Shadow Elite of Teacher Education Reforms: Intermediary Organizations' Construction of Accountability Regimes

Elena Aydarova[1] ⓘD

Abstract

In the 2010s, teacher education witnessed the rise of accountability regimes. Studies examining efforts to introduce teacher preparation accountability focused predominantly on federal or state actors, leaving the involvement of intermediary organizations in the construction of these regimes largely underexplored. To address this gap, I analyze nonprofit and for-profit actors' advocacy for teacher preparation accountability. Using the tools of anthropology of policy and social network analysis, I demonstrate that these actors' success rests on their ability to work together as a flex net, or a collective that pursues a shared vision and pools together resources to accomplish a common agenda.

The emergence of neoliberal educational governance (Ball & Junemann, 2012) spurred the growth of intermediary organizations (IOs)—nonprofits, think-tanks, and advocacy groups—and increased their influence on

[1]Auburn University, Auburn, AL, USA

Corresponding Author:
Elena Aydarova, Assistant Professor of Social Foundations, Auburn University, 4002 Haley Center, Auburn, AL 36849-5412, USA.
Email: eza0029@auburn.edu

educational policies. With support from venture philanthropies (Reckhow, 2013; Tompkins-Stange, 2016), intermediary organizations networks (IONs) have been instrumental in producing and disseminating research to advance agendas of K-12 school vouchers, choice, and charter schools (Lubienski et al., 2016). As Scott and Jabbar (2014) observed, venture philanthropies have not only provided the funding for these policy activities but also set agendas and supported research dissemination. The influence of IOs on policymaking has grown so much over time that "federal, state, and local policymakers are granting them both authority and financial resources to carry out policy agendas" (Scott et al., 2017, p. 26). Operating as "quasi-policymakers," "they not only take the function of advocate[s] for reforms, but they are also counted on to execute semi-formal policy roles, such as the administration of federally funded initiatives" (DeBray et al., 2014, p. 202). Despite their growing influence, however, IONs' policy activities have been largely invisible to the public or even professional communities (deMarrais et al., 2019), particularly in their efforts to revamp the professional preparation of teachers in higher education settings.

Groups representing competing priorities over reform directions have long vied for power in the teacher education policy landscape (Wilson, 2014). Prior research studies focusing on the activities of external actors—such as philanthropies or intermediary organizations—raised alarm about ongoing attacks on university-based teacher education (Weiner, 2007; Zeichner, 2010) and the rise of alternative routes into teaching (Lubienski & Brewer, 2019). A growing line of work has explored how external actors argue that the quality of teacher education can be improved through deregulation and privatization (Aydarova, 2019; Weiner, 2007; Wilson, 2014; Zeichner & Conklin, 2016; Zeichner & Peña-Sandoval, 2015). For example, the NewSchools Venture Fund has promoted "deregulation and privatization in K-12 teacher and leader education so that there will be room for the new programs it funds," such as Teach for America, Relay Graduate School of Education, and The New Teacher Project (Zeichner & Peña-Sandoval, 2015). Supported by funding from venture philanthropies, these proposals have gained foothold through "knowledge ventriloquism" and "echo chamber" effects, which create a system where policy advocates consistently cite a small set of studies to promote a narrow reform agenda (Zeichner & Conklin, 2016). Yet the influence of intermediary organizations has extended beyond advocacy for alternative routes (Aydarova & Berliner, 2018; Cochran-Smith et al., 2016). In recent years, these groups began to advocate for a complete redesign of teacher education through accountability reforms.

Despite concerns about limited empirical evidence supporting the establishment of accountability regimes (Feuer et al., 2013), a number of initiatives promoting outcomes-based teacher preparation accountability dominated

policy conversations in the last 10 years. Tennessee (Gulosino, 2018) and Louisiana (Fleener & Exner, 2011) were among the first states that implemented accountability systems based on value-added measures to identify low-performing teacher education programs and to report publicly these programs' ratings. Subsequently, during the Obama administration, Race to the Top funds were used to get the states to set up accountability systems linking the performance of K-12 students, their teachers, and the programs that prepared those teachers (Lewis & Young, 2013).

In 2014, the Department of Education issued a proposal for federal regulations for teacher preparation programs. The proposal called for evaluating programs based on value-added measures of K-12 students' learning taught by programs' graduates, holding programs accountable for graduates' employment in schools, and taking away programs' ability to award TEACH grants if they were found to be ineffective (Office of the Federal Register, 2016). Multiple objections from teacher educators, educational researchers, teachers, students, and higher education professionals in general resulted in minor modifications of this proposal. After 2 years of debate, these regulations were approved by the Department of Education but ultimately vetoed by the President because they were perceived as the federal government's overreach (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018). Despite this seeming victory for the teacher education community that fought against the introduction of these regulations, battles over accountability requirements moved from the federal to the state level. Even with significant variability in how states responded, increased teacher preparation accountability requirements with many of the same measures went into effect across a number of states, including Georgia, Illinois, and Massachusetts, with many more states engaged in the development of new systems.

This raises the question about the forces that facilitated the spread of these reforms. Prior analyses of teacher preparation accountability proposals were based on the assumption that policy actors were operating on distinct policy levels and targeted audiences with different messages (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Floden, 2017). While some scholars examined the influences of intermediary organizations on conceptualizing teacher preparation accountability (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Floden, 2017; Lewis & Young, 2013), no analysis to-date has looked at the way in which IONs worked together to accomplish this agenda—a gap that this paper seeks to address. Drawing on Wedel's (2009) work on shadow elite, I conceptualize IONs as flex nets, or a collective that pursues a shared vision and pools together resources to accomplish a common agenda. Overall, this paper pursues answers to the following research questions: What organizations and individuals belong to flex nets that steer teacher education accountability reforms? What agendas do these IOs pursue?

How do they create consensus around teacher preparation accountability measures? What network resources do they mobilize?

In what follows, I analyze activities of several intermediary organizations that between 2010 and 2018 participated in advancing the agenda of teacher preparation accountability. My goal is to demonstrate that the rise of accountability regimes in teacher education is facilitated by the collective nature of these organizations' endeavors. I argue that a concerted effort on their part to create consensus around measures they selected and build coalitions to promote their policy agendas increases the impact of their work, whereas the intentional focus on reaching policymakers facilitates the spread of these proposals as actual reforms. Blurred boundaries between nonprofit, state, and private sectors allow IO actors to amass material, informational, and relational resources to advance their agendas despite seeming opposition to the measures they propose from the educational community.

Conceptual Framework

I draw on Wedel's (2009) concept of shadow elite—individuals and organizations that direct policies out of the public eye. While some policy actors may not be visible to the public because of their obscure positions in governance structures, others take a proactive stance in limiting public access to their activities. For example, the website of the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) states the following:

> The Council holds approximately 65-85 conferences, workshops, and seminars annually to provide research, data, and technical assistance to education professionals. *Our meetings are closed to the public*, and *attendance is by invitation only* unless otherwise noted. (emphasis added; CCSSO, 2019)

This approach of limiting access to events only to certain groups of people is not unique to CCSSO. The Policy Innovators in Education (PIE) Network connects educational reformers and advocacy organizations across the country and provides them with policy scripts for the promotion of charter schools, vouchers, and deregulation of teacher education. It holds an annual summit, access to which is open only to "network members, partners, and any of their invited guests" (PIE Network, 2019).

Wedel's (2009) work describes shadow elite as flexians and their networks as flex nets, or the type of networks that go beyond social or political connections. Flex nets are characterized by four distinguishing features. First, there is "an intricate spine" (p. 16), or "an intertwined, exclusive, self-protecting network" (p. 152) of key individuals, organizations, or groups that constitute

the "gravitational core" (p. 154) of flex nets. In the context of teacher education policies, a small set of key individuals and organizations—Kate Walsh of the National Council on Teacher Quality (NCTQ), Benjamin Riley of Deans for Impact, and others have played an important—yet not always fully visible—role in setting reform agendas (Kretchmar et al., 2018; Zeichner & Conklin, 2016).

Second, those who belong to flex nets "are bound together by their common view of the world and their role in it" (p. 154). Among educational reformers, this "common view" is demonstrated by their commitments to neoliberal reforms, narrow economic constructions of education, and market solutions for all educational problems. Shadow elite are also set apart by their "shared conviction and action" (p. 154). In that regard, reformers' push for evaluating teacher preparation effectiveness through measurable and observable outcomes reflects their shared technocratic convictions (Aydarova, in progress).

Third, flex nets create "a hybrid habitat" (p. 175)—a space where boundaries between the state and private business are blurred. For shadow elite in educational reforms, events that bring together representatives from the state, nonprofit, and private sectors represent this policy-making hybridity. Such events include CCSSO's Annual Policy Form or the National Summit on Education Reform run by Foundation for Excellence in Education—a nonprofit created by former governor of Florida Jeb Bush who supported the expansion of charter schools during his tenure. These hybrid habitats create opportunities for the shadow elite to maximize their influence on educational policymaking and facilitate the expansion of educational privatization (Ravitch, 2013).

Finally, flexians' movements between different positions allow them to pool together informational and material resources that help them "gain collective effectiveness" (Wedel, 2009, p. 126). IO actors' access to various funders as well as state officials affords them better-resourced positions in policy debates. For example, Zeichner and Peña-Sandoval (2015) traced how the NewSchools Venture Fund, with the support of venture philanthropies and in collaboration with other IOs, promoted a proposal for the creation of teacher and principal academies. Originally discussed as *the GREAT Act*, this proposal was signed into law under Title II of *Every Student Succeeds Act* despite multiple objections and critiques.

The notion of flex nets is useful for understanding teacher education reforms for several reasons. As studies drawing on Wedel's framework have shown (Aydarova, 2019; Gunter & Mills, 2017; Spring, 2012), flexians may argue that they seek to improve the quality of education, but reform measures they propose produce opposite effects from the ones promised because

limited resources end up directed toward accountability reporting instead of other major functions of educational institutions (Wilson, 2014). These reforms also create new profit opportunities for alternative teacher preparation providers, policy consultants, data management firms, and other for-profit actors. When it comes to being accountable for their own actions, however, shadow elite manage to use their oblique positions of consultants, advisors, or technical assistance providers to remain unaccountable for their proposals (Aydarova, 2019; Wedel, 2014). This also means that even when some reform proposals become blocked, the shadow elite continue to advocate for those proposals without any public deliberation or debate. The exclusion of public and professional voices from policy deliberations undermines the future of the teaching profession, public education, and democracy at large. For this reason, the purpose of this paper is to shed light on how intermediary organizations use their oblique positions to construct teacher preparation accountability regimes.

Methodology

I draw on the methodological approach of anthropology of policy (Shore & Wright, 1997; Shore et al., 2011; Wedel et al., 2005). Approaching policy as a tool of knowledge and power (Levinson et al., 2009), this study attends to how intermediary organizations "shape and mediate policy while translating and implementing it into action" (Wedel et al., 2005, p. 34). Through the analysis of various policy texts and artifacts, this paper engages in "institutional and discursive mapping, in which policy language is traced across documents, and in which graphic representations are made of the quality and density of actual relations between institutions and actors that produce policy" (Levinson et al., 2018, p. 38). Anthropology of policy studies incorporate interviews with policy actors, observations of policy events, as well as analysis of policy texts, memos, videos, media interviews, presentations, websites, and other data sources (Feldman, 2011).

In line with this approach, I collected various data associated with intermediary organizations' policy activities in the field of teacher education published between 1998 and 2018. During data collection, I focused on intermediary organizations that participate in the production and dissemination of knowledge for teacher education reform, such as the Center for American Progress (CAP), Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP), Teacher Preparation Analytics (TPA), Deans for Impact, the New Teacher Project (TNTP), and others. I included in this study organizations that were involved in teacher education reforms, either through producing reports for teacher education policy, creating networks for reform

implementation, offering consulting services, or participating in policy advocacy. Intermediary organizations specializing in other K-12 reforms (e.g., charter schools, new forms of leadership, school finance) or reports focusing on teacher policies more broadly (e.g., merit-based pay, teacher salary increases, teacher pensions, etc.) were excluded from this study. In addition to reports on teacher preparation accountability produced by these policy actors, I collected these organizations' self-descriptions, individuals' professional bios, financial reports, videos of policy actors' presentations, blog posts, op-eds, journal articles, and policy proposals. Because most of intermediary organizations' texts are considered gray literature and are generally not included in academic databases, data collection involved manual searches through organizations' websites in order to create a complete database that comprised over 300 texts. From this database, I selected approximately 50 texts and 10 video segments focusing specifically on teacher preparation accountability for close analysis.

Once I identified policy actors and organizations involved in constructing teacher preparation accountability regimes, I developed interview guides that focused on the events, processes, and strategies used by IOs to advance their policy agendas. Drawing on the preliminary analysis of policy texts, I conducted 16 interviews with policy analysts who worked for IOs involved in these processes, such as CCSSO, TPA, CAEP, Deans for Impact, and others. IO policy staff tend to specialize on specific issues, so my sample included those who focused on teacher preparation and teacher policies. Most of these interviews were face-to-face in Washington, DC, with some conducted over Zoom. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 60 and 90 min each. They were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

Data Analysis

I first used texts to reconstruct policy processes locating links between different activities and events. I traced descriptions of policy processes and connections between IOs' initiatives in promoting accountability regimes. Next, I deployed an inductive thematic analysis (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) to generate a list of themes (such as "teacher effectiveness," "selectivity," "Common Core State Standards alignment," and others) that captured elements of IOs' policy agendas. I then created matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to identify areas of policy convergence and divergence. During the second round of coding, I applied analytic categories that stem from Wedel's (2009) framework of shadow elite, such as "construction of consensus," "deployment of narratives," "monitoring of state activities," "pooling resources," "engaging legislators," "building coalitions," and others. This deductive level of analysis allowed me to capture how

policy actors from intermediary organizations manage to advance their agendas in the construction of accountability regimes.

To examine different relationships between intermediary organizations, I used social network analysis (Borgatti et al., 2018). Drawing on partnership lists, acknowledgements of funding sources, policy reports, financial reports, and organization websites, I created matrices that captured the presence or absence of relational ties between IOs. For example, using the matrices of policy priorities put forward by different organizations, I identified a shared set of policy agendas, establishing relational ties in the area of overlapping priorities. With the help of partnership, network, and coalition lists, I identified network connections among national level IOs that seek to influence teacher education reforms. Finally, using organizations' lists of funding sources, I created matrices that connect IOs with a shared set of philanthropies and private sector funders. With the help of UCINET software, these matrices were transformed into sociograms that depict different aspects of IOs' policy activities. For the sake of clarity, sociograms presented in the text capture connections with shared partners and funders, rather than complete lists for each organization.

In what follows, I describe policy activities in the construction of teacher preparation accountability by several key organizations—the Center for American Progress, the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation, the Council of Chief State School Officers, Teacher Preparation Analytics, the New Teacher Project, and others (Table 1). In my analysis, I show how individuals and organizations operating as flex nets mobilized resources to construct consensus around a core set of accountability measures encapsulated in the Key Effectiveness Indicators Framework designed by TPA. In the networks that advanced accountability agendas, some actors worked on implementing accountability regimes from the ground up, while others designed action plans for states or worked out the details of what is necessary for the smooth functioning of data systems.

Findings

Forging Consensus through Shared Commitment and Action

Throughout the 2000s, multiple agencies and organizations argued for holding teacher preparation accountable for the learning gains of the students taught by their graduates (Peske & Haycock, 2006; Walsh, 2007). Yet, most of these conversations occurred in the context of other proposals—reforms that would focus on the overall quality of schooling or teacher effectiveness. The laser-sharp focus on teacher preparation accountability emerged in Arne

Table 1. Gravitational Core of Intermediary Organizations Advocating for Teacher Preparation Accountability.

Organization	Description	Policy activities
Center for American Progress (CAP)	A nonprofit DC-based policy think-tank that pursues a progressive agenda. Center for American Progress Action Fund is a sister advocacy organizations that openly engages in advocacy and lobbying.	CAP published reports and organized publicity events advocating for teacher preparation accountability structures, changes in teacher education governance. CAP issues guidance for presidential candidates on the direction of educational reforms, which among other things includes "modernization of the teaching profession" and revamping of professional preparation. It also offers guidance to individual states seeking to reform their educational systems.
Teacher Preparation Analytics (TPA)	A for-profit DC-based company that provides policy analytics, technical assistance, and guidance on teacher education reforms.	TPA produced commissioned reports for CAEP and CCSSO on the structure of accountability systems. TPA also works with individual states in providing assistance for the construction of accountability systems. It offers its services to teacher preparation programs and districts that seek to improve teacher training. TPA developed the Key Effectiveness Indicators (KEI) framework.
Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP)	CAEP is a national accrediting agency that was created to transform teacher education through accreditation.	CAEP supported the development of outcomes-based accountability measures and instruments, such as KEI.
Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)	A DC-based nonprofit that brings together public officials in charge of elementary and secondary education departments in their respective states.	CCSSO issued reports on educator preparation reforms through the levers available to chiefs and ran the Network for Transforming Educator Preparation (NTEP) between 2013 and 2018.

Table 1. (continued)

Organization	Description	Policy activities
The New Teacher Project (TNTP)	TNTP is a nonprofit organization that provides alternative routes into the teaching profession and engages in extensive policy advocacy. The slogan of the organization is that they work to end injustices in education through teacher preparation.	TNTP provided assistance in NTEP's work on accountability systems, issued own reports, published blogs on teacher preparation accountability, and submitted statements in support of accountability systems to the Department of Education and U.S. Congress.
Deans for Impact (DFI)	DFI is a national nonprofit organization that brings together deans of colleges of education from across the country with the goal of "elevating the performance of this country's educator-preparation system."	DFI issued reports on accountability and created Common Indicators Systems Network to develop outcomes-based accountability systems for teacher education programs.
Data Quality Campaign (DQC)	DQC is a DC-based national nonprofit that advocates for data-centered policies in P-20 sector.	DQC engaged in advocacy for holding teacher preparation programs accountable by issuing reports, publishing blogs, and conducting webinars to inform interested actors of steps to take. It also organized a working group that produced policy recommendations for the construction of accountability systems.
National Council on Teacher Quality (NCTQ)	NCTQ is a DC-based national nonprofit that specializes in teacher policies.	NCTQ created own standards for evaluating individual teacher preparation programs, regularly collected data on traditional and alternative providers, and published its assessments in *Teacher Prep Reviews*. NCTQ also collected data on teacher policies across 50 states and graded each state for its efforts to reform the teaching profession. In 2012 to 2013, *State Teacher Policy Yearbook* incorporated measures for holding teacher preparation accountable for results.

Duncan's speech at Teachers College in October 2009, when after a long list of problems plaguing colleges of education, he called for "track[ing] the effectiveness of teacher preparation programs" (Duncan, 2009, n.p.) From that point on, several intermediary organizations worked to create consensus around a set of measures for teacher preparation accountability systems (Figure 1).

One of the first organizations to respond to Duncan's call for change was the Center for American Progress (CAP). In the 2000s, CAP supported the rise of alternative routes to improve the quality of teaching, but by 2010, its policy analysts reached a conclusion that this strategy did not create enough of a shift (CAP, 2010). To address this issue, the organization commissioned an analysis of teacher preparation accountability and released it in July 2010 under the title *Measuring What Matters* (Crowe, 2010). Now seen as a seminal report on the topic (Mandinach & Gummer, 2019), the report argued that the U.S. needed a national system of teacher preparation accountability with uniform outcomes-based measures and standard cut-off licensing test scores across all the states. This proposal focused on holding teacher preparation programs accountable for the impact of their graduates on K-12 students' learning, graduates' performance in the classroom, and graduates' persistence in teaching. The report made several calls to action. Teacher preparation programs had to collect surveys from program graduates and their employers to gauge customer satisfaction with their performance. Policymakers had to address the proliferation of teacher licensing tests. States had to use the same licensing tests, cut-off scores, and pass rates policies to ensure comparability between programs.

When the report came out, CAP held a publicity event that included Dr. Crowe's presentation and a subsequent panel discussion with Kate Walsh of NCTQ and Jane West of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE). Representatives of the Department of Education were present in the audience and engaged panel participants in a conversation about the proposal. In September 2011, when the Department of Education released *Our Future, Our Teachers* with a call for teacher preparation regulations, three measures from Crowe's (2010) report comprised the core of proposed accountability reporting: student growth, graduate placement and retention, as well as customer satisfaction. The draft of federal teacher preparation regulations produced through negotiated rule-making in February 2012 added evaluations of teachers' classroom performance, leaving out only the consideration of licensing tests and uniform cut-off scores. Subsequently, the saga of federal regulations took many unexpected turns (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018). But as educators' and educational researchers' attention was focused on the federal level struggles, the construction of accountability regimes proceeded quietly at other levels of policy-making.
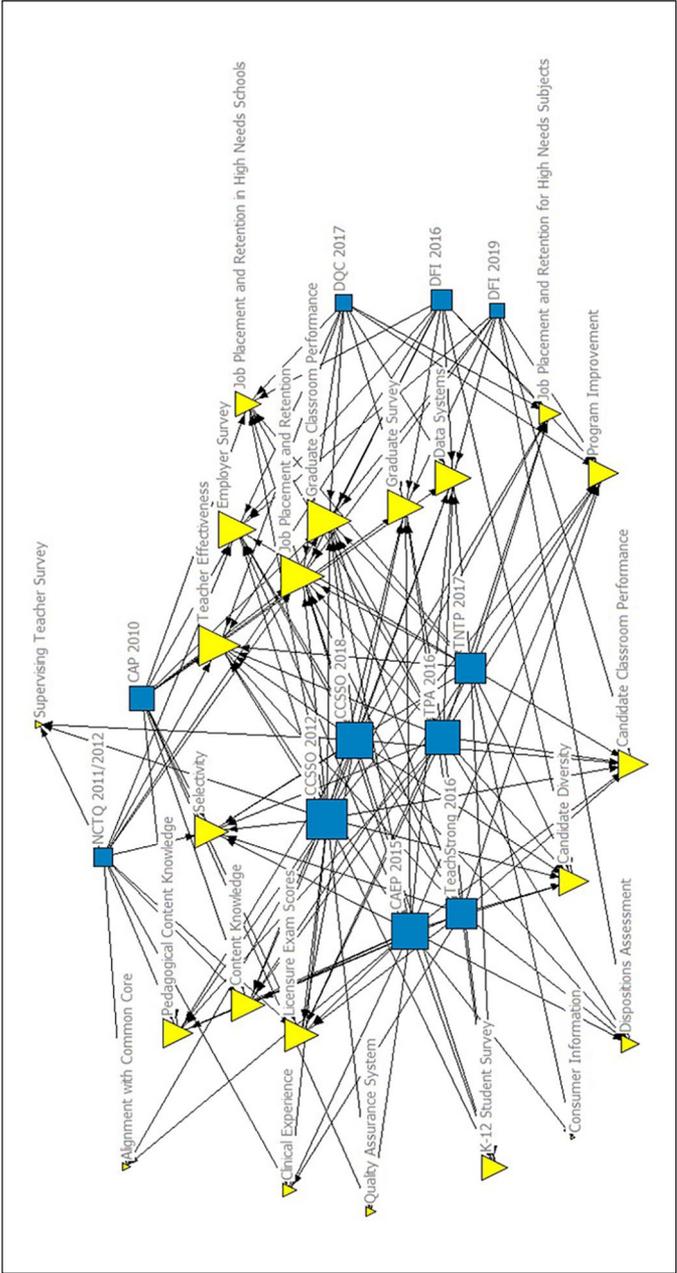
Figure 1. Shared Policy Priorities.

Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation. At the level of national accreditation, the organization that contributed to the construction of accountability regimes is CAEP. First, CAEP commissioned Teacher Preparation Analytics (TPA) started by Charles Coble, Michael Allen, and Ed Crowe to "describe the data and data systems needed to support accreditation policies that foster outcomes-based teacher preparation" (Crowe et al., 2013, p. 1). As a private company specializing in "technical assistance and analysis for . . . improvements in preparation programs and in the institutional policies and practices that affect them" (TPA, 2018), TPA was uniquely positioned to build on Ed Crowe's earlier work for the Center of American Progress (Crowe, 2010). In its reports for CAEP, TPA proposed a focus on such outcomes as graduates' classroom teaching skills, program graduates' value-added or growth measures, candidates' content and pedagogical content knowledge, as well as graduates' entry into and persistence in teaching, particularly in hard-to-staff schools. Drawing on the Gates Foundation's Measures of Effective Teaching Project (since discredited (Stecher et al., 2018)), TPA also recommended that CAEP incorporate K-12 students' perceptions of their teachers in addition to "employer and graduate satisfaction with preparation programs" (Crowe et al., 2013, p. 22). Many of these suggestions, along with additional measures of quality assurance, continuous improvement, and consumer information, were integrated into CAEP standards.

Then, at the urging of Pearson Teacher Education, CAEP commissioned TPA to analyze the "nation's efforts to assess and compare the quality of teacher preparation programs" (TPA, 2016, p. 2). TPA produced a report "to spark action and improvement" (Allen et al., 2014, p. iii), so that new accountability systems would be set up by 2020. As a critical step toward this vision, TPA designed the Key Effectiveness Indicators Framework (KEI). The framework included four categories of program assessment data: "candidate selection and completion," "knowledge and skills for teaching," "performance as classroom teachers," and "contribution to state needs" (Table 2). These categories were broken down into 12 measurable outcomes of program performance and 20 measures that operationalized the indicators, such as "teaching promise" assessment to evaluate candidates' dispositions for teaching, valued-added scores for "performance as classroom teachers," and teachers' persistence in high-needs schools for "contribution to state needs" (TPA, 2016, p. 2). All the measures represented slight modifications of earlier proposals (Crowe, 2010, 2011; Crowe et al., 2013) and were supposed to be applied to both university-based teacher education and alternative routes at the program level for public reporting annually or biannually. The report informed some of the fine-tuning of CAEP standards, according to one of the experts, but largely worked to confirm the direction CAEP was taking, according to others.

Table 2. Summary of the Key Effectiveness Indicators Framework (TPA, 2016).

Candidate selection and completion
1. Academic strength (Incoming students: GPA, scores on SAT, ACT, GRE, MAT, or Praxis Core; completers' GPA in subject major compared to university students in same major)
2. Teaching promise (Attitudes, values, and behaviors screen)
3. Candidate/completer diversity (Number and percent of completers compared to the number and percent of candidates originally admitted overall and by race/ethnicity, age, and gender)

Knowledge and skills for teaching
1. Mastery of teaching subjects (Content knowledge test)
2. Subject-specific pedagogical knowledge (Pedagogical content knowledge test)
3. Completer teaching skill (Teaching skill performance test)
4. Completer rating of the program (Completer perceptions of program quality)

Performance as classroom teachers
1. Impact on K-12 student learning (Teacher contribution to student learning based on value-added measures or other statewide evidence of K-12 student growth over the first 2 years in the classroom)
2. Demonstrated teaching skill (Assessments of teaching skill over the first 2 years in the classroom)
3. K-12 student perceptions (Student surveys on teaching practice)

Contribution to state needs
1. Entry and persistence in teaching (percent of completers employed within the first 2 years of program completion; percent of completers who remain in teaching 1, 2, or 3 years.
2. Placement/persistence in high-need subjects/schools (percent of completers employed within the first two years of program completion in high need schools and subjects by gender and race/ethnicity; percent completers who remain in teaching in high-need subjects or in teaching or other educational roles in high-need schools for 1, 2, and 3 years after initial entry

Council of Chief State School Officers and its Network for Transforming Educator Preparation. CAEP became the platform where ideas generated by TPA became picked up by other actors and delivered to state-level policy actors. As a TPA representative described it:

> On the board of CAEP as a permanent position is the President of CCSSO and the president of AACTE. So, as we were developing the Key Effectiveness Indicators and the evidence base paper for CAEP, the President of CCSSO was reading that and looking at that and saying, "Hey we're we are thinking about creating a new transformation network getting our state superintendents onboard

in selected states to try to really advance teacher education." So, he wanted us to take Key Effectiveness Indicators and assess all the states in the United States on where they stood relative to every one of those indicators and measures. And so we did that. He funded us to reach out across the United States to identify who to talk with and where the data is. (Interview August 8, 2019)

Referenced in this quote is the Network for Transforming Educator Preparation (NTEP) that CCSSO started in 2012. NTEP eventually brought together 15 states in order to introduce an "innovative and aggressive reform of educator preparation" (CCSSO, 2017, p. 3). The network was supposed to enact ten policy principles proposed in CCSSO's (2012) *Our Responsibility, Our Promise.* Those principles focused on reforming teacher and principal preparation with the help of three policy levers that are within the control of state education agencies: licensure, approval and accountability, as well as data systems. CCSSO (2012) advocated for tying licensure to performance-based assessments, aligning teacher licensure tests with college and career readiness standards, and introducing multi-tiered licensure to create career progressions for teachers. Accountability of teacher preparation programs had to use a rating system to identify low-performing programs that should be closed if they fail to improve. Approval ratings should incorporate measures of admission selectivity, clinical practice quality, programs' ability to meet state's need for teachers, as well as graduates' impact on K-12 student learning. Finally, data systems with state reciprocity agreements should be set up to "inform educator preparation programs, hiring practices, and professional learning" (CCSSO, 2012, p. 28). To create the network, CCSSO announced a grant competition; applications submitted by states were reviewed by CCSSO and TPA to determine whether "there was legislative support that would sustain the effort" of building accountability regimes (TPA representative, Interview August 5, 2019).

Those who facilitated NTEP's work noted that the rise of teacher preparation accountability was the network's major accomplishment. What partly contributed to this success was a monumental analysis of accountability policies across the states that CCSSO commissioned TPA to complete in support of NTEP's work. As a result, TPA produced a report for CCSSO (2016) *Accountability in Teacher Preparation* where KEI was used to assess how all 50 states and the District of Columbia were evaluating teacher preparation effectiveness.

But this success also stemmed from the fact that NTEP's work in the construction of accountability regimes moved beyond a mere analysis of existing systems. All NTEP states were divided into three different groups to develop "model policies, program designs, lessons, tools, and resources to share with

all states, so that by June 2017, a majority of states in the U.S. would have taken action on at least one of the 10 policy recommendations" (CCSSO, 2017, p. 3). One such group was Data Systems Action Group that worked with TPA and used its KEI framework to streamline accountability requirements in the NTEP states (CCSSO, 2018). KEI became a tool to determine what needed to be added or addressed differently through accountability reporting that states were constructing as a part of their NTEP work.

The composition of the Data Systems Action Group and its policy activities offer additional insights into NTEP's success in accountability construction. Unlike other action groups, this group received extra funding from the Schusterman Foundation to support additional convenings. It also included external collaborators that other action groups comprising only representatives from state teams or academics did not have. Representatives of Teacher Preparation Analytics and data analytics company Tembo, Inc were brought in to share their expertise on accountability systems, whereas TNTP representatives produced a report for CCSSO showing how states could use the KEI framework to identify effective programs (CCSSO, 2018). As one of the program directors explained, bringing in external actors "was a capacity issue at CCSSO. [We] just needed help doing that lift with the six states that were involved in that work on analyzing what is, what could be, and what changes we wanted around the data we were collecting" (former CCSSO Program Director, Interview August 9, 2019).

Finally, the success of accountability construction rested on external partners' dissemination of ideas generated by NTEP and advocacy for their wider implementation at the national level. TNTP's involvement in Data Systems Action Group is important here because that work became the foundation for TNTP's own report *Getting to Better Prep* that described accountability and reporting systems set up by three NTEP members and three additional states. With "state leaders and policy makers in mind" (p. 2), TNTP provided "best practices," checklists, and worksheets with action items for states to introduce outcomes-oriented data systems for educator preparation accountability that offers "a greater level of detail" at the program level (TNTP, 2017, p. 4). Similar to TPA, CAEP, and CCSSO, TNTP advocated for multiple measures to evaluate teacher preparation. While TNTP described different measures and indicators used by states in question, the readers were advised to use the KEI framework "as the basis of their teacher preparation data system" (TNTP, 2017, p. 35). Among other proposals, TNTP called on states to identify technical assistance providers that would turn around low-performing teacher preparation programs. The report was funded by Schusterman Foundation and was highlighted on TNTP's blog as "a guide for other states who are considering or just beginning the work of supporting teacher preparation with more robust data" (Diggins, 2017).

In sum, different IOs advocated for teacher preparation accountability regimes at different levels of policymaking. Yet, because they operated through networks and used a shared tool, a seeming consensus emerged around the core measures that should be implemented and how reporting should be done. This consensus, however, was largely a rhetorical construction because only a relatively small group of actors promoted these proposals.

Networks, Partnerships, and Coalitions

To amplify their impact on teacher education policymaking, intermediary organizations formed networks, coalitions, and partnerships. NTEP's "regular convenings" brought together national partners and other interested parties (Figure 2) to showcase the work that the states were doing and to solicit input from national partners. Those national partners, in turn, formed their own networks, working groups, and coalitions in order to create change. Within those networks, policy actors disseminated proposals generated by their partners, advocated for wider implementation of accountability policies, addressed technical aspects of data collection and reporting that needed further development, and inserted their collective agendas into national policy debates.

Among NTEP's national partners was the National Council on Teacher Quality. When issuing the call to develop *Our Responsibility, Our Promise* (CCSSO, 2012), CCSSO's president Tom Luna drew on the "NCTQ's standards for teacher prep to frame a core set of expectations for improving teacher prep" (Walsh, 2011) and invited NCTQ's Vice President to serve on the CCSSO Task Force's Expert Advisory Group that produced that report. NCTQ's own efforts of advancing accountability structures for teacher preparation regulation were evident in its *Teacher Prep Reviews*. Based on market principles of informing consumers and policymakers of strengths and weaknesses of individual programs, those reports were designed to shame ineffective programs into loss of business and ultimate closure. In August 2012, NCTQ's *All Quiet on Teacher Preparation Front* (Jacobs, 2012) presented a new strategy. It offered states "a checklist for teacher preparation policy" that included selectivity, alignment with Common Core State Standards, improved clinical practice, and teacher preparation accountability based on their graduates' impact on student gains. In December 2012, NCTQ published a blog post about CCSSO's efforts to transform educator preparation (Moyer, 2012). "To help" CCSSO's work, NCTQ outlined the measures policymakers should use to construct teacher preparation accountability systems and offered "each state . . . a road map to improving its teacher preparation policies" in its *State*

18

Figure 2. Partnerships, Networks, and Coalitions.

Teacher Policy Yearbook. The *Yearbook* reports included descriptions of individual NTEP states' progress toward the goals outlined in *Our Responsibility, Our Promise* (CCSSO, 2012). It also graded states on their efforts "to modernize teacher policies" and steered them toward introducing teacher preparation accountability policies. For example, in 2017, states received grades on whether they met the goal of using value-added data to evaluate teacher preparation programs. NCTQ provided guidance on creating report cards to communicate program quality to consumers that included such measures of program performance as "cut scores on measures such as placement and retention rates, completer and supervisor satisfaction, and evaluation of completers" (NCTQ, 2017). NCTQ offers technical assistance to the states that seek to improve their policies in these areas.

Other national partners disseminated ideas of outcomes-based accountability but created their own networks in order to implement accountability systems. For example, Deans for Impact (DFI) started in 2015 by Benjamin Riley—former director of policy and advocacy with the NewSchools Venture Fund—advocated for outcomes-based accountability measures for teacher preparation programs since DFI's inception. Drawing on the Teacher Preparation Analytics report for CAEP (Allen et al., 2014), DFI analyzed data collection activities among its member programs and determined that those activities comprised "a patchwork quilt" that lacked uniformity, comparability, and data on graduates' effectiveness in the classroom (DFI, 2016). As a result, DFI called for more uniform data collection strategies, reporting tools, and requirements for licensure tests. Omitting selectivity, DFI called for the use of many of the same measures, such as "data on graduate employment and retention, data on teacher-evaluation results for program graduates, K-12 student-performance data; and data from surveys of program graduates and their employers (principals and superintendents)" (DFI, 2016, p. 10). Unlike CCSSO, TPA, and TNTP that argued for the closure of low-performing programs, DFI suggested that states should recognize and reward programs that "voluntarily embrace outcomes-based accountability" and "use data-informed practices to effectively prepare future educators" (DFI, 2016, p. 13). The absence of data sharing practices between state authorities and preparation programs, however, was acknowledged as a barrier to implementing these reforms.

In 2016, Deans for Impact created a Common Indicators Systems network that brought together 12 institutions—both traditional and alternative providers—from ten states in order to create "a shared data-system" (DFI, 2019, p. 3) for teacher preparation accountability. The measures that network participants selected included candidates' classroom performance, candidates' dispositions, as well as graduate and employer surveys (DFI, 2019). These

measures represented a shift in priorities: value-added scores, graduates' performance in the classroom, as well as graduate employment and retention were replaced with indicators over which programs had more control.

Another national partner for CCSSO's NTEP was the Data Quality Campaign (DQC). DQC created its own working group that brought together actors from TPA, CAEP, CCSSO, Deans for Impact, National Council on Teacher Quality, as well as National Center for Teacher Residencies, Hope Street Group, and others. In 2017, the working group put forward a proposal for data systems for teacher preparation accountability that built on prior work carried out by CCSSO and DFI. Echoing CCSSO's (2012) argument that states should have a "unique educator identifier" to link teachers with students they are teaching as well as teacher preparation programs that prepared them, DQC outlined the steps for "establishing a teacher-student data link." Problems defined by DFI as a "patchwork quilt" became a "patchwork system of information" (DQC, 2017, p. 3) impeding decision-makers from taking action to improve education. The working group recommended that these problems should be addressed by creating data systems for programs' continuous improvement and feedback loops between states, programs, and consumers. To help policymakers and programs make decisions about teacher workforce, states were called to conduct regular surveys of supply and demand trends in teaching so that programs could "align recruitment and preparation practices and priorities with needs identified through the survey" (DQC, 2017, p. 5). To enhance programs' ability to engage in data-driven decision making, DQC (2017) suggested that states create opportunities for "catalyzing EPP/nonprofit partnerships," so that nonprofits could "support building and expanding programs' capacity to make data-informed decisions" (DQC, 2017, p. 5). Similar to TNTP's (2017) suggestion that utilizing technical assistance be required of failing programs, DQC (2017) urged that states and programs draw on intermediary organizations to catalyze change, thus carving out the market share for organizations in their networks.

Finally, the Center for American Progress—another NTEP national partner—in November 2015 established the TeachStrong coalition that sought to "modernize and elevate the teaching profession." The coalition brought together 40 different organizations, including CCSSO, the New Teacher Project, Deans for Impact, the National Council on Teacher Quality, and Teach for America to work on reforming many aspects of the teaching profession, including teacher preparation. The coalition also included national and state intermediaries that promoted charter schools, teacher training programs run by nonprofit and for-profit entities, as well as professional organizations, such as AACTE and the American Federation of Teachers.

Through town halls, Twitter chats, webinars, and seminars, TeachStrong worked to spread the agenda of reform and to incorporate as many actors into

these policy activities as possible. A persistent theme in describing the emergence of coalitions and their policy work is the search for common ground—a set of principles that different actors can agree on even if they disagree on others. An expert involved in the creation of TeachStrong described it the following way:

> The idea was to bring a lot of organizations together that care about [teacher quality] issue. And maybe in some other areas of education policy they don't get along as well, but are all in agreement on teacher quality and to put out some policy ideas that we all kind of agreed on and to have a communications campaign around it and things like that. A lot of it was driving towards the potential of having it be the agenda of the next administration. A big part of the goal was, you know, we've come together, we're saying all these pieces of the TeachStrong agenda about modernizing and elevating the teaching profession are really important for all of these organizations. Hopefully, after the 2016 election it can be something that we can say, "Look, we're all unified on this. So this can be the next thing that we work on in the education policy space." (CAP Policy Analyst, Interview August 3, 2019)

Among coalition's priorities were increased outcomes-oriented accountability for teacher preparation programs and performance-based licensure. For example, focusing on outcomes-based accountability, the coalition recommended that policymakers take action "to collect and connect data on the performance of graduates, teacher vacancies, graduate retention, teacher salaries, and principal satisfaction of teacher preparation program graduates" (TeachStrong, 2016). Apart from teacher salaries, the measures identified by TeachStrong echoed those advocated by TPA, CCSSO, and CAEP. In setting agendas for data collection and reporting, TeachStrong called for accountability that would push teacher preparation to transform itself based on the examples of "high-quality teacher preparation," such as TNTP praised for its approaches to selectivity and ability to place teachers in high-needs schools.

As the quote above shows, the timing of TeachStrong launch in November 2015 was strategic. Organizers were planning to "make the status of teachers an issue in the 2016 presidential race and in policy discussions on the state and local levels" (Layton, 2015). Activities associated with the coalition's work were planned in "early presidential primary states and important swing states" (Layton, 2015). This coalition's policy activities reveals IOs' persistent and relentless pursuit of influencing the legislators and inserting their agendas into national policy debates. When it became clear that the new presidential administration was not interested in the proposals that were developed, CAP continued to pursue the coalition's policy agendas:

> For about a year after the election, CAP did a fair amount of state work aligned to what TeachStrong was doing, like working with individual states that wanted to work on policies that were kind of related to different pieces of that TeachStrong agenda. And we brought leaders from different states in to have a chance to hear from experts in different areas of the teacher pipeline and work with their state teams to develop plans around teacher policies. (CAP Policy Analyst, Interview 3, August 2019).

In sum, while TeachStrong was created to provide the next president with a blueprint for education reform with teacher preparation accountability built into it, it was used to disseminate policy ideas generated by the coalition at the state level.

Many of IOs that partnered with CCSSO in its NTEP work, participated in DQC's working group on accountability systems, or joined TeachStrong created coalitions that supported proposals laid out in *Our Teachers, Our Future*. They also released collective statements of support for federal teacher preparation regulations and protested appropriations rider prohibiting the enforcement of those regulations in 2015 (Figure 2). The ebbs and flows of political life did not extinguish IOs' collective efforts to define educational agendas at the national stage and to continue the construction of teacher preparation accountability regimes despite rising objections from the field of teacher education.

Maximizing Influence through Hybrid Habitats

Intermediary organizations sought to maximize their influence and "educate policymakers" by disseminating their reports, setting up meetings with staffers to share their reform proposals, and working with politicians developing bills on education. One of the consistent efforts of inserting their agendas into national policies emerged as the time for the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act approached. Congressional hearings on aspects of HEA related to teacher preparation became one of the opportunities for IOs to introduce the accountability regimes that they designed. Through relationships established during previous meetings and events, IOs were able to nominate experts ready to provide testimony on important issues under consideration.

On March 25, 2014, the U.S. Senate on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions held a hearing "Teacher Preparation: Ensuring a Quality Teacher in Every Classroom" to discuss HEA reauthorizations. Expert witnesses were Ed Crowe as a senior advisor of The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Mary Brabeck as a representative of CAEP, Timothy Daly as the

President of the New Teacher Project, Jeanne Burns representing the Louisiana Board of Regents, and Mari Koerner as the Dean of Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University.

These witnesses were selected and invited by Senator Harkin who had ties both with the Center for American Progress and with The New Teacher Project. This line-up of expert witnesses and their identifications deserve attention. Dr. Crowe at the time of his testimony was already CEO of Teacher Preparation Inspectorate and co-founder of Teacher Preparation Analytics, but these affiliations were not included in any of the official proceedings. Instead, the title of an advisor was used to present him as a "disinterested analyst" (Wedel, 2009, p. 130), even though both of his businesses receive contracts to support initiatives of expanding teacher preparation accountability. Dr. Burns came from a state that participated in CCSSO's NTEP activities and was often featured in many IOs' reports as the state that implemented many of the accountability measures advocated by these actors. Finally, Dean Koerner introduced many of the data systems promoted by accountability advocates at her college. When Deans for Impact was formed, Dean Koerner was also among the first deans who joined that organization.

The witnesses' presentations during the hearing and their written statements emphasized the need to introduce outcomes-based accountability for teacher preparation programs through the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. Four of the five witnesses stated that teacher preparation programs should be held accountable for candidate selectivity, graduate placement and retention in hard-to-staff schools, graduates' impact on students' learning through value-added or growth measures, graduates' classroom teaching, and the results of the graduate, employer, and K-12 student surveys. All witnesses made the case that tighter accountability measures should be used to close down "low-performing programs." Needless to say, that the coherence of the measures that these actors advocated was not coincidental. Even though their line-up on the witness stand made it seem that they represented different types of agencies and organizations, the analysis presented in this paper shows that they all belonged to the same collective. This means that not one of these testimonies raised concerns about the negative effects of high-stakes accountability on the US public schools (Dorn, 2007), narrowing conceptions of teaching and learning that accountability instruments can inadvertently promote (Amrein-Beardsley et al., 2013), or the costs involved in data collection, analysis, maintenance, and reporting that accountability regimes would require (Anagnostopoulos et al., 2013). The illusion of consensus in the field was constructed through a careful orchestration of who appeared as expert witnesses on these proposals.

With the Higher Education Act reauthorization still pending, two proposals were put forward in 2018. The Republican version of HEA titled the PROSPER Act renamed Title II into "Expanding Access to In-demand Apprenticeships" and repealed all provisions associated with teacher preparation. The Democrats, on the other hand, proposed Aim Higher Act that added more accountability requirements for teacher preparation programs. If this draft moved forward, providers would be required to report pass rates and scaled scores on licensure tests, including teacher performance assessments, grade point averages for admitted students, the number of students disaggregated by race, the number of hours and types of supervised clinical preparation, the total number of students who have completed programs for certification or licensure disaggregated by subject area and by race, ethnicity, and gender. State report cards would also have information on how teacher preparation programs meet the states' demands for teachers in certain subject areas and in hard-to-staff schools. Based on that proposal, the states would have to identify low-performing and at-risk programs, determine steps for program improvement, provide plans for programs to receive technical assistance, and set the timeframe within which programs will be closed if they do not demonstrate improvement. While teacher effectiveness data was not included in the 2018 draft, many other measures and consequences echoed the proposals put forward by intermediary organizations involved in the construction of teacher preparation accountability regimes.

Pooling Resources to Gain Collective Effectiveness

Finally, intermediary organizations' influence in the construction of teacher preparation accountability regimes rested on "their members' ability to amass and coordinate both material and interpersonal resources" (Wedel, 2009, p. 18). Material resources most often came from venture philanthropies, such as Schusterman, Gates, and Joyce Foundations that funded NTEP activities as well as the work on accountability conducted by other IOs (Figure 3). Of IOs that promote teacher preparation accountability, NCTQ received support from most funders, with 49 supporters listed on its website. As is common in flex nets, amassing resources happened across the network. For example, when CAEP commissioned TPA to conduct the analysis of accountability policies from which KEI emerged, CCSSO obtained resources from the Schusterman Foundation for this initiative (Allen et al., 2014). Funding for accountability regimes also came from private companies with a stake in the game. For example, CAEP received "support in helping to underwrite the costs of the Commission" from Pearson, Tk20, and Educational Testing Service (Keller, 2012), whereas ExxonMobil funded activities of the working group organized by DQC.
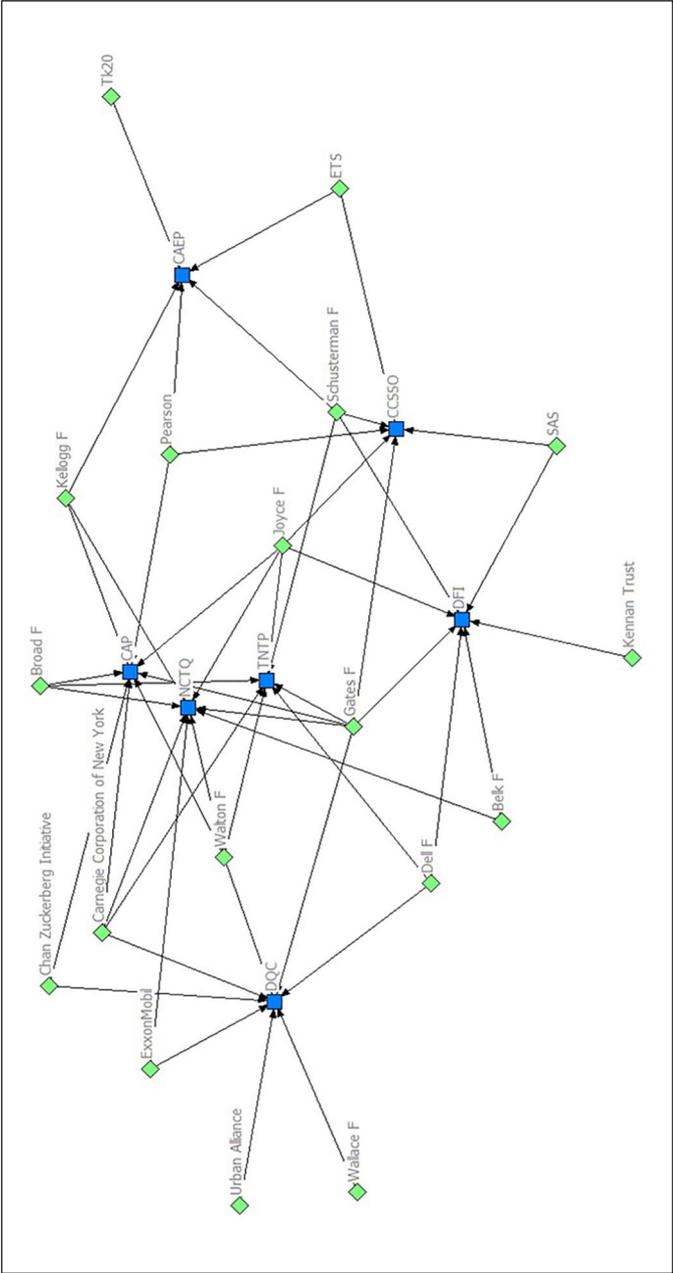
Figure 3. Funders Supporting the Rise of Accountability Regimes.

Private sector's support tends to coincide with potential profit opportunities that accountability initiatives create. For example, SAS partnered with CCSSO and funded DFI's activities. As an analytics and data management company working with value-added evaluations of teachers, it stands to benefit from the expansion of accountability regimes. Similarly, Tembo's participation in NTEP Data Systems Action Group coincided with the rise of its profits. As a private company working on accountability systems for schools, it was recognized as one of Philadelphia's fastest growing businesses several years in a row and was included in the list of fastest-growing private companies in the U.S. in 2016 (Torres, 2016). The owners bragged about not spending any money on a marketing campaign and growing their business by the word of mouth. Participation in a wide-spanning network of intermediary organizations and state-level actors connected to CCSSO's NTEP work provided access to invaluable relational resources.

The rise of accountability regimes—whether introduced through national accreditation agencies or state-level reporting systems—creates new opportunities for the private sector. KEI's several dimensions of evaluating teacher candidates' content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, dispositions, and graduates' impact on K-12 student learning hold great promise for increasing profits of testing companies. Pearson designed a dispositions assessment for Missouri that matches KEI's "teaching promise" indicator; ETS in collaboration with TeachingWorks developed a pedagogical knowledge assessment called NOTE. To measure candidates' and graduates' classroom performance, many programs around the country adopted commercially produced observation protocols, such as TAP rubric developed by the National Institute for Excellence in Teaching—a member of TeachStrong coalition. Many teacher preparation programs around the country turned to Tk20—now owned by Watermark—for data storage and management. Most importantly, organizations that provide technical assistance for developing accountability policies or evaluating whether programs are meeting accountability requirements stand to make a significant profit from these reforms. Teacher Preparation Analytics, Teacher Preparation Inspectorate-US, TNTP, and many others could benefit from the rise of accountability regimes especially if the requirement of providing or seeking technical assistance became a part of Higher Education Act reauthorization.

Conclusion

While prior scholarship on teacher preparation accountability focused on the differences among policy actors' agendas, messages, and tools (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Floden, 2017), I have shown how IOs use their networks

in order to collectively construct accountability regimes in teacher education. A limited circle of organizations—CAP, CAEP, CCSSO, TNTP, NCTQ, DFI, and DQC—formed "an intricate spine" that reinforced the same message across different levels of policymaking. Working together on a shared set of priorities, IOs managed to create consensus around several outcomes of professional preparation, such as teacher effectiveness, graduate classroom performance, as well as job placement and retention. While certain agendas were unique for some actors (CCSSO's focus on Common Core State Standards or CAEP's requirement of reporting consumer information), many policy priorities overlapped, creating an illusion of agreement and increasing the influence of these ideas. The use of KEI as a shared tool for evaluating states' accountability policies and for setting goals for reform consolidated IOs' efforts across their networks.

With the intentional focus on reaching policymakers with their proposals, intermediary organizations built coalitions and deployed funders' support in order to shape legislation on teacher preparation at the state and national levels. Similar to convergence of funders' priorities in K-12 settings (Ferrare & Setari, 2018), a consistent set of foundations and corporations provided support for the development of various elements of accountability regimes. Utilizing hybrid spaces of NTEP convenings that brought together state actors, consultants, nonprofits, and for-profit organizations, reformers managed to facilitate the implementation of accountability policies across a wide range of states. At the same time, regular reports on what states were doing to construct accountability regimes for teacher preparation as well as state-by-state consulting worked to propel more policymakers toward action. Congressional testimonies in support of accountability systems that included the same outcomes repeated by different experts worked to maximize IOs' influence on policymaking and served as a conduit for shaping drafts of HEA's Title II based on their priorities. Yet many of the activities described in this paper took place outside of the public eye (deMarrais et al., 2019), which in turn obscured the interconnectedness of these IOs' policy activities and their collective persistence in constructing teacher preparation accountability regimes. Even though federal teacher preparation regulations were rescinded (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018), IOs used their network resources to orchestrate the implementation of many of the same measures across a variety of states. Together these activities point to the way in which IOs now operate as "a shadow government" advancing educational policy agendas but remaining unaccountable for their effects (Wedel, 2009, p. 30).

As Wedel (2009) pointed out, the trouble with policy activities conducted in the shadows is that they undermine democracy. Debate and deliberation around indicators that may matter for policymakers but lie

outside of teacher education programs' control, such as teacher retention in high-needs schools, is substituted for repetition of the same controversial measures across different contexts to create an illusion of consensus. Targeted work only in networks of like-minded actors with "invitation only" events ultimately undermines trust and respect among different policy communities and precludes a possibility of a meaningful dialogue in the future. It also promotes authoritarian forms of governance where the development of reform proposals takes place with only limited, if any, consultations with the groups targeted by these transformations. At the same time, none of the priorities pursued by IOs in the construction of teacher preparation accountability address issues of inequities in the U.S. schools or inequality in the society at large (Stiglitz, 2012). Thus, instead of addressing issues that plague educational and social systems in the US (Berliner, 2013), IOs offer ready-made solutions that are unlikely to introduce change for the better. The construction of accountability regimes becomes a spectacle where IOs expand opportunities for themselves and their partners, but leave intact unjust systems that keep vulnerable communities further behind (Giridharadas, 2019).

It behooves the educational community to consider what can be learned from IOs' pursuit of shared vision, networked collaborations, and intentional focus on reaching policymakers with their message. The collective nature of IOs' policy activities requires a consolidated response from educators and educational researchers (Aydarova & Berliner, 2018). Taking cue from social movements, the educational community needs to come together in order to subvert the spectacle of neoliberal reforms and interrupt inequities of unjust social systems.

ORCID iD

Elena Aydarova ⓘD https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0387-2889

References

Allen, M., Coble, C., & Crowe, E. (2014). *Building an evidence-based system for teacher preparation*. Teacher Preparation Analytics. http://caepnet.org/~/media/Files/caep/accreditation-resources/tpa-report-full.pdf?la=en

Amrein-Beardsley, A., Barnett, J., Ganesh, T., & Tirupalavanum, G. (2013). Seven legitimate apprehensions about evaluating teacher education programs. *Teachers College Record*, *115*(12), 1–34.

Anagnostopoulos, D., Rutledge, S. A., & Jacobsen, R. (2013). *The infrastructure of accountability: Data use and the transformation of American education*. Harvard Education Press.

Aydarova, E. & Berliner, D. (2018). Navigating the contested terrain of teacher education policy and practice. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *26*(25). https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.3739

Ball, S. J., & Junemann, C. (2012). *Networks, new governance and education*. Policy Press.

Berliner, D. (2013). Effects of inequality and poverty vs. teachers and schooling on America's youth. *Teachers College Record*, *115*(12), 1–26.

Borgatti, S. P., Everett, M. G., & Johnson, J. C. (2018). *Analyzing social networks*. Sage.

Center for American Progress. (2010). *Measuring what matters: Holding teacher preparation programs accountable*. https://www.americanprogress.org/events/2010/07/29/16979/measuring-what-matters/

Crowe, E. (2010). *Measuring what matters: Holding teacher preparation programs accountable for results*. Center for American Progress. https://www.american-progress.org/events/2010/07/29/16979/measuring-what-matters/

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

Cochran-Smith, M., Villegas, A. M., Abrams, L. W., Chávez-Moreno, L. C., Mills, T., & Stern, R. (2016). Research on teacher preparation: Charting the landscape of a sprawling field. In D. H. Gitomer & C. A. Bell (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (5th ed., pp. 439–547). American Educational Research Association.

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2012). *Our responsibility, our promise*. Council of Chief State School Officers. https://ccsso.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/Our%20Responsibility%20Our%20Promise_2012.pdf

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2016). *Accountability in teacher preparation: Policies and data in the 50 states and DC*. Council of Chief State School Officers. https://ccsso.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/50StateScan092216.pdf

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2017). *Transforming educator preparation: Lessons learned from leading states*. Council of Chief State School Officers.

https://www.ccsso.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/CCSSO%20Educator%20
Preparation%20Playbook.pdf

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2018). *Measuring what matters: Recom-
mendations from states in the Network for Transforming Educator Preparation
(NTEP)*. Council of Chief State School Officers. http://www.ccsso.org/sites/
default/files/2018-02/Measuring%20What%20Matters.pdf

Council of Chief State School Officers. (2019). *Events*. Retrieved July 17, 2019,
from. https://ccsso.org/events

Crowe, E. (2010). *Measuring what matters: A stronger accountability model for
teacher education*. Center for American Progress.

Crowe, E. (2011). *Race to the top and teacher preparation: Analyzing state strategies
for ensuring real accountability and fostering program innovation*. Center for
American Progress.

Crowe, E., Allen, M., & Cobble, C. (2013). *Outcomes, measures, and data systems:
A paper prepared for the CAEP Commission on Standards and Performance
Reporting*. Teacher Preparation Analytics.

Data Quality Campaign. (2017). *Using data to ensure that teachers are learner
ready on day one*. Data Quality Campaign. https://2pido73em67o3eytaq1cp8au-
wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/DQC-EPP-primer
-08032017-1.pdf

Deans for Impact. (2016). *From chaos to coherence: A policy agenda for access-
ing and using outcomes data in educator preparation*. Deans for Impact. https://
deansforimpact.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/From_Chaos_to_Coherence.
pdf

Deans for Impact. (2019). *Learning together through evidence: Insights from year
one Deans for Impact's Common Indicators Systems Network*. Deans for Impact.
https://deansforimpact.org/resources/learning-together-through-evidence/

DeBray, E., Scott, J., Lubienski, C., & Jabbar, H. (2014). Intermediary organizations
in charter school policy coalitions: Evidence from New Orleans. *Educational
Policy*, *28*(2), 175–206. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904813514132

deMarrais, K., Brewer, T. J., Atkinson, J. C., Herron, B. A., & Lewis, J. B. (2019).
*Philanthropy, hidden strategy, and collective resistance: A primer for concerned
educators*. Myers Education Press.

Diggins, K. (2017). *How can states support better teacher prep? Start with better
data*. [TNTP Blog]. https://tntp.org/blog/post/how-can-states-support-better-
teacher-prep-start-with-better-data

Dorn, S. (2007). *Accountability Frankenstein: Understanding and taming the mon-
ster*. Information Age Publishing.

Duncan, A. (2009). *Policy address on teacher preparation*. Teachers College,
Columbia University. https://www.tc.columbia.edu/articles/2009/october/arne-
duncan-full-transcript/

Feldman, G. (2011). Illuminating the apparatus: Steps toward a nonlocal ethnography
of global governance. In C. Shore, S. Wright, & D. Però (Eds.), *Policy worlds:
Anthropology and the analysis of contemporary power* (pp. 32–49). Berghahn
Books.

Ferrare, J. J., & Setari, R. R. (2018). Converging on choice: The interstate flow of foundation dollars to charter school organizations. *Educational Researcher*, *47*(1), 34–45. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X17736524

Feuer, M. J., Floden, R. E., Chudowsky, N., & Ahn, J. (2013). *Evaluation of teacher preparation programs: Purposes, methods, and policy options*. National Academy of Education.

Fleener, M. J., & Exner, P. D. (2011). Dimensions of teacher education accountability: A Louisiana perspective on value-added. In P. M. Earley, D. G. Imig, & N. M. Michelli (Eds.), *Teacher education policy in the United States: Issues and tensions in an era of evolving expectations* (pp. 26–43). Routledge.

Floden, R. (2017). Evaluating teachers and teacher preparation programs. In R. P. Ferretti & J. Hiebert (Eds.), *Teachers, teaching, and reform* (pp. 45–63). Routledge.

Giridharadas, A. (2019). *Winners take all: The elite charade of changing the world*. Vintage.

Gulosino, C. (2018). Evaluating the Tennessee Higher Education Commission's report card on the value-added estimates of teacher preparation programs. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *26*, 33. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.2604

Gunter, H. M., & Mills, C. (2017). *Consultants and consultancy: The case of education*. Springer.

Jacobs, S. (2012). *All quiet on the preparation front*. National Council on Teacher Quality. https://www.nctq.org/dmsView/All_Quiet_on_the_Preparation_Front_NCTQ_Report

Keller, K. (2012). *CAEP announces commission on standards and performance reporting*. Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation. http://www.ncate.org/about/news-room/news-archive/caep-announces-commission-on-standards

Kretchmar, K., Sondel, B., & Ferrare, J. J. (2018). The power of the network: Teach for America's impact on the deregulation of teacher education. *Educational Policy*, *32*(3), 423–453. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904816637687

Layton, L. (2015). How to build a better teacher: Groups push a 9-point plan called TeachStrong: A coalition of 40 education organizations seeks to modernize and elevate the teaching profession. *Washington Post Blogs*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/how-to-build-a-better-teacher-groups-push-a-9-point-plan-called-teachstrong/2015/11/08/2b28b824-84c8-11e5-8ba6-cec48b74b2a7_story.html?utm_term=.fd645a96a079

Levinson, B. A., Sutton, M., & Winstead, T. (2009). Education policy as a practice of power: Theoretical tools, ethnographic methods, democratic options. *Educational Policy*, *23*(6), 767–795. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904808320676

Levinson, B., Winstead, T., & Sutton, M. (2018). Theoretical foundations for a critical anthropology of education policy. In A. E. Castagno & T. L. McCarty (Eds.), *The anthropology of education policy: Ethnographic inquiries into policy as sociocultural process* (pp. 23–41). Routledge.

Lewis, W. D., & Young, T. V. (2013). The politics of accountability: Teacher education policy. *Educational Policy*, *27*(2), 190–216. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904812472725

Lubienski, C. A., & Brewer, T. J. (Eds.). (2019). *Learning to teach in an era of privatization: Global trends in teacher preparation*. Teachers College Press.

Lubienski, C., Brewer, T. J., & La Londe, P. G. (2016). Orchestrating policy ideas: Philanthropies and think tanks in US education policy advocacy networks. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *43*(1), 55–73. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-015-0187-y

Mandinach, E. B., & Gummer, E. (Eds.). (2019). *Data for continuous programmatic improvement: Steps colleges of education must take to become a data culture*. Routledge.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Moyer, K. (2012). *Calling the states to action*. [National Council on Teacher Quality Blog]. National Council on Teacher Quality. https://www.nctq.org/blog/Calling-the-States-to-Action

National Council on Teacher Quality. (2017). *Program reporting requirements national results*. State Teacher Policy Database. [Data set]. https://www.nctq.org/yearbook/national/Program-Reporting-Requirements-81

Office of the Federal Register. (2016). *Teacher preparation issues*. Federal Register, 81(210). https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2016/10/31/2016-24856/teacher-preparation-issues

Peske, H. G., & Haycock, K. (2006). *Teaching inequality: How poor and minority students are shortchanged on teacher quality. A report and recommendations by the Education Trust*. Education Trust.

PIE Network. (2019). *PIE Network 2019 Summit*. Retrieved July 17, 2019, from https://pie-network.org/events/summit/

Ravitch, D. (2013). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*. Vintage Books.

Reckhow, S. (2013). *Follow the money: How foundation dollars change public school politics*. Oxford University Press.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). Techniques to identify themes. *Field Methods*, *15*(1), 85–109. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X02239569

Scott, J., DeBray, E., Lubienski, C., La Londe, P., C., Castillo, E., & Owens, S. (2017). Urban regimes, intermediary organization networks, and research use: Patterns across three school districts. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *92*(1), 16–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2016.1264800

Scott, J., & Jabbar, H. (2014). The hub and the spokes: Foundations, intermediary organizations, incentivist reforms, and the politics of research evidence. *Educational Policy*, *28*(2), 233–257. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904813515327

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (Eds.). (1997). *Anthropology of policy: Critical perspectives on governance and power*. Routledge.

Shore, C., Wright, S., & Però, D. (Eds.). (2011). *Policy worlds: Anthropology and the analysis of contemporary power*. Berghahn Books.

Spring, J. (2012). *Education networks: Power, wealth, cyberspace, and the digital mind*. Routledge.

Stecher, B. M., Holtzman, D. J., Garet, M. S., Hamilton, L. S., Engberg, J., Steiner, E. D., Robyn, A., Baird, M. D., Gutierrez, I., Peet, E., Brodziak de los Reyes Fronberg, K., Weinberger, G., Hunter, G. P., & Chambers, J. (2018). *Improving teaching effectiveness: Final report: The intensive partnerships for effective teaching through 2015–2016*. RAND Corporation.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2012). *The price of inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future*. WW Norton & Company.

Teacher Preparation Analytics. (2016). *A guide to the key effectiveness indicators*. Teacher Preparation Analytics. http://teacherpreparationanalytics.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/KEI-Guide-12-15-16.pdf

Teacher Preparation Analytics. (2018). *What we do*. http://teacherpreparationanalytics.org/what-we-do/

TeachStrong. (2016). *Principle 2. Reimagine teacher preparation*. TeachStrong. https://cdn.teachstrong.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/23121340/TeachStrongPrinciple_2.pdf

TNTP. (2017). *Getting to better prep: A state guide for teacher preparation data systems*. TNTP. https://tntp.org/assets/documents/Getting_to_Better_Prep.pdf

Tompkins-Stange, M. E. (2016). *Policy patrons: Philanthropy, education reform, and the politics of influence*. Harvard Education Press.

Torres, R. (2016). *23 Philly-area companies make Inc. 5000 list*. Retrieved July 1, 2019, from https://technical.ly/philly/2016/08/18/philly-area-companies-inc-5000-list/

Walsh, K. (2007). *Steps that Congress can take to improve teacher quality without overstepping its bounds*. National Council on Teacher Quality.

Walsh, K. (2011). *CCSSO to tackle teacher prep*. [National Council on Teacher Quality Blog]. National Council on Teacher Quality. https://www.nctq.org/blog/CCSSO-to-tackle-teacher-prep

Wedel, J. R. (2009). *Shadow elite: How the world's new power brokers undermine democracy, government, and the free market*. Basic Books.

Wedel, J. R. (2014). *Unaccountable: How anti-corruption watchdogs and lobbyists sabotaged America's finance, freedom and security*. Pegasus Books.

Wedel, J. R., Shore, C., Feldman, G., & Lathrop, S. (2005). Toward an anthropology of public policy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *600*(1), 30–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716205276734

Weiner, L. (2007). A lethal threat to U.S. teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *58*(4), 274–286. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487107305603

Wilson, S. M. (2014). Innovation and the evolving system of U.S. teacher preparation. *Theory into Practice*, *53*(3), 183–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2014.916569

Zeichner, K. M. (2010). Competition, economic rationalization, increased surveillance, and attacks on diversity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *26*(8), 1544–1552. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.06.004

Zeichner, K., & Conklin, H. G. (2016). Beyond knowledge ventriloquism and echo chambers: Raising the quality of the debate in teacher education. *Teachers College Record*, *118*(12), 1–38.

Zeichner, K., & Peña-Sandoval, C. (2015). Venture philanthropy and teacher education policy in the US: The role of the NewSchools Venture Fund. *Teachers College Record*, *117*(5), 1–44.

Author Biography

Elena Aydarova, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Social Foundations at Auburn University. Her interdisciplinary scholarship examines transformations in teaching and teacher education through the lens of equity, diversity, and social justice. Dr. Aydarova's book Teacher Education Reform as Political Theater: Russian Policy Dramas (2019 with SUNY Press) examines the theatricality of teacher education reforms and calls on teacher educators to look for creative ways to engage in policy dialogues. She is a recipient of an American Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, the Concha Delgado Gaitan Presidential Fellowship from the Council of Anthropology and Education, and a Global Teacher Education Fellowship from the Longview Foundation.