempt to identify both the operative agenda and the narrative agenda. A few considerations were made regarding the focus of analysis that are worth describing in more detail. For example, while this is an analysis rooted in the No Child Left Behind Act, the legislation itself will not be analyzed. The actual legislation itself is extremely lengthy and coded in legal language and formatting. This could dissuade researchers outside the legal fields and the research community from participation. The legislation itself is also not what was presented to targets and stakeholders. The document that was presented for general consumption and was written in accessible lengths and languages was George W. Bush's *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind*. Were there disconnections between the summary and the legislation itself, this would have been brought into the analysis, but as it stood, the summary was representative of the legislation.

The *Executive Summary* was then broken down into relevant and irrelevant components. Relevant components were considered to be those that 1) contained the dominant narrative, in this case the narrative of the achievement gap and 2) called for reforms at the level of the school or above. Irrelevant material was that which 1) focused on a level below that of school, such as the classroom, curricular and the program levels; 2) focused on infrastructure; and 3) provided limited content.

The *Executive Summary of the No Child Let Behind Act* is comprised of a cover page, the forward, a table of contents, a brief 6-page executive summary and descriptions of the seven titles of the legislation. The cover page and table of contents were considered irrelevant

because they provided limited content. Titles *Ib: Improving Literacy By Putting Reading First: Reading First* (pp. 10-11), *Ila: Improving Teacher Quality: Grants for Improving Teacher Quality* (pp. 12-13), and *Ilb: Improving Math and Science Instruction: Math and Science Partnerships* (pp.14-15), *III: Moving Limited English Proficient Students to English Fluency* (pp. 16-17), and *Va: Safe Schools for the 21st Century: Supporting Drug and Violence Prevention and Education for Students and Communities* (pp. 20-21) were eliminated for their focus on levels below that of the program. Titles *Vb: Enhancing Education through Technology: Grants for Education Technology* (pp. 22-23) and *VI: Impact Aid: Rebuilding Schools for Native American Children and Military Families* (pp. 24-25) were eliminated for their focus on infrastructure. It should be noted that in nations where infrastructure is the dominant focus, this component could possibly be considered relevant. Finally, passages elsewhere in the document that summarize irrelevant titles were also considered irrelevant. The document's brief executive summary (pp. 1-6) was labeled as relevant because of its use of framing and descriptions of the dominant narrative. Titles *Ia: Achieving Equality Through High Standards and Accountability: Closing the Achievement Gap for Disadvantaged Students* (pp. 7-9), *IV: Promoting Parental Options and Innovative Programs* (pp. 18-19) and *VII: Freedom and Accountability* (26-29) also relied heavily on the rhetoric of the dominant narrative. They were also labeled as relevant for their focus on operational reforms.

The See-Think-Do Model of Deception and the Deception Story

In order to counter deception, one must understand what it is, how to identify it, and how it is implemented from the perspective of practical and theoretical experts in the field that

they are studying. When analyzing national deception strategies in the United States, it makes sense to turn to the models used by those that design and implement deception in policy at the national level in that particular geopolitical environment. As described in Chapter Two, national policy strategists often build off of theories and models of deception articulated by military theorists and practitioners. One of the most basic and important of these is the See-Think-Do model (See Fig. 5-1). This model can be used to enter the mindset of the creators of a deceptive policy; it can also be used as a framework through which to identify and counter this strategic maneuver. To recap, See-Think-Do can be thought of by asking the following questions:

- (1) *See*: What does the target see as a result of the implementation of operations?
- (2) *Think*: What conclusions does the target draw from those observations?
- (3) *Do*: What action may the target take as a result of the conclusions based upon those observations? (Sharp, 2006)

Figure 5-1. Military Deception as a Three-Tiered Cognitive Process

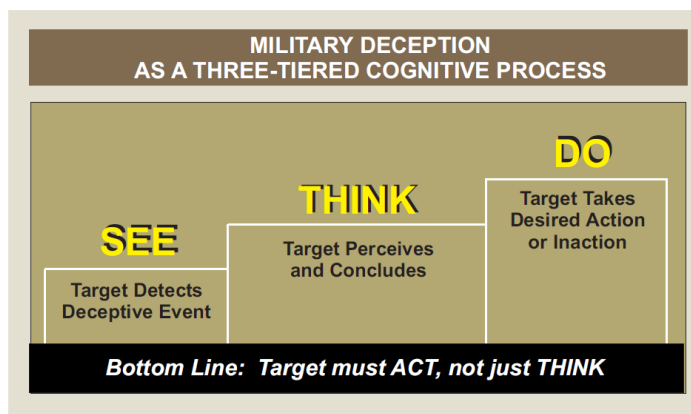


Figure IV-1. Military Deception as a Three-Tiered Cognitive Process

Taken from the Joint Chiefs of Staff's *Joint Publication 3-13.4: Military Deception*

The first step in identifying cooptation with a disadvantaged front involves identifying the presence of a deception story. This can be also be described as identifying incongruities between see and think. The following translates that understanding into a practical approach.

Two-Stage Process for identifying Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front

This section outlines a two stage process by which cooptation with a disadvantaged front can be identified in a political communication. While the following chapter will describe how to identify the strategic origins of the deceptive maneuver, this chapter will describe how to:

- 1) identify a deception story, and
- 2) identify a policy's strategic beneficiaries.

As described previously, the presence of a deception story in a policy is ultimately identified through confirming or denying incongruities between see and think, or friendly actions and desired perceptions. In the first step, qualitative content analysis was applied to the relevant portions of the *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* in two passes. The first pass allowed friendly actions to emerge; the second pass allowed desired perceptions to emerge. The categories were then compared and contrasted for similarities and incongruities.

In the second step, the map of the environment created in Chapter Four was combined with qualitative content analysis in order to identify the strategic beneficiaries of the No Child Left Behind Act. Relevant portions of the *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* were examined in order to identify the distribution of power, rewards and consequences as

mandated through the legislation. This distribution was charted on the strategic map of the political environment. This map was then compared to a map of the ideal strategic distribution for a policy designed to benefit the disadvantaged. The results are described below.

Stage 1: Identifying the Deception Story

In No Child Left Behind

The Joint Chiefs of Staff define the deception story as, “a scenario that outlines the friendly actions that will be portrayed to cause the deception target to adopt the desired perception” (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2014). The disconnect between friendly actions and desired perceptions can also be framed in terms of the See-Think-Do model. Within this context, the purpose of the deception story is to make a target group or set of groups see one thing, but think another. This interpretation will cause targets to adopt a strategic posture or behavior that benefits the deceptive party.

Major Components of the Deception Story

In order to identify an incongruity between see and think, the major components of a deception story should be identified and contextualized. Taken directly from the definition of deception story provided by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, these components are Targets, Scenario, Friendly Actions, and Desired Perceptions.

Figure 5.2: Components of a Deception Story



Targets. Targets can be described as networks, organizations and people in positions to pass, reject, support or counter a policy during the passage and implementation phases. Returning to the See-Think-Do model of deception, targets are those expected to do. As described in Figure 4.1., doing can involve both action and inaction. The targets represent the potential for both direct and indirect cooptation. In the case of No Child Left Behind, it would be assumed that the deception story would serve to facilitate both the passage and implementation of the legislation.

In the United States, there are a number of ways legislation can be authorized. General elections, representative passage and executive order, for example, are all ways that agendas become codified. In context, No Child Left Behind would have to be authorized by Congress as part of the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. As such, the target with the authority to pass the legislation was Congress. Secondary targets, then, would be the networks and organizations positioned to apply enough leverage to both support and counter the passage or implementation of the legislation effectively.

Scenario. A scenario is the narrative or interpretation of the narrative assigned to a given policy. The scenario surrounding No Child Left Behind is anchored in a narrative of

disadvantage and the theory of the achievement gap, or rather the interpretation of the achievement gap as described in the policy itself.

According to the National Association for Education Statistics, “Achievement gaps occur when one group of students outperforms another group and the difference in average scores for the two groups is statistically significant (that is, larger than the margin of error)” (NAES, 2014). In the United States, these gaps occur along socioeconomic lines such as race, class, labels of physical and mental ability and gender. While the phenomenon of the achievement gap represents statistical gaps in scores on standardized tests, the dominant discourse surrounding the achievement gap is rooted in the differences of achievement between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. For example, the *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* reads, “The federal government can, and must, help close the achievement gap between disadvantaged students and their peers” (Bush, 2001, pg. 7).

The theory of the achievement gap and why it exists can be interpreted in many ways. While the test scores speak for themselves, the explanations for the causes of and contributors to this gap are widely disputed. Further, there are no known curricular, institutional, or systemic processes that have shown to consistently raise achievement for every socioeconomic group across the nation.

Rooted in claims of “research based” efficacy, though, No Child Left Behind promotes a scenario in which methods of testing, types of alternative institutions and curriculum and character based programs that produce results strong enough to 1) implement them systemwide, 2) institute punishments for states, localities, schools and participants that do not close the gap even with these tools at their disposal, and 3) remove or fail to provide funding or

support for alternative solutions to promoting the educational success of disadvantaged students. The systemwide generalization of these unfounded assumptions suggest that deception might be in play.

Identifying deceit in policy is a delicate task, though. In order to distinguish friendly actions and desired perceptions from the policy document itself, a systematic approach should be taken. The next section describes how qualitative content analysis can be applied to a political communication as part of the process of identifying a deception story. Specifically, this method can be used to identify both the friendly actions and desired perceptions contained in a document. This information can be used to compare can contrast see and think as presented in the policy. If incongruities are present, it can be assumed that a deception story is in play. The *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* serves as the unit of analysis for this exploration.

Qualitative Content Analysis 1: Friendly Actions versus Desired Perceptions

In a political house of mirrors, it can be difficult to identify paths of analysis and action through the multiple versions of the same image. Factors can be fabricated, manipulated, camouflaged, and diverted (Caddell, 2004); however, if analysts understand the patterns of deception that guide these maneuvers, the characteristics of these deceptive maneuvers can be identified through their stated intent. Qualitative content analysis can support this effort.

Procedure. Qualitative content analysis was applied in two passes. In the first pass, emergent coding was used to identify the three main operational reforms called for in the No Child Left Behind Act. In the second pass, the meaning within these actions were embedded

was extracted from the document. These friendly actions and desired perceptions were then compared in order to identify incongruities that would suggest deception is in play.

Friendly actions and desired perceptions. Friendly actions were defined as the operative behaviors described in the policy; desired perceptions were the rhetorical terms used to frame the operative behaviors. It should be noted that “friendly actions” is a military term used to describe allied maneuvers. In the first pass, qualitative content analysis was applied to allow operational components to emerge from the document. The units of coding that emerged from the document were then thematized according to similarities of organizational behavior described in the phrase. In the second pass, phrases and sentences that narratively describe these actions were allowed to emerge from the text. These units of coding were then thematized according to similarities. This process produced the following results:

Results. Three dominant operational components emerged from the policy document: assessment, authority, and multilateralism. **Assessment** can be described operationally in terms of testing and data collection. Narratively, it was described in terms of achievement and accountability. **Authority** was defined as the ability to design policy or implement systems of rewards and consequences. **Multilateralism** was described as partnerships extending beyond traditional public\governmental boundaries and into the private and social sectors. These three categories were then analyzed in terms of See and Think, summarized in Table 5-1, as the results of two passes through the text. In short, the “See” passages describe the visible actions that will be taken under the policy, while the “Think” passages assert meanings the policymakers wish to attach to these actions .

Table 5-1. Results of Qualitative Content Analysis I

Pass 1 See

- **Assessment**
 - Testing and data collection.
 - Performance will be evaluated using state assessment results. Those results will be confirmed with other indicators of academic achievement and the National Assessment of Educational Progress. **pg. 27**
- **Authority Centralized**
 - The ability to design policy or implement systems of rewards and consequences.
 - Though these priorities do not address reforms in every federal education program, they do address a general vision for reforming the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and linking federal dollars to specific performance goals to ensure improved results. Pg .
 - The plan will include assurances that the state...[has] developed a system of sanctions and rewards to hold LEA's accountable for meeting performance objectives. **pg 27**
 - This proposal changes current law by requiring that states, school districts and schools receiving Title I funds ensure that students in all student groups meet high standards. **pg. 7**
- **Multilateralism**
 - Partnerships extending beyond traditional public\governmental boundaries and into the private and social sectors.
 - If schools fail to make adequate yearly progress for three consecutive years, disadvantaged students may use Title I funds to transfer to a higher-performing public or private school, or receive supplemental educational services from a provider of choice.**Pg 3**

Pass 2 Think

- **Assessment**
 - Accountability
 - States, school districts, and schools must be accountable for ensuring that all students, including disadvantaged students, meet high academic standards. **pg. 3**
 - Achievement
 - Achieving Equality Through High Standards; Title: Title I, **pg. 7**

- The Purpose of Title VII is to establish a system for how states and school districts will be held accountable for improving student achievement.
 - **Authority Decentralized**
 - Flexibility
 - For that reason, the Administration seeks to increase parental options and influence. **pg. 18**
 - States and school districts will be granted unprecedented flexibility by this proposal in how they may spend federal education funds. **Pg. 26**
 - States and school districts will be granted unprecedented flexibility by this proposal in how they may spend federal education funds. **Pg. 26**
 - Additional flexibility will be provided to states and school districts, and flexible funding will be increased at the local level. **pg. 2**
 - **Multilateralism**
 - Good
 - Funding will be provided to assist charter schools with start-up costs, facilities and other needs associated with creating high-quality schools. **pg. 5**
 - Funds may be used for local innovative programs, as well as to provide choice to students in persistently failing or dangerous schools so they can attend adequate, safe schools of choice.
-

Findings for Qualitative Content Analysis I

As described previously, a deception story can be detected by identifying incongruities between the actual operative agendas (see) and narrative agendas (think). While political narratives frequently use persuasive language to convince targets to support or counter an agenda, deception stories present false information in an attempt to alter behavior. In each of the three agenda categories, incongruities that contain falsifications were detected.

Assessment and achievement. No Child Left Behind called for nationwide participation in state education assessments. As described previously, assessments can play an important

role in identifying patterns of achievement; however, assessment itself is not the same as achievement. The narrative of No Child Left Behind manipulates this very subtle distinction in a way that falsely correlates assessment and achievement. For example, the subtitle of Title I reads, **“Achieving Equality Through High Standards.”** Standards, as described, are capable of measuring equality, but they are not capable of producing it.

Similarly, the subheading **“Closing the Achievement Gap: Accountability and High Standards”** on pg. 3 presents standards and the distribution of rewards and consequences based on the scores associated with those standards as a way to close the achievement gap. Ends, for the most part, cannot be attained without both ways and means. Rewards and consequences are largely financial. Funding is a means that can be used to achieve an end, but without a way, the means can be largely wasted.

Distributing consequences to disadvantaged states, districts, and schools in the name of supporting their advancement is incongruent with the goal of applying means to achieve an end. The language surrounding this agenda manipulates perceptions to suggest that the removal of resources from disadvantaged states, districts, and schools will facilitate the goal of attained achievement. While these manipulations are subtle, they present assessment in a way that falsely leads targets to believe that financially reinforced assessment is capable of closing the achievement gap and creating equality. Again, these assertions, by research standards and common logic, are unfounded.

Centralization and flexibility. The associations made between centralization of authority and assertions of local control also contain deceptive qualities. On one hand, the legislation claims, “More schools will be able to operate Title I schoolwide programs and

combine federal funds with local and state funds to improve the quality of the entire school.” (Bush, 2001, pp 1) On the other hand, it mandates, “If the school still has not met adequate yearly progress after two years, the district must implement corrective action and offer public school choice to all students in the failing school” (Bush, 2001, pg.9). Local funding for implementing a mandate for centralization is contingent on meeting the requirements of the federal government. While the funding may lead to unprecedented responsibility to achieve results, it is contributing to the process of centralization, not local control. Further, this policy exhibits what can be described as a carrot and stick model of enforcement; while there are small benefits for participation, there are consequences for not meeting requirements. The stiff consequences effectively negate the narrative of flexibility. Presenting increased federal influence as increased local control indicates deceptive intent.

Assigning value to multilateralism. Finally, the action of multilateralizing the public education system of the United States—that is, by creating pathways for financing private interests to perform the functions of public schools—is framed in a way that leads targets to believe that this is a successful method of closing the achievement gap in the United States, when there is no systemic model that has been designed publically, privately, or through a partnership of the two that has proven effective in closing the achievement gap across all groups. Presenting charter options and the ability to transfer to private institutions as both “high quality” and for the benefits of students overamplifies the potential of this experimental reform. There is no foundation in research from which to make this claim. The community is far from achieving consensus on the benefits of charter schools. In fact, there is much evidence to suggest they may also place students at a significant disadvantage (Frankenberg, 2011;

Gleason et al., 2010). Because of these incongruities, the value attached to multilateralism can be considered deceptive.

Conclusion One: Deception Story Confirmed

The clear incongruities between what the policy communicates in terms of “see” and what targets should “think” according to the scenario outlined in the *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* provide strong evidence that a deception story is present. The experiment of multilateralizing the public education system is presented as an innovative way of giving parents and students high-quality, successful options. The increase in centralization accompanied by funding to meet these centrally dictated goals is presented as an increase in local control. Finally, assessment is presented as a way to achieve equality when its capabilities end at being able to evaluate inequality. Deception in one category should give researchers reason to pause. The disconnect between what the target can see operationally and how NCLB frames it narratively to alter what targets think about it in all categories indicates strongly that a deception story is in play.

Stage Two: Identifying the Strategic Beneficiaries of the No Child Left Behind Agenda

Even if there is a disconnect between friendly actions and desired perceptions, or see and think, researchers must be open to the notion that the deception really is being enacted in the benefit of the disadvantaged, and not the designers of the policy. In order to determine who the policy is designed to benefit, the distribution of power, rewards, and consequences as

ideally designed to benefit the disadvantaged can be compared to the distribution of these same factors as dictated by the policy.

While strategy is complex, as Clausewitz described, it is also very simple. Just because deception is in play, that does not mean that we abandon the internally elegant logic of strategic competition. The dominant goal of any group in competition is to increase their advantage, avoid consequences, and increase benefits. An ideal policy would increase the power and rewards distributed to the group in question, while decreasing the consequences experienced by that same group. Should No Child Left Behind display this same pattern, or close to it, even if there is deception, it could suggest that the policy does in fact benefit the disadvantaged. If it does not, the patterns exhibited can give clues into who the policy is really designed to benefit.

Qualitative Content Analysis II: Comparing “See” and “Think”

As before, a close reading of the relevant portions of the NCLB *Executive Summary* text reveal how the policy allocates benefits—or can be interpreted to reveal such a distribution—which can then be compared to the distributions that might be expected if disadvantage groups were to be the main beneficiaries. The procedure and results (in tabular form) are described below.

Procedure. For the purpose of analysis, **power** is used to describe what the military refers to as “command and control.” Defined by the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the “exercise of authority and direction by a properly designated commander over assigned and attached forces in the accomplishment of the mission” (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2014, pg. 45), power refers to

design policy or procedures and the authority to distribute rewards and consequences.

Rewards were emergently defined as the direct resource related opportunities available as a result of the policy. Ultimately this category was reduced to financial benefits. Similarly, **consequences** were emergently defined as the retraction of resources as a result of failure to comply with the policy. This category was also ultimately reduced to financial retractions. Qualitative content analysis was used to extract this information from the text itself.

The map of the environment was used to produce visual representations of power, rewards and consequences in two ways. The first series of maps generated describe the distribution of these three components in a strategically ideal pattern. The second series of maps that were generated describe these same components as outlined in No Child Left Behind. The results are described below.

Results. As in Qualitative Content Analysis I, the results of this analysis are displayed below in Table 5-2. They are organized by the main foci of this analysis: power, rewards, and consequences.

Table 5-2. Results of Qualitative Content Analysis II

	To Be (See)
Power (Command and Control)	<p><u>Federal</u></p> <p>A school choice fund will be created and administered by the Secretary of Education to demonstrate, develop, implement, evaluate and disseminate information on innovative approaches that promote school choice.</p> <p>Promoting Parental Options and Innovative Programs (Title IV): Summary of Proposals: Expands School Choice, pg. 18</p> <p>The Secretary of Education will be authorized to reduce the amount a state may use for administration of ESEA programs if a state fails to meet its performance objectives.</p> <p>Freedom and Accountability (Title VII), Increased Accountability for Student Achievement. Creates Sanctions for Low-Performing States. Pg 27</p>
	<p><u>State</u></p> <p>States must develop a system of sanctions and rewards to hold districts and schools accountable for improving achievement.</p> <p>Executive Summary. The Policy. Closing the Achievement Gap. Accountability and High Standards. Pg 3</p> <p>The plan will include assurances that the state...[has] developed a system of sanctions and rewards to hold LEA's accountable for meeting performance objectives. .</p> <p>Increases Accountability for Improved Achievement: Expects States to Improve Academic Achievement, pg 27</p>
	Local
	School
	Alternative
	Parent
	Student
Rewards	Federal
	<u>State</u>

States, districts and schools that improve achievement will be rewarded.

Executive Summary. The Policy. Closing the Achievement Gap. Increased Accountability for Student Performance. Pg 3

High performing states that narrow the achievement gap and improve overall student achievement will be rewarded.

Executive Summary. The Policy. Rewarding Success and Sanctioning Failure. Rewards for closing the achievement gap. Pg 5

The “Achievement in Education” fund will reward high-performing States that have made the greatest progress in closing achievement gaps and improving English proficiency.

Increases Accountability for Improved Achievement: Rewards for High-Performing States and Schools. Creates and Achievement in Education Fund, pg 27

States and school districts will be granted unprecedented flexibility by this proposal in how they may spend federal education funds.

Freedom and Accountability (Title VII) Overview. Pg. 26

Local

States and school districts will be granted unprecedented flexibility by this proposal in how they may spend federal education funds.

Freedom and Accountability (Title VII) Overview. Pg. 26

School

The Secretary of Education will administer a “No Child Left Behind” bonus fund that would honor and provide rewards to schools that make significant progress in closing the achievement gap.

Increases Accountability for Improved Achievement: Awards “No Child Left Behind” School Bonuses., pg 28

Alternative

Parent
 Student
Consequences Federal
 State

Local

States must develop a system of sanctions and rewards to hold districts and schools accountable for improving achievement.

Executive Summary. The Policy. Closing the Achievement Gap. Accountability and High Standards. Pg 3

The plan will include assurances that the state...[has] developed a system of sanctions and rewards to hold LEA's accountable for meeting performance objectives. .

Increases Accountability for Improved Achievement: Expects States to Improve Academic Achievement, pg 27

School

If the school still has not met adequate early progress after two years, the district must implement corrective action and offer public school choice to all students in the failing school.

Achieving Equality Through High Standards and Accountability (Title I). Provides Corrective Action for Low-Performing Schools and Districts, pg. 9

Alternative
 Parent
 Student

Applying the results to the contextual map. Once the information is drawn from the document, contextual mapping can be used to create a clear image of the distribution of power, rewards and consequences. In this example, stars were used to plot the presence of power, rewards and consequences in their appropriate strategic position on the hierarchical

map. Placement of stars was guided by distribution as articulated by the policy. The map that represented the distribution of power, rewards and consequences was then compared to a map of the ideal strategic agenda containing the same components.

The ideal strategic agenda increases power and rewards and decreases consequences for the target group or network. If the two maps align, it can be assumed that the strategic beneficiaries of a policy are the same as the stated beneficiaries. If there are incongruities, deception is suggested. The following illustrations (in Figures 5-3a, 5-3b, and 5-3c) emerged from this process.

Figure 5-3a. Stratified Contextual Hierarchy of the U.S. Education System: Power

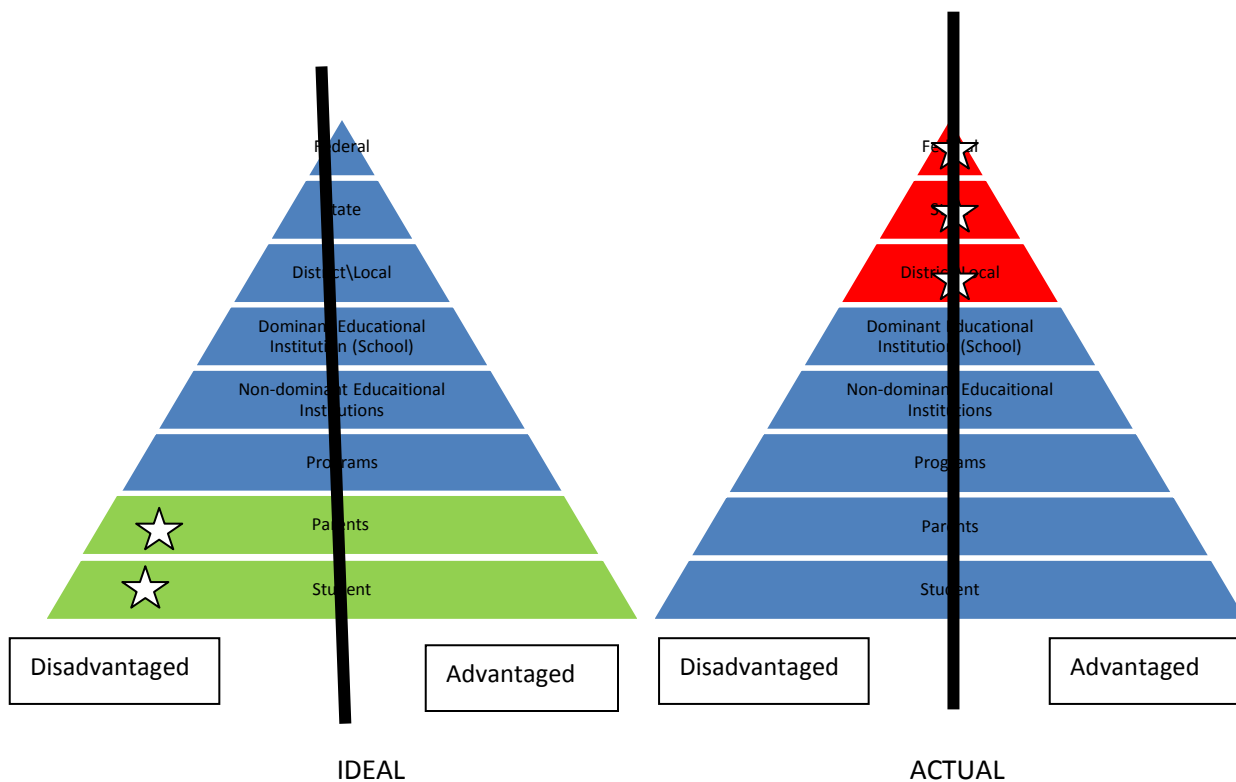


Figure 5-3b. Stratified Contextual Hierarchy of the U.S. Education System: Rewards

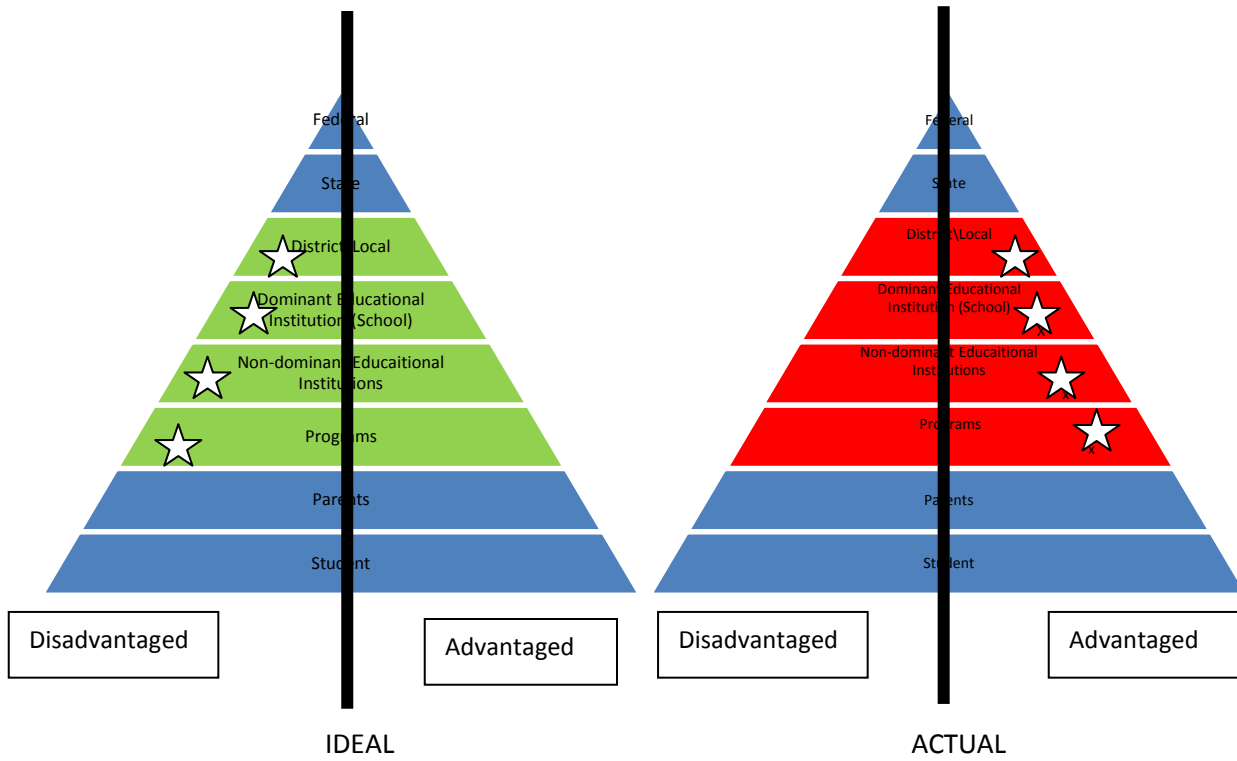
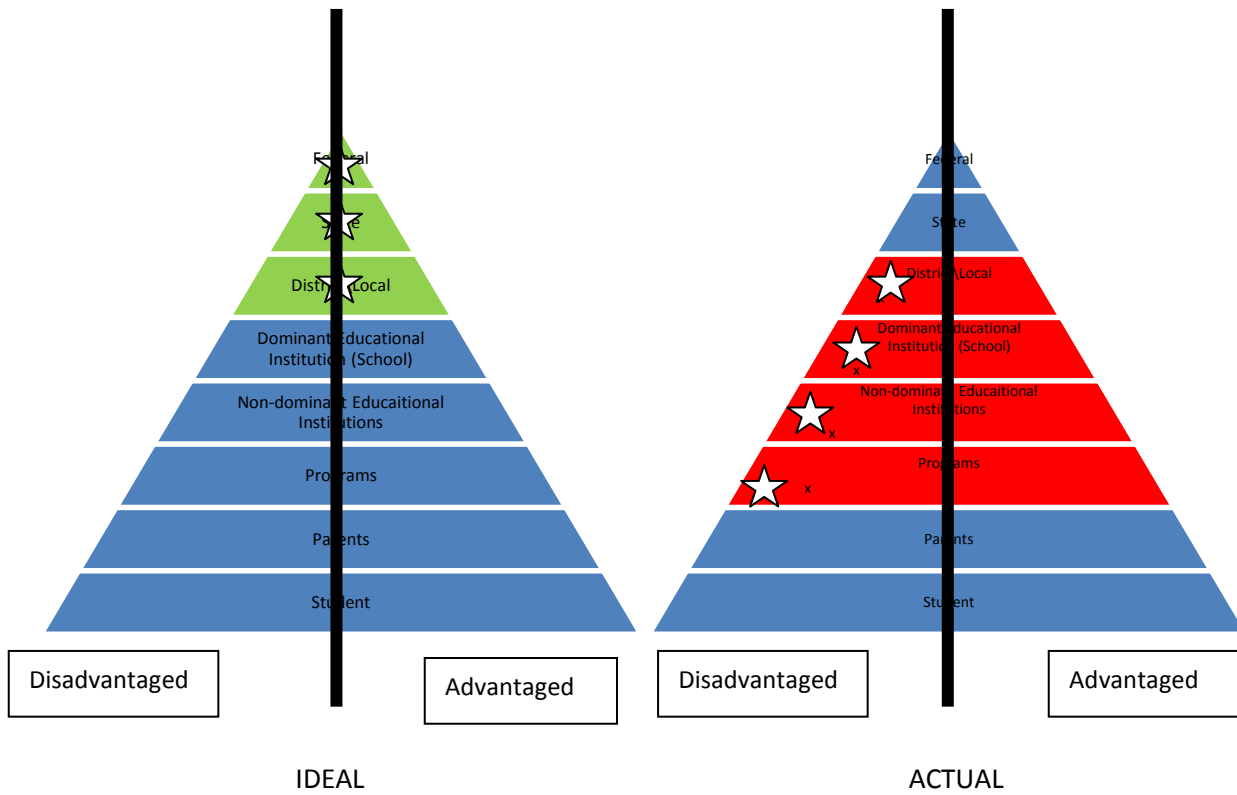


Figure 5-3c. Stratified Contextual Hierarchy of the U.S. Education System: Consequences



Findings for Qualitative Content Analysis II, Strategic Mapping, and the PRC Model

Comparing the ideal strategic outcomes of an agenda with the proposed strategic outcomes in terms of power, rewards, and consequences revealed that there were dramatic incongruities between the narrative beneficiaries and the strategic beneficiaries of No Child Left Behind. This model can be referred to as the PRC Model to Identify Strategic Beneficiaries.

Power. As described previously, power was defined in terms of control and command. In this case, it was specifically defined as the ability to design policy or procedures and the authority to distribute rewards and consequences. The ideal strategic distribution of power according to an agenda of the disadvantaged would include an increase in power for themselves, and potentially a decrease in power for the opposing group. The distribution of power in the No Child Left Behind Act falls along lines of privilege, but favors those in more advantaged positions. Specifically, the federal government retains the most power, state and local authorities are granted the powers necessary to implement and manage what the federal group has designed, and participants such as students or parents are offered no operational power at all. The contrast between the ideal and actual distributions of power suggest that the reforms were not designed to benefit the most disadvantaged. The actual distribution further suggests it was designed to benefit the advantaged and sustain the disadvantage of the bottom tier of the strategic hierarchy.

Rewards. Rewards were emergently defined as the direct resource related opportunities available as a result of the policy. Ultimately this category was reduced to financial benefits. The ideal strategic distribution of power according to an agenda of the disadvantaged would include an increase in rewards for themselves, and potentially a decrease

in rewards for the opposing group. The distribution of rewards in the No Child Left Behind Act falls along lines of privilege, but favors those in more advantaged positions. Specifically, the federal government retains control of the resources and design of the rewards system. This system is designed to increase the likelihood that advantaged states, localities and educational institutions will be rewarded and decrease the likelihood that disadvantaged states, localities and institutions will be rewarded. The distribution of rewards in No Child Left Behind, as compared with the distribution of rewards that would be present in an ideal agenda for the disadvantaged, suggests that the legislation was designed to benefit the advantaged, not the disadvantaged.

Consequences. Consequences were emergently defined as the retraction of resources as a result of failure to comply with the policy. This category was also ultimately reduced to financial retractions. The ideal strategic distribution of consequences according to an agenda of the disadvantaged would include a decrease in consequences for themselves, and potentially an increase in consequences for the opposing group. The distribution of consequences in the No Child Left Behind Act falls along lines of privilege, but favors those in more advantaged positions. Specifically, the federal government retains control of the resources and design of the consequences system. This system is designed to decrease the likelihood that advantaged states, localities and educational institutions will suffer consequences as a result of the policy and increase the likelihood that disadvantaged states, localities and institutions will be rewarded. The distribution of consequences in No Child Left Behind as, compared with the distribution of rewards that would be present in an ideal agenda for the disadvantaged, suggests that the legislation was designed to benefit the advantaged, not the disadvantaged.

Conclusion Two: The Disadvantaged are Not the Strategic Beneficiaries

Qualitative content analysis revealed that the strategic beneficiaries of No Child Left Behind are not the disadvantaged subgroups in the education system as the narrative suggests. Organizational power was increased at the federal level, consequences were dealt to disadvantaged groups and benefits were distributed to advantaged groups. As such, it can be assumed that the beneficiaries of the policy were not the disadvantaged, as narratively framed.

Applying the Checklist for Cooptation to the No Child Left Behind Narrative

Having established that No Child Left Behind involves deception, and that the disadvantaged groups are not the primary beneficiaries, as purported in the rhetorical narrative, analysis can turn to the process of identifying the presence or absence of cooptation. As described in Chapter Two, a four item checklist can be applied when attempting to identify cooptation. Two additional items can be added when trying to identify cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Taken together, these six items are:

1. *It is a strategic maneuver designed by one group or network and used against another group, set of groups or network, with less advantage.*
2. *It calls for an adjustment in behavior that aligns with the goals of the coopting party. This adjustment can garner support or neutralize resistance or both.*
3. *The alignment is achieved through deception.*

4. *The deception benefits the coopting party.*
5. *The narrative or framing of the agenda involves disadvantaged communities*
6. *The behavioral adjustments called for strategically benefit the coopting community over the disadvantaged community*

Identifying the Presence of Cooptation in No Child Left Behind

If we apply the first four of these items, one by one, to the No Child left Behind policy, as represented in the *Executive Summary* document, the following emerges. The pattern whether the policy displays evidence of formal cooptation.

1. The policy is a strategic maneuver designed by one group or network and used against another (disadvantaged) group, set of groups, or network. As described previously, the executive administration is positioned to directly coopt Congress and indirectly coopt organizations positioned with enough leverage to support or counter the legislation. As a result, the first requirement is met.

2. The policy calls for an adjustment in behavior that aligns with the goals of the coopting party. This adjustment can garner support, neutralize resistance or both. As described previously, the No Child Left Behind Act called for the support of major reforms to the education system. These reforms would have to be passed through a legislative vote by individuals subject to intergroup and popular pressure. Group One, in this case the executive administration, was calling for Congress to accept the reforms by voting in favor of the legislation. It was also presenting the legislation in a way that would call for support from relevant groups and counter the resistance of others that could both place pressure on

Congress during passage and affect implementation after passage. As such, the second requirement for cooptation is met.

3. The alignment is achieved through deception. By using qualitative content analysis to extract information from the *Executive Summary of No Child Left Behind* in terms of See and Think, the relationship between the two was allowed to emerge. Had there been no discrepancies between the two, it could reasonably be assumed that deception was not part of the narrative. This was not the case. As described, incongruities between See and Think were detected in all three operational categories and a deception story was detected. As a result, the third requirement for cooptation is met.

4. The deception benefits the coopting party. By combining the map of the political environment created in Chapter Four with qualitative content analysis patterns, the distribution of power, rewards, and consequences in the policy could be compared to those same factors as presented in an ideal strategy from the perspective of the narrative beneficiaries. In the case of No Child Left Behind, the strategic beneficiaries emerged as those with more advantage within the asymmetrical education environment. The entity that suffered the least consequences, accumulated the most rewards, and retained the most power was the federal government and the advantaged states and localities, or those most likely to support the passage of NCLB. As a result, the fourth requirement for cooptation is met.

Cooptation checklist summary (the first four items). Having marked all four items on the checklist for cooptation, it can be reasonably assumed that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 exhibits evidence of the executive administration's attempt to coopt Congress and the general public in an attempt to reform the education system in the United States. This involves

one group coopting another set of groups. It calls for an adjustment in behavior that aligns with the agenda of the executive administration, or the coopting party. The political narrative attached to the legislation meets the requirements for a deception story. And the deception does not strategically benefit those it purports to benefit in the narrative. As a result, the requirements for cooptation are met.

Identifying Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front

Moving forward with the assumption that NCLB offers evidence of formal cooptation, an analysis for the remaining two items necessary to fulfill the requirements for cooptation with a disadvantaged front can be conducted. Because the scenario of the No Child Left Behind Act involves the disadvantaged, and the requirements for cooptation have been met, it is reasonable to suspect that cooptation with a disadvantaged front could be in play.

5. The narrative or framing of the agenda involve disadvantaged communities. Yes.

As described in the scenario, the narrative that No Child Left Behind is anchored in is that of the theory of the achievement gap. This theory is inseparable from a larger conversation about advantage and disadvantage. The policy itself also highlights this correlation and asserts that the agenda will function to close the achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged socioeconomic groups. As a result, the requirement of a disadvantaged narrative is met.

6. The behavioral adjustments called for strategically benefit the coopting community over the disadvantaged community. When comparing the beneficiaries of the strategic agenda as opposed to the narrative agenda, it is clear that there are disparities. While the narrative describes the legislation as beneficial to those disadvantaged in the educational hierarchy, a

comparison between the ideal distribution of power, rewards, and consequences and the actual distribution of power, rewards and consequences shows that the strategic benefits increase with levels of advantage. Since the strategic agenda does not support the disadvantaged, but rather benefits those with the most authority and advantage, including the coopting party, the final requirement for cooptation with a disadvantaged front is met.

Cooptation with a disadvantaged front checklist summary (last two items). Analysis revealed that while the a narrative rooted in dialogue is present in *No Child Left Behind*, the strategic beneficiaries were not the disadvantaged within the system. As such, it can be assumed that while the policy purports to be designed to benefit the disadvantaged, it was actually designed to benefit more advantaged parties. Having fulfilled the requirements for the final two checklist items, it is reasonable to assume that the *No Child Left Behind Act* is evidence of cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

Conclusion

This Chapter describes a two-stage process by which cooptation and cooptation with a disadvantaged front can be identified in a policy. Walking the *Executive Summary of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* through these phases, it was confirmed that the policy meets all four requirements for cooptation as well as the remaining two requirements for cooptation with a disadvantaged front. As a result, it can reasonably be assumed that this policy is an example of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. Having identified this policy as cooptive, the next chapter will describe how to apply strategy theory, cooptation theory, and content analysis in an attempt to find the origins of the cooptive agenda.

Chapter 6:

Using Qualitative Content Analysis and Strategic Mapping to Identify the Core of a Deceptive Policy

In the previous chapter, analysis revealed that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 exhibits all of the major hallmarks of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. As a result, three major assumptions were made moving forward. First, a deception story is present. Second there is an attempt to conceal the strategic beneficiaries. Third, the coopting entity is strategically positioned to influence systemwide reform in the United States. While this work does not seek to identify the parent sector, document, or organization to call for the policy reforms that would lead to the cooptation of the education system in the United States, it will seek to identify:

1. The highest level at which the agenda carried behind the narrative of No Child Left Behind can be identified.
2. Key organization(s) that promoted the agenda within the appropriate timeframe.
3. The earliest accessible evidence of this agenda in the strategic communication of organizations at this level.

In order to do so, a new map of the strategic environment was created to accommodate the expanded context. As described in Chapter Four and exemplified in Chapter Five, while there are many unknowns in any strategic environment, there are key consistencies that can help analysts and practitioners alike navigate the geopolitical terrain. These constants were captured by the strategic hierarchy and its levels; they were translated to suit the context of the

education system in the United States. In this chapter, they will be adjusted to suit the education hierarchy in an intergovernmental context.

Once the map was created, it grounded a search for organizations and “anchor documents” (significant policy communications produced by these organizations) that emphasized assessment as a main component of reform. Assessment was chosen over multilateralization and centralization\decentralization because the latter are managerial adjustments while the former is an adjustment that requires the participation of the larger populous. This is not to say managerial forms cannot be the core adjustments pushing forward a cooptive adjustment; it is to say, though, that in the case of No Child Left Behind, management was centered around implementing assessment, and not the other way around.

Once organizations and key anchor documents were identified, qualitative content analysis was applied in order to identify key points of congruity with the No Child Left Behind agenda. As will be described in more detail later in this chapter, while core agenda items were translated to suit the language and context of an intergovernmental audience, the similarities between the intergovernmental agenda and the subsequent national agendas in the United States and elsewhere were striking.

Mapping the New Contextual Environment and Using the Map

As an Analytical Tool

As explained in Chapter Two and contextually applied in Chapter Four, the levels of the strategic hierarchy can be described in terms of grand strategy, strategy, operations and tactics.

Just as these levels were translated to map the education system of the United States in Chapter Four, they will be translated to suit the new intergovernmental context in this chapter.

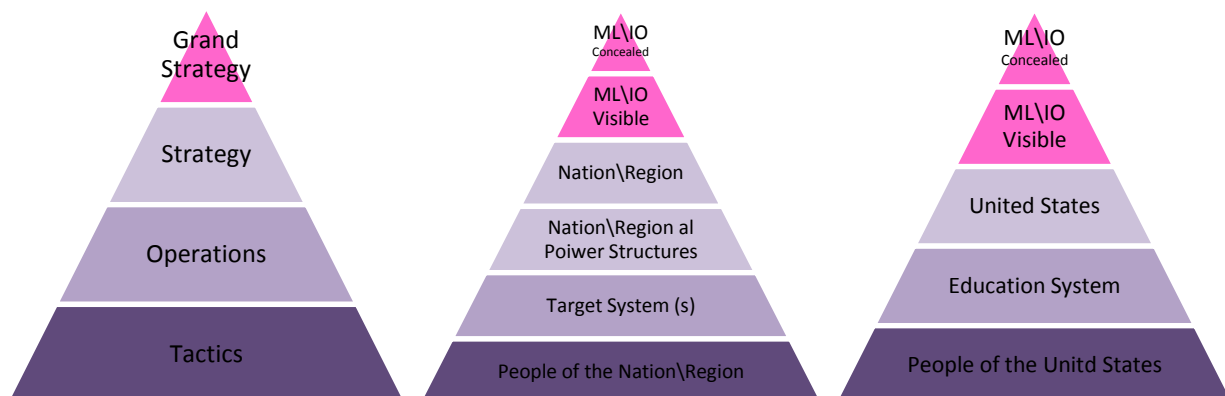
Identifying the Geopolitical Levels of the New Strategic Hierarchy

Grand Strategy, as described previously, is often times concealed. It also resides at the highest level of influence in the strategic hierarchy. In the case of No Child Left Behind, attempts were made to conceal the strategic beneficiaries at the grandest level. Further, the concealed parties were positioned with enough influence to alter policy at the level of the nation state in the U.S. Accordingly, five potential locations at which the grand strategy may be present emerge:

1. An organization or group positioned to exert influence over the United States government.
2. A sector of the national system in the United States that has more leverage than the education system (e.g., Technology, Finance, Military).
3. The executive administration of the national government in the United States (e.g., The Bush Administration, the Republican Party, the Executive Branch).
4. A nation that has more authority or a similarly designed or populated education system (e.g., the UK, Australia, New Zealand).
5. An organization with influence that transcends the level of the nation state (e.g., the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Finance Committee).

The hierarchical map is capable of being used to identify cooptation at any or all of these levels. In fact, it is possible, and likely, that cooptation will be found at each point of leverage. It is also likely that similar patterns can be revealed at the operational and tactical levels of the hierarchy. This work seeks to identify the grand strategy at the highest level, though. As such, the analysis will start with the highest possible level of influence: the intergovernmental level. Assuming the level of grand strategy is occupied by intergovernmental networks and organizations, and that the nation state (the United States) occupies the level of “Strategy,” a new map of the strategic environment would read, as shown in Figure 6-1.

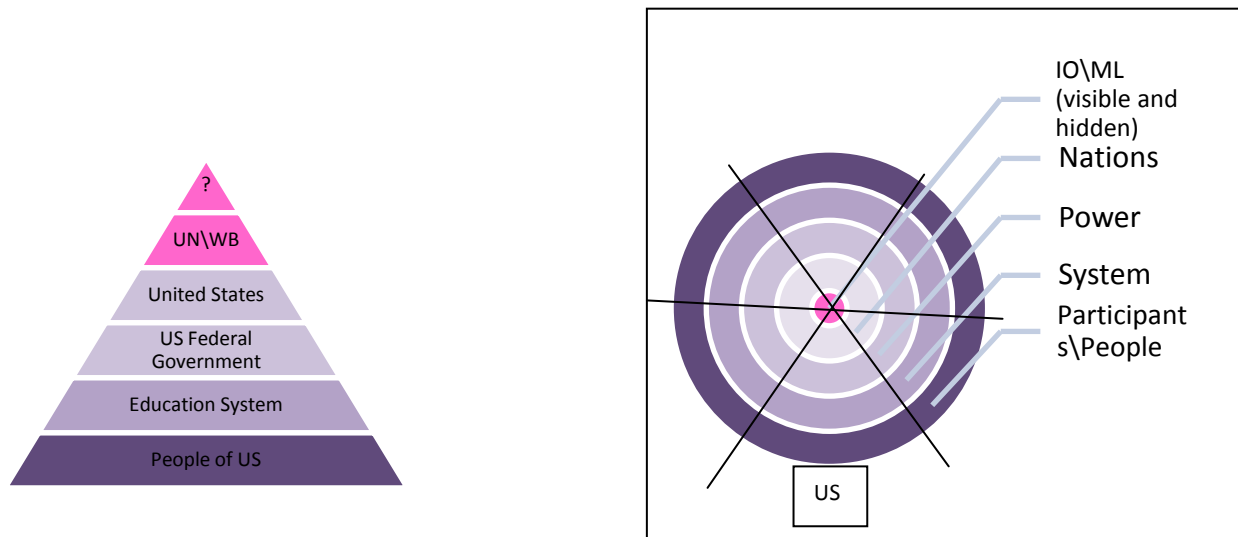
Figure 6-1. Translating the Strategic Map to Suit and Intergovernmental Context



Since the agendas at the intergovernmental level include multiple geopolitical actors at the level of strategy, the shape would have to be adjusted accordingly. For example, in a globally inclusive map, multiple strategic hierarchies would be connected to the intergovernmental core. As illustrated below In Figure 6-2, the strategic hierarchy of the United

States would represent one section of this map. (For the purpose of this study, though, the traditional triangular shaped hierarchy will suffice.

Figure 6-2. Strategic Map of the Hierarchy in the United States and its Position in the Larger Intergovernmental Network



Having generated a strategic map to complement the new contextual environment, a search for the organizations and documents that communicate the same main agenda items of No Child Left Behind at the highest levels could be conducted. In other words, the intergovernmental field could be scoured for organizations and the strategic documents calling for the main reforms outlined in No Child Left Behind.

Using the Map to Find the Origins of No Child Left Behind

In order to find a cooptive organization or network, we must look for those with enough influence to create shifts in agendas at the national level. We must also identify those organizations that are involved in the communication of education policy. Finally, the

organization must have produced congruent strategies prior to the implementation of dominant nations in the global hierarchy.

Intergovernmental actors. According to Bernard Koteen of the Harvard Law School, “The term intergovernmental organization (IGO) refers to an entity created by treaty, involving two or more nations, to work in good faith, on issues of common interest” (Koteen, 2012, N/A). Estimates of the number of IGO’s taken from 2002 suggest there were over 6,700 intergovernmental organizations. (Union of International Association, 2014) Of these, the dominant actors include, but are not limited to, the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the International Monetary Fund.

The pool of potential organizations was narrowed to two by using three key requirements: (1) The organization must have a historic relationship of influence with the United States. (2) The organization lists education as one of their primary topics of concern. (3) White papers from the organization could be accessed with relative ease by both researchers and practitioners.

All of the organizations listed by name above meet the first requirement. The second requirement was fulfilled by the United Nations, the World Bank, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The United Nations and the World Bank offered the most user-friendly archive system. As such, the search for the agenda items carried in No Child Left Behind began with a search for education reform related white papers from the World Bank and the United Nations.

These organizations are also *multilateral* actors. Multilateralism can be described as, “Trade conducted without discrimination throughout the world trade system” (Calvert, 2002, pg. 2). The nation state often plays an important role in the membership of multilateral organizations; however, multilateral networks are not limited to nation state participants. Corporations, nonprofit networks, and religious institutions are just a few examples. It is worth noting that the dominant actors in this strategic hierarchy are operating at the intergovernmental level; however, should the influence of the private sector increase, a resurgence in the social sector emerge, or a context be presented in which these actors have more influence on a particular sector than they do on the education system in the United States, it would be worth the effort to scan the environment for dominant multilateral actors and their agendas as well. For the purposes of this study, though, a review of the agendas of the dominant intergovernmental actors is most appropriate.

The United Nations and UNESCO. The intergovernmental network as we now know it was largely influenced by World War II. For example, in 1942, the term “United Nations” was coined by Franklin D. Roosevelt to describe an intergovernmental network of twenty-six nations that gathered to confirm their solidarity against the “Axis Powers” (United Nations, Date Unknown). In 1945, this network grew to a membership of 51 member states. That same year, the original 26 members ratified the charter that would bring the United Nations into legal organizational existence. Today, it enjoys a membership of one hundred and ninety-three member nations and describes itself as follows:

The work of the United Nations reaches every corner of the globe. Although best known for peacekeeping, peacebuilding, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance, there are many other ways the United Nations and its System (specialized agencies, funds and programmes) affect our lives and

make the world a better place. The Organization works on a broad range of fundamental issues, from sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, to promoting democracy, human rights, gender equality and the advancement of women, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearing landmines, expanding food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world for this and future generations. (United Nations, Date Unknown, N/A)

The same year FDR coined the term “United Nations,” the European ally network held a meeting in the United Kingdom referred to as the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). While the war was not yet over, the purpose of the meeting as to start articulating plans for the reconstruction of European education systems post war. Global interest in education reconstruction soon followed.

In 1945, the United Nations held the UN Conference for the Establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation (ECO/CONF). It was decided that an organization should be formed that would function to hold the international discourse on educational reconstruction. At the end of the conference, thirty seven nations founded the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Its constitution was signed in 1945 and ratified in 1946. As described by UNESCO itself:

Since its creation in 1945, UNESCO’s mission has been to contribute to the building of peace, poverty eradication, lasting development and intercultural dialogue, with education as one of its principal activities to achieve this aim....

UNESCO’s educational objectives are to support the achievement of Education for All (EFA); to provide global and regional leadership in education; to strengthen education systems worldwide from early childhood to the adult years; to respond to contemporary global challenges through education.

(UNESCO, Date Unknown, N/A)

The United States is a founding member of the United Nations and maintains membership today. It is influenced by and an influence on this dominant intergovernmental organization. It generates political pressure against the UN and its members and responds to similar pressure. The US is also a signatory to many intergovernmental and multilateral treaties and contracts that inform, guide, and dictate the behavior of the nation. For their influence on policy worldwide and their relationship with the United States, the UN provides a strong foundation from which to tether an exploration of strategy alignment between the intergovernmental level and the national level.

The World Bank. Where the United Nation focus during the post-war reconstruction of Europe was to hold dialogues surrounding peacekeeping, social development, and policy, the World Bank Group functioned to guide financial reconstruction. Created along with the International Monetary Fund at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, the World Bank

... has expanded from a single institution to a closely associated group of five development institutions. Our mission evolved from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) as facilitator of post-war reconstruction and development to the present-day mandate of worldwide poverty alleviation in close coordination with our affiliate, the International Development Association, and other members of the World Bank Group, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).....

Reconstruction remains an important part of our work. However, at today's World Bank, poverty reduction through an inclusive and sustainable globalization remains the overarching goal of our work.(World Bank Group, 2014, N/A)

The World Bank's efforts to influence education systems across the globe is almost unparalleled. Dedicating an average of \$2.6 billion a year in education financing for poor and middle-income countries, the World Bank is "one of the largest external education financiers

for developing countries....” (World Bank, 2013, N/A). The United States is also a member state of the World Bank, houses one of the main World Bank Headquarters in the nation’s capital and has a similar founding relationship to the United States as the United Nations. As such, it is a suitable organization for which to conduct a search for political communications that contain the main agenda components carried in No Child Left Behind.

Exploring The Current Intergovernmental Discourse Surrounding Education Policy Through Significant Policy Documents

Having identified organization with ties to the United States that are capable of exerting influence in the education system, the next step is to locate documents that communicate the narratives and agendas they adopt. A simple internet search through the Google search engine using the phrase “United Nations World Bank Education Policy” produced as its first result a link to reports on the “United Nations Millennium Development Goals.” Among the partners in this agenda are the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

As the UN Describes, “The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)...form a blueprint agreed to by all the world’s countries and all the world’s leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world’s poorest” (United Nations, Date Unknown, N/A). Much like No Child Left Behind, the Millennium Development Goals purport to be designed for the benefit of the most disadvantaged.

One of these eight universally agreed to goals is that of “Universal Primary Education.” Accompanying this goal is a call for the standardized testing of primary level students. The

report reads, “Robust measures of learning outcomes—both at the global and national levels—are crucial to improving education policy, ultimately leading to more successful learning” (United Nations, 2013, pg 23). Congruency in the call for assessment by the participants in the Millennium Development Goals project and the No Child Left Behind Act, coupled with the historic and contractual relationships the United States has with the intergovernmental organizations promoting the Millennium Development Goals, lends to the evidence suggesting there is a relationship between the two.

Establishing a Timeframe

This relationship must be contextualized within an appropriate timeframe, though, in order to identify origins. If the intergovernmental agendas were designed after the ~~origins~~ formulation of No Child Left Behind, it can be assumed the these organizations, and potentially this level of the hierarchy entirely, were not where the cooptive agenda originated. Further analysis would have to be conducted.

If the agenda was generated prior to the formulation of No Child Left Behind, it would suggest that the national policy was influenced by the intergovernmental and multilateral policies, and not the other way around. This relationship would further be solidified if other nation states adopted the agenda after its articulation at the intergovernmental level, as well. In other words, in order for No Child Left Behind to be considered to be evidence cooptation of the US education system by an organization or network at the intergovernmental level, the must be congruency between the national and intergovernmental agendas in the appropriate timeframe.

While the No Child Left Behind Act was authorized in 2001, its origins are often accredited to the 1989 Education Summit. This summit was called by then President George H.W. Bush, and brought the state governors of the US together in North Carolina to discuss education policy. As the Department of Education explains:

One important goal of *No Child Left Behind* was to breathe new life into the "flexibility for accountability" bargain with States first struck by President George H.W. Bush during his historic 1989 education summit with the Nation's Governors at Charlottesville, Virginia. Prior flexibility efforts have focused on the waiver of program requirements; the NCLB Act moves beyond this limited approach to give States and school districts unprecedented flexibility in the use of Federal education funds in exchange for strong accountability for results. (Department of Education, 2014, pg. 2)

The public generally accepts No Child Left Behind as a product of the Bush II administration, however, it's asserted origins in political and analytical circles commonly dates back to 1989. With this in mind, evidence of similar agendas on the intergovernmental level would have to be identified before this date. While it is possible to delve straight into the archives of the World Bank and the United Nations for congruent agendas, it is worth taking a quick scan of the policies of other nations that the United States has borrowed from or been influenced by in the past. Doing so quickly reveals that other nations were engaged in similar policymaking well before the passage of No Child left behind, and it's generally accepted origin point, the 1989 Education Summit.

Locating Similar Policies in Other Nations

Policy borrowing theorists have long asserted a relationship between policy in the United States and policy in the United Kingdom and New Zealand and Australia (Finegold et al. 1993). An informal search of major education shifts in New Zealand in 1989 and in the United

Kingdom in 1988 reveal standards based reforms were key components of both reform movements. The UK's Education Reform Act, for example reads:

- 1)The curriculum for every maintained school shall comprise a basic curriculum which includes—
 - (a)provision for religious education for all registered pupils at the school; and
 - (b)a curriculum for all registered pupils at the school of compulsory school age (to be known as “the National Curriculum”) which meets the requirements of subsection (2) below.
- (2)The curriculum referred to in subsection (1)(b) above shall comprise the core and other foundation subjects and specify in relation to each of them—
 - (a)the knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage (in this Chapter referred to as “attainment targets”);
 - (b)the matters, skills and processes which are required to be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during each key stage (in this Chapter referred to as “programmes of study”); and
 - (c)the arrangements for assessing pupils at or near the end of each key stage for the purpose of ascertaining what they have achieved in relation to the attainment targets for that stage (in this Chapter referred to as “assessment arrangements”). (United Kingdom, 1988, N/A)

Curiously, informal cooptation is a distinct component of this legislation. For example, the Education Reform Act of 1988 also explains,

- (4) In subsection (3) of that section ‘member’ means a person co-opted as a member of the council by members of the council who have not themselves been so co-opted, and a person so co-opted shall hold office on such terms as may be determined by the members co-opting him. (1988, N/A)

As 1988 is the earliest example of the passage of similar reform legislation in more than one nation that the United States has a history of borrowing with, our search will seek to identify evidence of this agenda at the intergovernmental level prior to 1988.

Identifying “Anchor Documents”

Tracking backwards from similar shifts in policy as exhibited by other nations, an exploration for documents from the appropriate timeframe that represent significant communications in the appropriate timeframe can be more effectively conducted. As stated above, the Millennium Development Goals provide strong evidence that the intergovernmental network has been collaborating to shift education policy in nations and regions around the world. The Millennium Development Goals, though, are given an origin date that corresponds with the Millennium Summit in September 2000. The agenda behind the education policy is congruent with the UN’s Education for All campaign. This campaign’s origins are dated to the World Conference on Education for All which was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. Additional research was required to find evidence prior to 1988. In order to confirm or deny the presence of a congruent reform agenda prior to 1988, the major communication documents of UNESCO and the World Bank Education Sector were sought.

UNESCO’s “Education for All” statement and subsequent conference report. Every two years, UNESCO convenes a general conference. At the general conference, member states engage in political discourse and resolutions are rejected, revised, and adopted. In 1982, there was an interruption in this annual pattern and an extraordinary session was called. The Resolutions adopted in this extraordinary session contained as part of the *Medium-Term Plan for 1984-1989* a component entitled “Major Programme II ‘Education for All.’” A scan of the document revealed that student evaluations were a key component of the strategic agenda. As such, the “Major Programme II Education for All” portion of the *General Conference Resolutions* was chosen as a second anchor document. As it was an abbreviated agenda, though, an

additional anchor document was sought to strengthen the confirmation of the presence or absence of the main agenda components of No Child Left Behind.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the discourse surrounding international education that was held by UNESCO was largely focused on the relationship between education and labor. After the Education for All program was articulated, though, the agenda shifted. At face value, the *Final Report of the International Conference on Education 39th Session* from 1984 agenda, for example, reflected the more centralized, standards based, multilateral approach called for in the Major Programme II Education for All resolution of 1982. As such, this final report published in 1984 will serve as the second intergovernmental unit of analysis for the final exploration of agenda alignment.

The World Bank's Education Sector Policy Paper. Every year, the World Bank Education Sector publishes a policy report describing its actions and intentions. In order to identify the earliest accessible evidence of a standards based reforms agenda produced by the World Bank, a document by document analysis can be performed starting in 1988 and moving backwards. In attempts to narrow down the search, information from the World Bank's website was also consulted to identify shifts in agenda prior to 1988. The Archives section of the World Bank website contained a page entitled "Records of the Education Sector." This section notes transformative years in the education sector. 1980 is highlighted as a turning point. As a result, the scan of World Bank Education Sector documents began in 1980.

The *Education Sector Policy Paper* from 1980 did, in fact, contain evaluation and data exchange as part of the main agenda. Moving backwards from this point, the earliest evidence of this agenda that could be accessed with relative ease through the World Bank archives and

traditional search engines was the 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper*. Earlier evidence may be available; however, this it is not necessary to identify the first document that contains this agenda. In fact, the parent document may be in another sector or classified or otherwise concealed entirely. This effort seeks to establish that the agenda behind No Child Left Behind originated at the intergovernmental level, and not that of the nation state. As such, the 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper* stood sufficient as an anchor document for this study.

Having identified three documents from organizations at the intergovernmental level that contain assessment as a major component of reform in the appropriate timeframe, an analysis for congruity between these agendas and that of No Child Left Behind was performed. Content analysis was applied to the “Major Programme II: Education for All” section of UNESCO’s *General Resolutions of 1982*, the *Final Report of the International Conference on Education 39th Session of 1984*, and the World Bank 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper* were analyzed in order to confirm or deny the presence of the main agenda components contained in No Child Left Behind.

Qualitative Content Analysis III: Roots of No Child Left Behind

Agenda in Significant Intergovernmental Documents

Similar to the process used in Chapter Five, a close reading of the relevant portions of the three anchor documents revealed whether or not the core agenda items presented in No Child Left Behind were also present in the documents identified. Based on the presence of similar agenda items, further analysis was conducted to reveal in greater detail congruencies

between the national agenda prescribed in No Child Left Behind and the intergovernmental agendas communicated by the World Bank and the United Nations.

Procedure and Results

Once the appropriate documents were identified, they were analyzed for congruity with the agenda components of No Child Left Behind. Qualitative content analysis was applied to the “Major Programme II: Education for All” section of UNESCO’s *General Resolutions of 1982*, the *Final Report of the International Conference on Education 39th Session of 1984*, and the World Bank 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper* in order to assess congruity between the operational components of these policies and those of No Child Left Behind. Specifically, these intergovernmental agendas were analyzed for the presence or absence of assessment, centralized\decentralized management model, and multilateralization—all three of which are key elements of the No Child Left Behind narrative. Because the World Bank and UNESCO documents also claim their efforts will serve the disadvantaged, congruities in rhetoric were also sought. The results are presented below in Tables 6-1.

**Table 6-1. Results of Qualitative Content Analysis 3
for Three “Anchor Documents”**

A. World Bank - 1980 Education Sector Policy Paper

Subcategory	Quotes
Assessment	- Because efficiency means obtaining the maximum output, both quantitative and qualitative, from given resources or given output for minimum costs, techniques for improving both quantitative efficiency and learning efficiency must be combined into a comprehensive plan. Improvements in the one tend to contribute to improvements in the other. (pg. 131)

	<p>- e) To satisfy the foregoing objectives, developing countries need to build and maintain their institutional capacities to design, analyse, manage, and evaluate programmes for education and training. (pg. 136)</p> <p>- Developing Capacity for Management in Education. Both borrowers and lenders have been preoccupied with individual projects at the expense of long-range development of national capacities to analyse, design, improve, and manage educational systems. The Bank will give focused and sustained support, within country-specific programmes that encompass efforts in sectors other than education, to programmes that seek to establish these standing capacities... (pg. 138)</p>
Multilateral	<p>- The evolving, multifaceted role of education in the development process underlines the need of every country for a more flexible, comprehensive network of provisions for education and training, diverse enough to respond to varying needs yet sufficiently unified to avoid channeling students into dead-end or inferior choices. Modes of delivering education-formal, nonformal, and informal-should not be conceived as alternatives but as complementary activities within a single system. (pg. 128)</p> <p>- a) There should be basic education for all children and adults as soon as the available resources and conditions permit. In the long term, a comprehensive system of formal and non-formal education at all levels should be developed. (pg 136)</p>
Centralized\ Decentralized	<p>- Local communities can exercise initiative and mobilise local resources, such as labour, building materials, finance and teaching talent, which might go untapped in a highly centralised system. A loosely co-ordinated system, however, may lead to such an uneven distribution of resources as to intensify the very inequities the country seeks to reduce....It is therefore important to function within an overall school location plan, combining central and decentralised planning to determine--on the basis of disaggregate demographic, geographic, social, and economic data--the distribution, size, and spacing of schools and, where possible, the kind of related facilities to be provided. (pg 130)</p> <p>- Strategies to improve management include strengthening the co-ordination among various agencies that deal with education and training, working toward a balance between centralised and decentralised decision-making. (pg 133)</p>
Rhetorical focus on the Disadvantaged	<p>- All governments have acknowledged their responsibility to provide basic education to their citizens as soon as possible, and formal primary schooling is generally the chosen vehicle for providing it to the school-age population. Enrolment ratios at all levels have increased at an unprecedented rate. The non-schooling gap (the difference between school-age populations and actual enrolment) at the primary level narrowed in countries in the two higher income categories, but not in countries at the two lower income levels. (pg. 128)</p>

B. United Nations--1982 Major Programme II: Education for All

Subcategory	Quotes
Assessment	<p>-(b) and which comprises the following sub-programmes:</p> <p>(i) Standards and general measures at the national and international levels...(pg. 17)</p>
Multilateralization	<p>-(b) and which comprises the following sub-programmes:</p> <p>(iii) Action to achieve better coordination between formal and non-formal education and greater continuity between the various parts of the education system. (pg. 17)</p>
Centralized\ Decentralized	<p>- Attaches great importance, in the implementation of this major program, to the continuation of efforts to promote international and regional co-operation and technical co-operation among developing countries and to the strengthening of local capacity to overcome problems that are regionally and culturally specific. (pg. 17)</p>
Rhetorical focus on the Disadvantaged	<p>- Education for All Recalling that, in the words of UNESCO's Constitution, 'the Organization will: . . . give fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture . . . by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social. (pg. 16)</p>

C. United Nations - 1984 Final Report of the International Conference on Education 39th Session

Subcategory	Quotes
Assessment	<p>- The International Bureau of Education, in co-operation and co-ordination with other units of UNESCO, should...(a) within the International Network for Educational Information (INED) give special attention to promoting and facilitating the exchange of information on issues of primary education... (pg.33)</p> <p>- The International Bureau of Education, in co-operation and co-ordination with other units of UNESCO, should...(b) further develop its computerized educational documentation center, and its linkages with national centres, so as to enrich the data</p>

	base with more complete information from Member States, particularly on primary education. And to make the database available in usable form to educational authorities and documentation centers in Member States. (pg.33)
Multilateralization	<p>- Primary education should be seen as a basic part of general systems of education; co-ordination and continuity in aims, content and structure between it and other stages of education should be reinforced. Wherever possible, provisions for pre-primary and for non-formal educational activities should be made available to all children. (pg. 28)</p> <p>- Co-operation at regional, subregional and international levels is an important condition for the achievement of the objectives of the universalization and renewal of primary education. Developing countries are at a great disadvantage in regards to scientific and technological progress. It is therefore important that multilateral and international cooperation should be intensified and enhanced in these fields. The increasing role of bilateral and regional cooperation should be particularly stressed – the exchange of ideas, information and materials at the subregional levels may provide an important input to the renewal process in all its aspects. (pg.32)</p>
Centralized\ Decentralized	- Appropriate measures should be taken to make educational administration more flexible and adequate with a view to achieving the goal of universalization of primary education through the best possible combination of centralized and decentralized approaches, at the discretion of each member state. (pg.30)
Rhetorical focus on the Disadvantaged	<p>- Noting that, although the right to education is generally recognized and substantial progress has been made towards its achievement at the primary level, serious disparities remain among and within countries of the world. (pg. 27)</p> <p>- In educational policies and plans relating to primary education, special attention should be paid to pupils coming from disadvantaged groups and in particular the most deprived. (pg. 28)</p>

Findings from Qualitative Content Analysis III

The agendas contained in the United Nations' and the World Bank's documents present remarkable similarities between each other and with No Child Left Behind. Both agendas call for assessment, a multilateralization, and a management style that combines both centralized and decentralized operations and tactics. Alignment in any of these categories could serve as evidence that the agenda carried in the No Child Left Behind Act reflects the cooptation of national agendas by the intergovernmental network. Furthermore, the policy narrative

presented by both the intergovernmental network and US place a rhetorical focus on the disadvantaged.

Assessment. In the previous chapter, assessment, described as components of the legislation related to testing and data collection, was revealed to be a major component of the No Child Left Behind Act. At the intergovernmental level, the same call for assessment is present, but with a slightly different administrative accent.

Where the audiences of No Child Left Behind were Congress and the organizations and voter constituencies positioned to pressure Congress, the audiences of the World Bank are those invested in a more economically centered discourse and the UN documents target national representatives engaged in political, social, and cultural discourses. From these positions, testing and data was framed not in terms of assessment and accountability, but more in terms of data collection, information exchange, and gauging the efficacy of funded projects and programs. For example, as described in the World Bank Education Sector Summary:

Both borrowers and lenders have been preoccupied with individual projects at the expense of long-range development of national capacities to analyse, design, improve, and manage educational systems. The Bank will give focused and sustained support, within country-specific programmes that encompass efforts in sectors other than education, to programmes that seek to establish these standing capacities....(pg. 138)

Echoing this interest in international data collection and exchange, the UN reports:

The International Bureau of Education, in co-operation and co-ordination with other units of UNESCO, should...(b) further develop its computerized educational documentation center, and its linkages with national centres, so as to enrich the data base with more complete information from Member States, particularly on primary education. And to make the database available in usable form to educational authorities and documentation centers in Member States. (UNESCO, 1984, pg. 33)

Allowing for nation states to promote this agenda as tailored to their own particular geopolitical contexts, the intergovernmental network encouraged policy makers to agree to creating the infrastructures and policies necessary for standardized nationwide testing and data collection. This information could then be exchanged at the intergovernmental level and used by organizations and networks at this level to inform lending and policy decisions. In the United States, this process was promoted as a solution to the achievement gap, similarly used to guide funding and policy, and translated into a discourse on accountability, flexibility, and choice.

Centralization and flexibility. In the previous chapter, analysis of relevant portions of the *Executive Summary of the No Child Left Behind Act* revealed that the management structure proposed by the legislation combined an increase in the centralization of authority coupled with an increase in the managerial responsibilities at the state and local levels. As described in the Executive Summary, “States and school districts will be granted unprecedented flexibility by this proposal in how they may spend federal education funds” (Bush, 2001, pg. 26).

At the intergovernmental level, for both the World Bank and the United Nations, this pattern of centralized and decentralized management was also an important component of their agendas. For example, the 1984 UNESCO report states, “Appropriate measures should be taken to make educational administration more flexible and adequate with a view to achieving the goal of universalization of primary education through the best possible combination of centralized and decentralized approaches, at the discretion of each member state” (UNESCO, 1984, pg 30). Similarly, the World Bank Report describes, “Strategies to improve management include strengthening the co-ordination among various agencies that deal with education and

training, working toward a balance between centralised and decentralised decision-making” (pg 133).

No Child Left Behind placed similar emphasis on flexibility, centralized control, and localized management. The increased role of central authority and standards coupled with increased subnational and local management responsibilities emerged as a key component of the agendas of the United States, the United Nations and the World Bank. This congruence lends to the argument that an alignment of agendas is present at least in the areas of educational management and implementation.

Multilateralism. Described in Chapter Two, the concept of multilateralism referred to partnerships extending beyond traditional public\governmental boundaries and into the military, private, and social sectors. In No Child Left Behind, multilateralism was exemplified in terms of an increase in private participation in public education through alternative programs and charter schools. Both the UN and the World Bank call for an increase in multilateral partnerships, but they translate this item to suit the intergovernmental dialogue. They describe them not in terms of public and private, as it is in the United States, but as formal and informal. The World Bank asserts, “In the long term, a comprehensive system of formal and non-formal education at all levels should be developed.” In the same vein, UNESCO reports that it aims to strengthen “formal and non-formal” partnerships in primary education (UNESCO, 1984, pg. 28).

Where the process of multilateralization is framed as an increase in private participation in a publically run sector, on the intergovernmental level it is described as an increase in informal participation in formal sectors, in whatever way they manifest in the political

structures of each nation. Along with data collection in the education sector and a centralized\decentralized model of managing the collection of this data, an increase in multilateral relationships revealed itself to be an important part of the agendas of the World Bank, United Nations, and United States.

Rhetorical focus on the disadvantaged. The previous chapter's analysis found that it is reasonable to assert that No Child Left Behind is not only an example of cooptation, but it is also an example of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. While it is not a requirement of agenda alignment or a study of the origins of a cooptive agenda, to align rhetorics, it is worth identifying whether or not a disadvantaged front is present in the communications of the coopting organizations.

An examination of the anchor documents from the World Bank and UNESCO revealed that there is congruity between the intergovernmental and national level in the US in narrative as well as in terms of agenda. At the intergovernmental level, gaps, the disadvantage, and absolute language such as "For All" (as compared to "No Child") were found to be present. For example, UNESCO emphasizes, "In educational policies and plans relating to primary education, special attention should be paid to pupils coming from disadvantaged groups and in particular the most deprived" (UNESCO, 1984, pg. 28). The World Bank even uses similar "gap" language reporting, "The non-schooling gap (the difference between school-age populations and actual enrolment) at the primary level narrowed in countries in the two higher income categories, but not in countries at the two lower income levels" (World Bank, 1982, pg. 128). Alignment of rhetoric and agenda further suggests that the education reform instituted in the passage of No Child Left Behind was influenced by the relationships, contracts, and dominant discourses

between the United States and the intergovernmental network as exemplified by the United Nations and the World Bank.

Conclusion

In the previous chapter, analysis revealed that No Child Left Behind could reasonably be considered an example of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. In this chapter, the strategic core of this deceptive agenda was identified in significant communications by intergovernmental organizations years before the US policy was formulated and enacted. First, I created a strategic map that can be used to capture the new expanded context. Next, a search for dominant actors at the highest levels was conducted. As a result, the United Nations and the World Bank were identified as dominant intergovernmental actors in general and in terms of education policy. A search for policy documents from these organizations that called for testing, assessment, or data collection as a main component of the agenda led to the identification of three relevant documents: the “Major Programme II: Education for All” section of UNESCO’s *General Resolutions of 1982*, the *Final Report of the International Conference on Education 39th Session of 1984*, and the World Bank *1980 Education Sector Policy Paper*. Content analysis applied to these documents attempted to confirm or disconfirm continuity between these agendas and the agenda items contained in No Child Left Behind as well as the rhetorical narrative focusing on the disadvantaged. Congruity was found in the categories of testing, centralized\decentralized management and multilateralization. Rhetorical congruity was also identified.

As such, we can reasonably assume that the agenda promoted through No Child Left Behind was designed and driven at the intergovernmental level. It can also be assumed that this agenda was not driven by the needs of the disadvantaged in the United States. In the case of No Child Left Behind, it can be reasonably assumed that organizations and networks at the intergovernmental level developed the cooptive agenda and strategy; NCLB represents the translation of this agenda to the national context in the United States.

Chapter 7

A New Understanding of No Child Left Behind in Light of the Strengths and Limitations of Cooptation with a Disadvantaged Front

There are many different interpretations of what role the school system plays in society in general, and in the United States specifically. To some, it is a system built to strengthen the minds and the character of youth and adults. To others, it generates a skilled workforce in a competitive economy. To some, it is a dysfunctional system that hinders mobility. And to others still, it is an impenetrable fortress that dismantles cultures and blocks opportunities. There are many interpretations regarding the role assessments play in the education system that have been adopted, as well. These interpretations vary according to context and evolve over time. This research supports critical observations of assessments generated from the experiences of the most disadvantaged groups.

The previous chapters challenge traditional notions that No Child Left Behind was designed in the United States, for the specific context of the US education system, and most specifically to benefit the most disadvantaged students in the nation. Generated at the intergovernmental level, translated for and reapplied by different nations around the globe, and promoted as assistance to the most disadvantaged at both levels, No Child Left Behind marks a shift in alignment between US education policy and intergovernmental economic policy. This work also assumes that, under-defended from this cooptive maneuver, the most disadvantaged students, the communities they come from, and the organizations that represent them were dealt a large blow in the efforts to advance their causes as a result of this lack of strategic defense. The passage of NCLB, then, represents a victory for the New

International Economic Order; it does not mark a victory for disadvantaged communities or the organizations that represent them.

The Evolution of the Education System: A New Political Narrative

Understanding the New International Order and No Child Left Behind's place in it, especially in light of deception and cooptation with a disadvantaged front, requires a deeper and more critical exploration of the history of education both in the United States and across the globe than is currently available. Such an exploration would have to push well past the 1989 Education Summit and the generation of the interorganizational strategic documents from the early 1980s presented in Chapter Six. It would also have to take into consideration the narratives of both dominant and nondominant communities. A more expanded and inclusive historical excursion would likely reveal themes that support the notion that the education system has developed within it substantial social sorting and containment systems that function to maintain and increase the advantage of some while replicating and deepening the disadvantage of others. It would also likely reveal that individuals and organizations with political influence have intentionally corralled and contained allies and threats using such tools as assessment to mobilize and neutralize target communities based on race, class and other social markers of identification.

While such a historical excursion is beyond the scope of this research, this work does set the stage for analysts to reimagine the context that would set the stage for the production of the intergovernmental documents highlighted in Chapter Six and the diffusion of the cooptive strategy that led to the presentation and passage of the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001. The

following passages offer a reimagined narrative that is inclusive of dominant, critical and community perspectives on education, assessment and policy. It also frames these narratives in the light of cooptation with a disadvantaged front. This brief synopsis is offered as a narrative anchor that other analysts and historians can confirm, refute or refine according to their expertise. It is also offered as a tangible assertion that the exclusion of nondominant critical narratives produced by the least advantaged and supradominant strategies produced by the most advantaged is inappropriate in attempts to support or counter this work. Future researchers are encouraged to use this narrative to expand the understanding of No Child Left Behind, and the education system as a whole, in light of cooptation with a disadvantaged front from the perspectives of the most disadvantaged communities in the United States and around the globe.

Re-Imagining the Deep Historical Context for the NCLB Policy and its Intergovernmental Predecessors

All too often it is forgotten that that advanced people, groups, societies, governments and networks existed in the geopolitical terrain currently described as the United States of America long before the arrival of the Europeans. Originally called Turtle Island by the indigenous nations and networks that governed and cultivated North America prior to being conquered by European nations, the land was not wild, sparsely inhabited or underdeveloped. Tens of millions of people and hundreds of tribes, cultures and languages would have to be killed, destroyed and silenced through generations of warfare, hundreds of millions of dollars of military spending, and multiple waves of political and social containment strategies before the Europeans could claim the land as their own (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Among the social systems

that were destroyed and reshaped to suit the needs of the European colonizers was education. European models were and would remain markedly different, and often opposed, to indigenous methods of learning and knowledge exchange.

European models of education were and are largely shaped by the military, economic, political, and social interests of the most dominant groups. These interests often work in direct political opposition to those of other actors on the political field – most specifically those targeted for extermination, enslavement, exploitation, and assimilation. In the early days of the colonies, for example, education was largely a function of the church and the family (Kaestle, 1983). The education system, as a result, was stratified and organized according to the social delineations enforced by the dominant religious community.

Students were given different forms of instruction depending on class, race, gender, degree of physical and mental divergence, religious affiliation and age. Unlike intergenerational models of learning employed by indigenous cultures, for example, European models of education created divisions of learning according to age. Upper class students received training in literacy, arts and science while lower class students were trained in skills of labor through apprenticeships (Kaestle, 1983). Females were trained in different skills with different methods than males. Women were encouraged to become proficient in domestic skills while simultaneously being discouraged from pursuing higher education (Thelin, 2004). Missionaries educated indigenous students for different reasons using different methods than those applied to European Christian students (Reyhner, 2004). Slaves, servants, the deeply impoverished, and the physically and mentally divergent were similarly dissuaded from more privileged educational tracks, and were often excluded altogether (Donato, 2007). From the beginning, the

education system was intentionally stratified, used to target and classify minority and dominant groups, and rooted in white, Christian values.

As the nation itself began to solidify as its own entity, so did the education system. In the 1820s and 1830s, cultural warfare between the Protestants and the Catholics and political interest in developing an educational model developed out of European models of education contributed to what would be called the Common School Reform Movement and the opening of the first public high school, Boston English (Kaestle, 1983). As the institutionalization of coordinated systems of education solidified, so did the social stratification in education specifically, and in society in general. Ultimately, the contention between lines of stratification and the authority to design those political boundaries in the United States contributed to the Civil War.

Reconstruction after the Civil War, like the birth of the nation was, in many ways, made real through policy. In 1867 and 1868, the Reconstruction Acts were passed, and the Department of Education was created. Modeled after national institutions of education administration in Europe, the functions of the Department of Education involved gathering statistics and information regarding the development of school systems nationwide. This information was to be used by Congress to inform policy (Department of Education, 2012). In 1869, the Department would lose its independent status, undergo one of many name changes and be reorganized under the Department of Interior, but it would never be removed from the federal system entirely.

The turn of the century marked a major advancement in the evolution of education assessment: the invention of the IQ test. Originally developed in France in 1905 and the

translated in English and termed the Binet-Simon test for use in the United States, this assessment was developed to identify differences degrees of mental divergences in school age children (Becker, 2003). This test gained popularity in the psychological community. It also garnered the attention of the US government and military.

Faced with the task of assessing and sorting millions of recruits to fight in the first World War, the US government contracted a researcher from Stanford University by the name of Lewis Terman to develop a translation of the Binet-Simon test to suit a wartime context. The Stanford-Binet test resulted and was ultimately used to assess and sort approximately 1.7 million military recruits (United States Army Medical Service Corps, Date Unknown). The following year, The Army Alpha and Beta exams would be developed by Robert Yerkes and used to evaluate and sort an additional 1.5 million recruits (Sellman, 2004; The Official Site of the ASVAB Program, Date Unknown).

In 1926, Yerkes' assistant, Carl Brigham, was commissioned by the College Board to develop an assessment similar to the Army Alpha exam that could be applied to high school students in the college recruitment pool. In response, Brigham translated the Army Alpha exam to suit this new context and the Standard Aptitude Test, or SAT, was born (Ballantyne, 2002). It was almost immediately administered to high school students across the nation and proved to be such an effective sorting tool that Harvard adopted it in 1930. The rest of the Ivy League soon followed suit.

Harvard developed a particularly strong relationship with assessments and the movement to expand their use nationwide. Institutionalizing his belief in a "natural aristocracy," then president James Bryan Conant had already adopted SAT tests as part of the

university's admissions process. Promoting meritocracy over birthright in higher education, his goal was to disrupt the focus on wealth and legacy in the admissions process in favor of a system that would "use the power of government to reorder the haves and have nots every generation to give flux to our schools social order" (Guinier, 2003). Harvard's reputation of sorting and classifying students in the name of meritocracy often crossed the line into anti-Semitism, though. Conant and Harvard worked in collaboration with Nazi academics and Universities and both had been described as anti-Semitic (Reisman, 2013).

In 1944, though, the Army and Navy contracted Chauncey to conduct a screening of military recruits towards the end of the War. That year, using the SAT exam, he screened 300,000 in one day, thus conducting the first nationwide SAT exam. In 1947, Chauncey would leave Harvard to found the Educational Testing Service (ETS). Today, ETS is "the world's largest private educational testing and measurement organization" (ETS, 2014). In this way, a military sorting tool developed by open racists in the education system was adopted to sort and classify students in the public education system in the United States.

The Emergence of the New International Economic Order After World War II

The re-imagined historical narrative describing the development of a stratification and containment-oriented education system in the United States, as well as the evolution of assessments in relation to this system, offers a plausible and supportive backdrop to course of events that led to the intergovernmental agendas behind and the production of the documents examined in Chapter Six. The New International Economic Order that ultimately dominated the global political and economic theaters can be described as being largely influenced by the

economic and political needs of the Allied Nations after World War II. These needs would alter the shapes and policies of systems, sectors and nations worldwide for decades to come.

Included in these reforms would be education systems and policies across the globe. The education system of the United States and the policies that structure it would be no exception.

By the end of World War II, a new structure for intergovernmental interaction was developed and institutions were created to support and direct these new relationships. In 1943, representatives from 44 allied nations met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire for the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, also known as the Bretton Woods Conference. At this meeting the seeds from which the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund would grow were planted. The following year, the United Nations was officially and tasked with promoting “international cooperation and peace” (United Nations, Date Unknown). Strategies of economic and political containment once again replaced those of direct warfare. The implementation of containment maneuvers for the purposes of European reconstruction was soon carried over into the US government’s strategy to contain the spread of communism.

As active warfare at the intergovernmental level cooled momentarily, internal conflicts in the US heated up. The 1950s brought with it McCarthyism, the Termination Act of 1953 and the landmark civil rights case *Brown versus the Board of Education*, while the latter half of the decade was marked by Civil Disobedience, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and the National Defense Education Act. Boycotts, the expansion of voter protection, and increasing federal support for education in light of Sputnik all contributed to the increased influence of federal authority in the national education system.

As people from disadvantaged communities launched efforts to protect their communities from exclusion through assessment in the United States, the promotion of assessments as a tool to advance equality at the intergovernmental levels gained momentum in other sectors. Economic focus turned away from the reconstruction of European countries and towards the development of what was labeled “low income” nations. Organizations to facilitate this shift in agenda soon followed. The International Development Association was created within the World Bank to “provide ‘soft loans’ to developing countries.” These loans would ultimately be tied to assessment standards set for lending in every sector, including education (World Bank, 2012).

In the United States, transition, volatility, and attempts to monitor and manage both through increased centralized involvement continued to characterize the sociopolitical landscape. The desegregation of the education system through *Brown versus the Board of Education* paved the way for desegregation of public facilities as a whole through the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The following year, as part of the War on Poverty, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed. This piece of legislation would solidify federal involvement in education in general, and in the education of disadvantaged communities specifically. It would also be reauthorized in 2001 as the No Child Left Behind Act. Gap focused from its inception, rhetorical goals at that time included closing “skill gaps” in areas such as reading, writing and math.

Expansion and redirection at both the national and intergovernmental level in the 1950s and 1960s was not without its consequences, and in the 1970s both levels entered a period of crisis. The beginning of the decade ushered in with Nixon Shock and his suspension of gold

convertability. These strategic maneuvers led to the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system (US Department of State Office of the Historian, 2013), and in many ways marked the end of the reconstruction period. The following year, the World Bank reorganized to accommodate this shift. 1974 saw a rise in tensions between the West and the Middle East. That year, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Countries (APEC) launched an oil embargo and the global stock market crashed. It would take Western economies decades to recover.

That same year, the Bretton Woods Monetary system was replaced with what was coined the “New International Economic Order” (1974) at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The new system, described in the “Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order,” (1974) included wider multilateral cooperation, a combination of centralized and decentralized management strategies, assessment, and a focus on the disadvantaged. For example, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which outlines in detail how the strategic goals of the New International Economic Order should be translated to specific national and sectoral contexts, reads, “At the national level, each developing country will, where appropriate, establish evaluation machinery or strengthen the existing one and, whenever necessary, seek international assistance for this purpose. Particular attention will be devoted to improving and strengthening national programming and statistical services” (United Nations, 1970).

Assessments, Cooptation, and the New World International Economic Order

In the context of the New World International Economic Order, the specific elements of the cooptive agenda that precedes No Child Left Behind begin to emerge. To complement the

documents calling for a New International Economic Order, in 1981, the United Nations International Scientific Information System (UNISIST) released its *Guidelines for Developing and Implementing a National Plan for Training and Education in Information*. This document opens by stating that “the aims of these guidelines is not to give the reader a ready-made statement of policy, but to offer a systematic means of analyzing the whole process of planning, implementation and evaluation. The guidelines present a framework which can be adapted to meet local needs and circumstances” (PAGE ref.). Taking a strategic approach, this document details how to translate unified goals at the intergovernmental level into strategies, operations and tactics that were specific to the environmental context of each nation. Further, this document outlines the preferred structure for the management of the agenda—cooptation. It states:

...the lack of a national policy or plan should not be regarded as a deterrent to action on the part of individuals or professional groups who wish to make a start in this field. UNESCO has already produced a manual on the Education and training of users of scientific and technical information and the expertise gained through use of this manual could be valuable in the process of developing a plan.

A small nucleus of permanent members with power to co-opt others for specified purposes and periods of time is the most appropriate kind of structure. The nucleus should consist of representatives of the key organizations concerned with the development of policy - the focal agency itself, government departments responsible for scientific and technical policy, and leaders in the professional field. The selection of co-opted members will depend upon the stage reached by the committee: for example, at the stage of enumerating goals representatives of professional societies and academic institutions may be co-opted, whereas at the data gathering stage representatives of priority user-groups may be needed and at the action-planning stages specialists in educational methods may be wanted.” (UNISIST, 1981)

While members of the US were integral in the development and implementation of the New International Economic Order and its translation into varying national and sectoral contexts, its adoption in the education system was not immediate. It would take some time to make the adjustments necessary to successfully coopt Congress and its constituents. For example, a portion of Ronald Reagan's platform during his 1980 presidential campaign included the abolishment of the Department of Education which Jimmy Carter had successfully legislated into being a year earlier (Republican Party Platform, 1980). While he failed to abolish the Department of Education entirely, he did succeed in dramatically defunding it with the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act. He also withdrew the United States from participation from UNESCO in response to disagreements over intergovernmental relations (Weiler, 1986). All of these factors served as barriers of implementation to the policies prescribed by the New International Economic Order.

The intergovernmental agenda was not without support, though. Further, the chain of events that by which the ideas contained in the intergovernmental agendas may have made their way into federal reform policy in the United States offers a valuable glimpse into the mechanisms of the cooptive process and the relationship between intergovernmental and national reform policies. For example, while the president and his administration worked to decrease the influence and expansion of the federal education system, the Secretary of Education mobilized to counter this agenda. To this end, Secretary Terrell Bell formed a commission of 18 members from the public and private sectors to evaluate the quality of the national education system. The result was the cornerstone report *A Nation at Risk* (1983). This report used SAT scores to highlight inefficiencies in the education system, included standards

and expectations as a key component of its reform recommendations, specified disadvantaged subgroups to be targeted for adjustments, and set the stage for what would be a formally articulated and institutionalized national reform agenda that included all these elements. This report set the stage for future advancements of federal involvement and assessments in the education system in the United States.

As a result of the *Nation at Risk* report, Secretary Bell created a “Wall Chart” that ranked the states on the basis of indicators such as SAT scores and per pupil spending. Popular among politicians and members of the media alike, the Wall Chart release became an annual press event through which the Department of Education could communicate both intent and agenda (Vinovskis, 1999). The growing popularity of state rankings facilitated the passage of the Hawkins-Stafford School Improvement Amendments and the establishment of the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB). Hawkins-Stafford served to the increase of federal funding for Title I schools in exchange for proof of measurable gains in student achievement. There were no specific demographics targeted, but federal funds were formally being tied to the achievement of disadvantaged students. That same year, the National Assessment Governing Board was established “for the expressed purpose of making NAEP more responsive to the interests and concerns of various constituencies” (U.S. Department of Education NY State Archives. Date Unknown.). Subsequently, despite the initial attempts to dissolve the Department of Education by the Reagan administration, the ties between assessment and education strengthened further during his presidency.

The movement to advance the use of assessments gained further momentum with the ascendance of Reagan’s Vice President, George HW Bush, to the office of the presidency. In

1988, Bush campaigned to be the “Education President.” A veteran of the US Navy, a successful oil tycoon, a Yale alumni member, and the former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Bush was supportive of and strategically engaged in the efforts to translate quantitative methods applied in the military and economic sectors to more qualitatively managed sectors such as education.

In rhetoric that closely echoes, or foreshadows, that used by his son over a decade later, in his 1989 State of the Union Address, Bush Sr. states:

When students actually have trouble locating America on a map of the world, it is time for the US to map a new approach to education. We must reward excellence and cut through bureaucracy. We must help schools that need the help the most. We must give choice to parents, students, teachers and principals; and we must hold all concerned accountable (Bush, 1989).

While his agenda fell in line with the intergovernmental community’s strategy to create centralized national education knowledge transfer and monitoring points, Bush was unable to effectively coopt Congress as suggested by UNISIST – although his rhetorical attempt to mobilize an “Education Congress” (Bush, 1989) suggests an effort to implement this strategy. Unable to motivate Congress to pass his education reform agenda, Bush turned to a national, rather than a federal, coalition of political authorities – the National Governor’s Board. In 1989, Bush convened the governors in Charlottesville, North Carolina for an Education Summit in efforts to advance his education agenda. It is at this meeting, 1989 Education Summit, that the traditional origin story for No Child Left Behind begins. Bush, Sr. was unable to garner enough Congressional support to pass his education goals, but he was able to make significant strategic advances by mobilizing the governors, holding the 1989 Education Summit and forming the National Education Goals Panel and the National Council on Education Standards. These

advances, in the contexts of this expanded narrative of the historical development of No Child Left Behind and the reorganization of the intergovernmental network after World War II, while not successful in strategic implementation, functioned to increase the likelihood that the intergovernmental agenda would be able to be passed through another administration.

Where the US was still struggling to adjust its political system to facilitate the strategic agendas of the United Nations, the World Bank, and the New International Economic Order, other allied members and nations were not experiencing the same difficulties. As described in Chapter Six, by 1989, nations such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom had already adopted and implemented the prescribed adjustments. By 1990, the delegates of the UNESCO World Conference on Education came together in Jomtien, Thailand, to adopt the “Education for All” agenda (UNESCO, 1990). This agenda is presently found in the Millennium Development Goals. And while the US was still withdrawn from UNESCO, the goals and rhetorical narratives of both the Education for All agenda and the No Child Left Behind Act exhibit remarkable similarities.

The Clinton presidency did not succeed in aligning the education system in the United States with the goals of the interorganizational network and the New International Economic Order, but it did manage to make important contributions to the evolution of the process. In his 1990 State of the Union Address, Bush, Sr., shared this goal focused agenda with the nation and used rhetoric that tied education goals to the global economy, security and performance. He also thanked a number of people for their support and collaborative efforts in developing goals for the education system by name. One of these people was the Governor of Arkansas and active member of the Southern Regional Education Board – Bill Clinton.

Clinton's support marked the exhibition of bipartisan support for advancing the intergovernmental agenda; however, it was not immune to bipartisan politics. Suffering the same inability to align Congress with the presidential administration, Clinton was unable to coopt Congress, as suggested by UNISIST strategists, even though dominant players in both the Republican and Democratic parties theoretically supported the agenda.

Clinton was able to succeed in passing the Goals 2000: Educate America Act in 1996. In doing so, he was able to fund the development of standards; however, he was not successful in legislating their implementation as a federal requirement nationwide. In his 1999 state of the Union address, Clinton outlined a five-point plan to formally require all states and school districts to implement standards by proposing the Education Accountability Act (Clinton, 1999). Clinton's efforts to coopt Congress and its constituencies into the passage of this legislation again, though, were unsuccessful. As a result, by the end of his term, the efforts to federally legislate standardization and assessment in the US Education System were not yet achieved.

Federally legislated student assessments would not be mandated or conducted until George W. Bush would take office. In 2000, Bush would take office. His first act as president was to promote the passage of No Child Left Behind. In 2001 the act was passes and in 2002, standardized federal testing was implemented nationwide. The following year, the United States rejoined UNESCO.

Having summarized a plausible sequence of events that reflects the deep historical roots of educational stratification and containment in the United States as well as the post-War intergovernmental economic and political contexts, this narrative offers a way of visualizing how a cooptive agenda that advances the needs of the most advantaged populations in the

world in the name of the most disadvantaged could have emerged in the United States in the early twenty-first century. While this work cannot offer a full and formal examination of these historical processes, it does seek to offer a way of understanding No Child Left Behind in the context of intergovernmental agendas, with respect for critical narratives, in light of cooptation with a disadvantaged front, supported by sources and documents that are accessible to classical and community researchers alike.

Alternative Explanations

The account just presented is not the only way of understanding nature or emergence of the No Child Left Behind agenda. The above narrative of the evolution of assessment in the education system, most recently and pervasively reflected in the design and diffusion of the No Child Left Behind policy, was produced by synthesizing historical timelines of disadvantaged groups in the United States, traditional narratives in the field of education policy research, critical interpretations of the dominant narrative, the influence and evolution of the modern intergovernmental network, poverty pimping theory and cooptation theory. This narrative carries with it the assumptions that there is a relationship of influence between the United States and the intergovernmental network, that assessments were designed to identify and support sorting and segregation (not close gaps or confront barriers), and that the federalization of standardized tests in the United States reflects a political effort rooted in the advancement of the agendas of the most advantaged, not the least advantaged. Alternative explanations for the strategic meaning behind and federal emergence of the No Child Left

Behind reform agenda and the rhetoric of the disadvantaged that carried it — can be provided, though.

For example, it could be argued that the reforms were, in fact, designed to benefit the disadvantaged and underdeveloped communities, however, these reforms just failed to produce the intended outcome. There are a number of ways this interpretation falls short, though. As described in Chapter Five, when applying the strategic map, it is clear that the strategic beneficiaries of the No Child Left Behind Act are not the disadvantaged, despite rhetorical claims. Strategic theorists would likely counter this argument on that basis. Critical and community theorists with expertise in self determination could argue that there was a clear lack of representation of people, organizations, and networks that represent the disadvantaged in the design process. As a result, efforts were made to exclude these communities from asserting agendas that would benefit the advancement of their causes. This demonstrates efforts to restrict political participation, not increase it. Critical and community theorists could also argue that the advancement of Civil Rights has most frequently called for the undoing of assessment processes, not their implementation. In terms of deception strategy, while undoubtedly there were and are many people who believed in the rhetoric presented and were working under the notion that these measures could help disadvantaged students, it would be argued that at the highest strategic levels, the intent was to benefit the advantaged in the economic and political spheres and deception was used to convince people with both “good” and “bad” intent to advance this agenda.

Another alternative explanation that could be made in favor of the implementation of standardized assessments nationwide is that assessments are necessary to evaluate problems.

This argument is also weakened by a number of factors. At the broadest levels, assessments can provide interesting information; however, it is how that information is used and the qualitative meaning that is creative around it that decide the functions of quantitative work. Quantitatively, assessments might provide interesting insights into which students, schools and states are the most marginalized geographically, which socioeconomic characteristics are used by society to create disadvantage as evidenced by the education system, or what areas the most racist or classist curriculums and instructors come from just as easily as it can be said that they measure student achievement.

As described previously, literacy tests have been used to prevent political participation, while SAT tests have been used to stratify participation in the higher education system. Critical theorists familiar with these histories will also likely be familiar with research that suggests that the tests themselves are inherently biased. According to this argument, they are structured, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to benefit people from dominant communities, such as affluent white Christians. As such, they do not effectively measure student ability, but rather a student's ability to reflect cultural characteristics of the dominant class.

Again, failing to exclude the histories of those that assessments have been used against in military, economic, political, and social contexts, these assessments are understood as not only a measurement of disadvantage, but a tool with which to reinforce it. Under either premise, it is difficult to assert that assessments could be beneficial in closing the achievement gap even though at face value, evaluation may seem like a logical step towards that goal. All research, quantitative or qualitative, has limitations. These limitations make the implementation of quantitative methods across the board without consideration for these

histories, applications and qualitative interpretations is both inappropriate by traditional research standards, and dangerous for the disadvantaged that they target. As a result, this work argue that No Child Left Behind is likely to create achievement fences; it will not close achievement gaps.

Limitations and Future Work

This work is intentionally inclusive of groups traditionally excluded from traditional research dialogues and processes, and while it synthesizes a number of previously detached fields, this research leaves a wide variety of questions unanswered and opens many doors for the exploration of new questions.

As described and demonstrated previously, this analysis sought to identify the highest level of policy at which the strategy for the reforms behind No Child Let Behind were generated. It does not ultimately identify the parent organization(s) or document(s) of this strategy. This work stops with the 1980 World Bank Policy sector reports, but it points to the likelihood that the education sector reforms were part of larger reforms generated in a more quantitatively focused field such as economics. The process described here in Chapters Four, Five, and Six can be used to anchor deeper explorations into the strategy documents in education and from other sectors in the intergovernmental field.

In addition to conducting analysis in other sectors to identify similar shifts in the appropriate timeframe, policy borrowing researchers can also examine reforms in other countries for similar characteristics. As described previously, shifts in education agendas after the introduction of the agenda for the New International Economic Order occurred in the

United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia. Analysts may be able to reveal important information by examining similarities and differences in areas such as design, rhetoric, implementation and resistance. Comparing these agendas to those at the intergovernmental level is also desirable. Cooptation theorists may also be encouraged to expand the knowledge base surrounding the use of informal cooptation methods to advance formal cooptation processes in varying contexts.

More work can also be done to highlight the efforts of organizations that were and are engaged in the defensive battle against the implementation of these efforts. While great care should be taken not to expose strategic vulnerabilities of disadvantaged groups, classically trained researchers should be able to identify resistance organizations and find ways to put their own agendas aside in order to support the work of these organizations. Self determination theorists and practitioners may also be able to build off of this work in order to prevent outside groups from supposing an offensive posture in the name of disadvantaged groups and redirecting them towards a more appropriate, defensive posture.

Why This Work Is Important

Individuals, groups, organizations, and networks working on behalf of the most disadvantaged groups have been unable to create the offensive momentum necessary or the defensive fortitude needed to advance their own agendas and prevent the advancement of strategies designed to advance the agendas of opposing networks. While this strategic presentation does not reflect the human cost of these failures, it should always be kept in mind that in this area of political participation, lives are lost, communities are disbanded, and families

are destroyed on the basis of our failures and inefficiencies. The current state of inequity in the United States and around the globe demands a readjustment of reform strategies at every level in response to the adjustment of containment strategies produced by the dominant organizational influences nationally and internationally. The disadvantaged are losing at consistent rates in consistent ways. Countless lives are being lost and degraded as a result. This work seeks to contribute to the process of turning this tide by:

- 1) Pointing reformers towards documents and political communications that will enable them to interact with political agendas well before implementation has been achieved in the diffusion process.
- 2) Redirecting privileged researchers away from processes geared at generating solutions in the name of disadvantaged groups and towards processes by which they can use their skills and positions to defend the disadvantaged in the assertion of their own agendas and from the advancement of opposing agendas of more advantaged actors.
- 3) Seeking to ensure that policy analysts do not contribute to the diffusion of deceptive policies by asserting that without formally employing a process by which deception can be confirmed or denied, they cannot claim validity in a field where deception is common practice.
- 4) Providing a practical framework through which such validity could be established.
- 5) Confronting the exclusion of people from the most disadvantaged communities and practitioners without classical research training from

working collaboratively as equals in the research process theoretically, conceptually and methodologically.

- 6) Directly asking for assistance from all reformers to begin identifying and confronting cooptation with a disadvantaged front.

With new languages, strategic frames of reference, conceptual frameworks, and collaborative formats, this work seeks to contribute to a more collaborative and strategically effective approach to reform for the benefit of the disadvantaged. The diagnostic tools provided in the previous chapters and the narrative asserted in this chapter strive to create a space that encourages researchers to identify core issues that need to be confronted, as well as important points of leverage at which counterstrategies can be applied. It does not, however, advance its own solutions. Solutions must be generated with the assistance of additional dialogues and analysis – by the most appropriate community experts. It is the hope of this researcher that the solutions generated are more effective because of the influence of information gathered through collaborative strategic analysis, like the process reflected in these pages.

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Appendix A

	AchR	AchM	% PO'	Engl	%B	#B	%H	# H	%NA	#NA	%2+	#s2+
1	MA	MN	NH	CA	MS	TX	NM	CA	AK	CA	HI	CA
2	NH	MA	MN	TX	LA	NY	CA	TX	NM	OK	CA	TX
3	VT	MT	MD	NY	SC	GA	TX	NY	HI	AZ	NM	NY
4	MT	ND	NJ	FL	GA	FL	AZ	FL	SD	NM	TX	IL
5	ND	NH	CT	IL	MD	CA	NV	IL	OK	TX	AZ	FL
6	SD	VT	DE	NJ	AL	IL	CO	AZ	MT	WA	NV	AZ
7	CO	SD	NV	AZ	NC	NC	FL	NJ	AZ	HI	NY	NJ
8	IO	CT	IO	MA	VA	LA	NY	NM	ND	NC	CO	WA
9	MA	IO	AK	GA	DE	MD	NJ	CO	WY	AK	NJ	CO
10	MN	KS	WI	WA	TN	MI	IL	WA	NV	NY	RI	MA
11	NJ	WI	VA	PA	NY	AL	CT	GA	ID	SD	IL	NM
12	VA	WY	IN	NC	AR	VA	UT	MA	OR	FL	NJ	PA
13	CT	CO	PA	CO	IL	OH	RI	PA	CA	MI	WA	MI
14	MO	ME	UT	VA	FL	PA	OR	NV	NC	MN	OR	GA
15	OH	NE	CO	MI	MI	SC	ID	NC	CO	MT	AK	VA
16	WY	OH	KS	CT	NJ	NJ	WA	VA	MN	OR	OK	NC
17	IL	VA	WY	MD	OH	MS	HI	MI	KS	WI	CT	HI
18	KS	IN	NE	NV	TX	TN	KS	CT	WI	CO	UT	OH
19	KY	NJ	MO	OH	MO	MO	MA	OR	AR	UT	ID	OK
20	NE	NC	MA	OR	PA	IN	WY	MD	TX	NV	MA	OR
21	WI	OR	VY	NM	CT	AR	NE	OH	LA	IL	KS	NV
22	DE	UT	OH	MN	IN	MA	GA	UT	ME	ND	FL	CT
23	IN	WA	SD	WI	OK	CT	OK	IN	MI	MO	NE	MD
24	NY	ID	RI	IN	KY	WI	DE	WI	RI	OH	WY	IN
25	ID	NY	MI	HI	NV	KY	NC	KS	AL	LA	VA	KS
26	MI	AK	HI	UT	CA	OK	VA	OK	MO	KS	GA	WI

27	OR	MO	WA	TN	KS	WA	MD	MN	FL	GA	MD	MN
28	PA	PN	IL	KS	WI	CO	AK	TN	GA	VA	DE	UT
29	UT	MD	OR	OK	MA	AZ	WI	MO	MS	AL	MI	MO
30	WA	DE	ME	LA	RI	KS	IN	LA	NY	NJ	MN	TN
31	MD	IL	ID	MO	NE	DE	MI	ID	VT	PA	IN	LA
32	NC	SC	ND	RI	CO	NV	PA	SC	VA	AR	SC	RI
33	OK	TX	GA	SC	MN	NY	AR	NE	CT	ID	MO	SC
34	RI	MI	FL	IO	AK	MN	MN	HI	DE	IN	MT	LA
35	WV	KY	CA	NE	WV	IO	IO	RI	IN	MD	WI	AR
36	TX	OK	NC	AR	WA	WV	LA	AR	IO	MA	AR	AL
37	AR	RI	KY	AL	AZ	MT	SC	IO	MD	TN	PA	NE
38	GA	AZ	AZ	KY	IO	OR	MO	AL	SC	DE	IO	ID
39	SC	FL	SC	ID	NM	RI	MT	KY	TN	NE	OH	KY
40	TN	WV	MT	MS	HI	NM	TN	MS	IL	SC	TN	AK
41	FL	GA	NY	DE	OR	HI	OH	DE	KY	MS	SC	MS
42	AL	NV	TN	NH	UT	AK	NH	WY	MA	WY	KY	DE
43	AZ	TN	AL	AK	WY	UT	AL	AK	NH	CT	LO	MT
44	MS	CA	OK	ME	NH	NH	KY	NH	NJ	KY	SD	NH
45	AL	AR	TX	SD	ND	ME	SD	MS	OH	IO	NH	WV
46	LA	HI	WV	ND	SD	ID	ND	WV	UT	ME	AL	ME
47	NV	LA	LA	MT	VT	SD	MT	SD	VT	WV	ND	SD
48	NM	NM	MS	WV	ME	ND	WV	ME	WA	RI	VT	ND
49	CA	AL	NM	VT	ID	WY	VT	ND	WV	NH	ME	VT
50	HI	MS	AR	WY	MT	VT	WY	VT	PA	VY	MS	WY