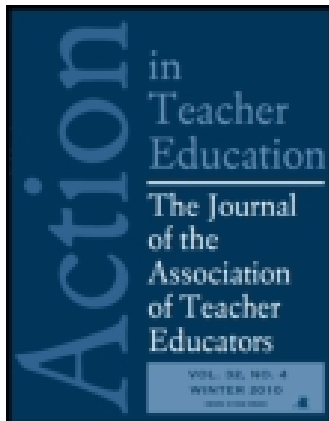


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Two Roadmaps, One Destination: The Economic Progress Paradigm in Teacher Education Accountability in Georgia and Missouri

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The current accountability conversation in teacher education is the direct result of the policy paradigms that shape our understandings of schooling and reform. The authors present cases from Georgia and Missouri illustrating how these policy paradigms have resulted in outcomes-based accountability initiatives for teacher education. Specifically, the authors discuss the procedures these states are using to connect P–12 teacher performance with teacher preparation programs. The authors conclude that the impact of these reform initiatives have the potential to turn teacher education into an individualistic, economic good.

INTRODUCTION

On March 10, 2009, newly elected President Barack Obama spoke to the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce about his vision for education. The president declared to a group of American business leaders that teachers are the most important school-based factor in determining student success and learning in the classroom. He noted, “America’s future depends on its teachers. That is why we are taking steps to prepare teachers for their difficult responsibilities and encouraging them to stay in the profession” (Obama, 2009). Accordingly, President Obama outlined a system that would become his signature Race To The Top (RTTT) initiative that encouraged states to rethink the ways they evaluate and hold teachers accountable for their students’ accomplishments in their classrooms.

Unlike the historical allocation of federal funds through needs-based formulas, RTTT was a competitive grant process that required states to make policy commitments, such as establishing college and career-ready P–12 standards, raising caps on charter schools, overhauling teacher evaluation and teacher tenure systems, and establishing longitudinal data systems linking P–12 teacher performance to teacher preparation. Although only 19 states received RTTT monies, because eligibility was tied to reforms that mirrored federal education priorities, the initiative created enough political cover in states to change existing education laws.

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Consequently, states across the country initiated legislative or executive education reforms with or without federal funding. This competitive approach to reform, in essence, was the broader intent of RTTT—to induce education reform at the state level. As a *New York Times* (2010) editorial noted, “even states that did not get grants now have road maps and a better sense of what it will take to build better schools.” These roadmaps are now being implemented across the United States. In particular, the adoption of accountability mechanisms for teacher preparation are beginning to influence the field as states operationalize teacher education reforms that require program participation in statewide data systems.

This article draws attention to the conversation—catalyzed by RTTT—of the ways that states are working to connect the dots of student learning, teacher effectiveness, and teacher preparation program accountability. Even though this conversation is taking place at a variety of levels and on a multitude of fronts, we present cases related to two states—Georgia and Missouri. We focus on Georgia and Missouri for three reasons: (1) Georgia and Missouri paint a picture portraying the mechanisms that states from different regions and, thus, different political traditions use for conducting similar work; (2) Georgia and Missouri are working to connect the dots of student learning, teacher effectiveness, and preparation program evaluation in response to RTTT with (Georgia) and without (Missouri) federal funds; and (3) Georgia and Missouri provide a snapshot for the developments that this conversation is generating at different points on the implementation timeline.

We argue that the national conversation around teacher education accountability in the United States derives from a specific policy paradigm about the utility of teacher preparation. First, we discuss the outcomes framing the current accountability conversation in teacher education as a direct result of the policy paradigms that shape our understandings of schooling and reform. Then, we outline the approaches that Georgia and Missouri are using to operationalize paradigm specific ideas about teacher education into policies and mechanisms that are reshaping teacher education performance accountability. Finally, we argue that the impact of these reform initiatives have the potential to turn teacher education into an individualistic, economic good.

THE PARADIGM OF SCHOOL REFORM AND TEACHER EDUCATION ACCOUNTABILITY

Schooling in the United States is not so much an educational enterprise as it is a social enterprise. From this perspective, schooling’s purpose is less about educating children and more about accomplishing a variety of social goals. Americans have always asked much of their schools. According to Labaree (2011), the American public school system is expected to accomplish a series of goals that include enacting democratic equity, facilitating social efficiency, and promoting social mobility. And even though public schooling in the United States has deep roots in working toward all these goals, “the overall balance in the purposes of schooling shifted from a political rationale (shoring up the new republic) to a market rationale (promoting social efficiency and social mobility)” (p. 177). This shift in Americans’ thinking about schooling is the result of a powerful paradigm that holds that educational success is central to national economic success.

In education, the solutions enacted by policy makers are reflections of how society defines particular policy problems. As such, the policy-making process is bound by paradigms—dominant views that preclude dissent—that frame the contexts of the problems and influence the policies

that are and are not enacted. Policy paradigms help frame individual, institutional, and social conversations about a policy arena like education, which in turn, can have dramatic consequences for the solutions that are deemed legitimate for addressing a problem. The current education policy paradigm in the United States has appropriated the neoliberal obsession with human capital development (Mehta, 2013). This paradigm can be traced back to *A Nation at Risk*'s (1980) redefinition of the purpose of schooling in economic terms. Since this redefinition, most education policies in the United States have tried to conform to the paradigm that education ought to be an economic pursuit. Teacher education accountability encapsulated in the reform efforts ushered in by RTTT is the latest policy response to this powerful paradigm.

Schooling and Economic Progress

Schools in the United States historically have identified several foci from shoring up the new republic to expanding civil rights (e.g., Labaree, 2011). However, since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, the predominant idea about the purpose of school has been economic. In short, *A Nation at Risk* asserted that American schools were failing because of incoherent curriculum, low expectations, poorly trained teachers, and a pattern of declining test scores. These failures, according to the report, were significantly handicapping America's ability to produce a competent and competitive workforce. As Mehta (2013) suggested, the "lasting impact [of *A Nation at Risk*] has come less through its proposed solutions and more through its shaping of the problem: by linking educational and economic concerns it created broad and deep political momentum for school reform" (p. 115). Over the last 30 years, American policy makers have used numerous policies that have crystalized education as a tool for economic development in the national consciousness. This focus has institutionalized the economic rationale as the only valid means of interpreting what schools should do.

The salience of the idea that education is a tool for national economic success promoted in *A Nation at Risk* helped gradually shift the perception of the responsibility for schooling from a broad social responsibility to individual schools and teachers. The depiction of poorly trained teachers coming from the bottom one fourth of college students, unable to master content because of a teacher education curriculum weighted heavily on courses in "education methods" led to declining trust in the expertise of teachers and of teacher education. This perception led to the political rationale in the 1990s to hold schools and teachers accountable for student learning. In 2001, this rationale was further inscribed in the national consciousness with the passing of No Child Left Behind and its mandated annual statewide testing of P-12 students. Placing high-stakes testing at the center of school and teacher performance positioned accountability as simply holding schools and teachers responsible for student performance.

As performance data was publically disseminated, rather than demanding accountability for student needs, citizens began to demand accountability for student performance, reducing education to measurable outcomes. The reconfiguration of this relationship cast the role of citizen in economic terms as consumers of education. As Biesta (2004) noted, the role of parents and students in the "accountability loop" in education is indirect at best, because the only means of recourse consumers have are their choices. This redefinition depoliticizes the relationship between citizens and schools because "accountability becomes a formal relationship in which quality . . . becomes associated with processes and procedures rather than with content and aims"

(p. 248). Consequently, this economic relationship in education focuses interactions between citizens and schools

on questions about the quality of the provision (i.e., Is my child getting the best out of this school?) . . . rather than on questions about the common educational good (i.e., What is it that we want to achieve as a community for the community?). (p. 248)

Teacher Education and Outcomes Based Accountability Measures

Within this accountability milieu, searching for means to improve teacher quality inevitably turned to teacher education. Starting in 2002, reports on teacher education from the U.S. Department of Education have repeatedly cited statistics about the poor quality of university-based preparation, called for more regulation and increased accountability measures, and promoted efforts to bypass traditional preparation routes. Although the Bush administration focused mostly on market-based reforms of teacher education, the Obama administration structured performance-based accountability reform into the RTTT initiative by leveraging the promise of federal dollars to push states to adopt longitudinal databases and processes that connect P–12 student achievement scores to preparation programs. The initiative implicitly critiqued the quality and current measures of accountability in teacher preparation, leading state executives, legislators, and policy makers to fashion teacher education accountability as outcome driven and dependent on student performance.

Calls for performance-based accountability reform have also originated from organizations as disparate as the National Council on Teacher Quality (NCTQ), American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), and the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). The critiques being levied against teacher education inside and outside the field have focused on similar themes that teacher preparation is inadequate and poorly monitored. Presently, the reform conversation has coalesced around connecting the dots between student achievement in P–12 schools to teacher effectiveness in the classroom to the quality of a teacher’s preparation program. The concern with teacher education accountability measures that connect student performance to teacher preparation programs rest on the assumption outlined by President Obama that “the most important factor in [a student’s] success is . . . the person standing at the front of the classroom” (Obama, 2009).

In reality, teaching and learning are more complex than the picture the president painted in his speech to the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Yet the salience of the idea that the responsibility for schools rests on teachers and their preparation has led to policy prescriptions that attempt to measure the quality of a teacher preparation program solely on in-school factors. The two tools promoted by RTTT to determine the quality of teachers and, by extension, the quality of teacher education are value-added student growth models and teacher evaluation through direct classroom observation.

Some researchers have questioned the capacity of both tools to reliably measure the quality of teacher preparation programs. For example, Koedel, Parsons, Podgursky, and Ehlert (2012) stated that value-added cutoff points that would cause one program to be labeled effective and another to be labeled ineffective are so small as to be meaningless. Moreover, because these labels are ambiguous, they are generated more by politics than by statistical validity (Lincove, Osborne, Dillon, & Mills, 2014). Looking at teacher observation instruments, Strong, Gargani,

and Hacifazlıoğlu (2011) found that principals and other observers of practice, no matter their experiences, have difficulty identifying successful teachers. In other words, even seasoned educators cannot identify the teachers that are and are not effective in the classroom. Additionally, Praetorius, Lenske, and Helmke (2012) have pointed out that even training raters does not seem to improve the reliability of observation.

The unresolved issues with both tools indicate the inexactness of the current ideas about teacher education reform. Although attention to human capital is important, policy solutions must also account for the contextual factors that complicate a teacher's work such as changes in student populations and the idiosyncrasies of local contexts. Nevertheless, because the dominant policy paradigm for schooling in the United States frames the purpose for schools as economic, focusing exclusively on the outcomes of teacher preparation programs is a logical progression of this paradigm.

TWO ROADMAPS: GEORGIA AND MISSOURI

We discuss the ways that two states—Georgia and Missouri—are linking student learning, teacher effectiveness, and preparation program accountability. In both states, the economic rationale of schools has been crystalized by policies and constant political framing. Prompted by RTTT, both states are presently implementing a series of reforms seeking to surface teacher education program outcomes in P–12 schools. However, both are proceeding through funded and unfunded mandates to develop monitoring technologies that can assess the effectiveness of teacher preparation. These two cases not only bring into sharp contrast the differences in system sophistication and the uneven application of RTTT-influenced teacher education reform, but they also help illustrate the common rhetoric and rationality of performance-based teacher education accountability.

GEORGIA

Georgia applied for and received approximately \$400 million dollars in RTTT funds from the federal government in 2010. The purpose of these funds was to initiate a series of reform platforms focused on improving the quality of education in the state. The bulk of Georgia's educational reform agenda focuses on issues of teacher quality and the effectiveness of the state's teacher preparation programs.

The theory of action driving education reform in Georgia is aligned with the policy paradigm that schools are incubators of human capital and serve economic purposes at the exclusion of everything else. This paradigm connects to university-based teacher preparation programs through several initiatives including the University System of Georgia's (USG; 2012) *Complete College Georgia* plan. According to the plan's report, Georgia must address shortages in workforce readiness if it is to remain economically competitive, because, "Existing employers begin to question the benefit of staying with a workforce that falls near the bottom of states inside a nation that lags behind most other developed countries in terms of education" (p. 2). To address these concerns, Georgia's education policy reforms focus on ensuring its high school graduates

are prepared for college and the workplace. One major component of this work is through connecting P–12 student achievement to teacher quality monitoring to teacher preparation program accountability via Georgia’s new teacher effectiveness measure (TEM).

USG Chancellor Hank Huckaby noted that this new landscape of teacher education evaluation will help Georgia meet its human capital needs and, thus, help generate economic progress (Georgia Public Broadcasting, 2013). As such, Georgia has initiated a variety of reform initiatives (e.g., adoption of edTPA, redesign of certification exam, alignment of P–12 teacher evaluation with teacher preparation programs) that have culminated in the largest redesign of teacher preparation accountability policies in recent memory. The specific focus of this policy shift is to link P–12 student growth and achievement to teacher performance in the classroom back to the teacher preparation programs where a teacher was prepared to teach.

Teacher Preparation Program Effectiveness Measure

Georgia is connecting the dots between P–12 student achievement and teacher preparation program evaluation through the Teacher Preparation Program Effectiveness Measure (TPPEM) accountability initiative. The work on TPPEM is being led by the Georgia Professional Standards Commission (GaPSC)—the state agency charged with teacher certification and teacher preparation—and is designed to accomplish a series of goals that include: (1) improving teaching and learning in P-12 schools, (2) informing the citizens of Georgia about teacher preparation program quality, and (3) improving the effectiveness of teacher preparation programs in the human capital pipeline that feeds Georgia schools. According to USG Chancellor Hank Huckaby, Georgia is “no longer focusing on inputs—the courses and other programs teachers must take—but looking at the outputs—how effective is a teacher in actually teaching our students to an identified level of academic achievement” (USG, 2014). TPPEM is a major shift in teacher preparation program evaluation in the state and will change Georgia teacher educators’ thinking about their work.

Georgia’s TPPEM includes several metrics for evaluating teacher preparation programs in the state. TPPEM is illustrated in Figure 1 and consists of teacher preparation program-based

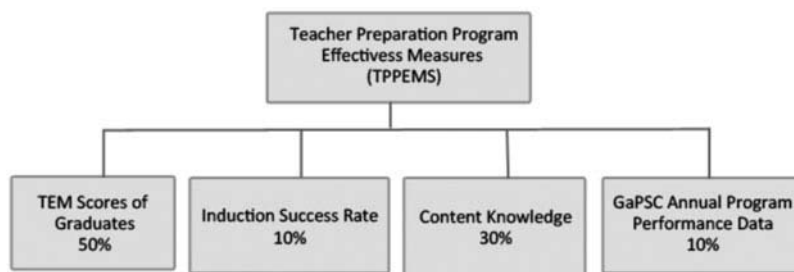


FIGURE 1 Georgia’s Teacher Preparation Program Effectiveness Measures (TPPEM).

TEM = teacher effectiveness measure; GaPSC = Georgia Professional Standards Commission.

accountability measures such as candidate performance on content exams as well as school-based measures such as graduate performance on the state's TEM.

TEM scores of graduates. TEM scores account for 50% of a teacher preparation program's effectiveness rating and are derived from its graduates' performance on the TEM. Georgia's TEM consists of two components: (1) student growth and achievement measures and (2) teacher assessments on performance standards (TAPS). The TEM is calculated via a 50%–50% split. On the student growth and achievement side of the model, a teacher's effectiveness is determined by whether the students continue a projected pattern of growth on state assessments. Georgia's model calculates "a student's growth relative to his/her academically similar peers—other students with similar prior achievement" (Georgia Department of Education, 2013, p. 66). The assumption here is that a teacher can produce more or less growth in a student and should be held accountable for the role the teacher plays in that process.

The TAPS side of the model consists of principal observations on ten Georgia teaching standards. These standards are divided into five domains that account for the teaching actions of planning, instructional delivery, assessment of and for learning, creating a learning environment, and professionalism and communication. A teacher's effectiveness on Georgia's performance standards is calculated from a series of supervisor observations and walkthroughs.

The overall TEM is a teacher's rating on the student growth and achievement and the performance standards side of the model. These TEM scores are then applied to the teacher preparation program where the teacher was prepared to teach to determine the effectiveness of that program for producing quality teachers. The TEM component of the TPPEM connects P–12 student learning to teacher preparation program effectiveness.

Induction success rate. Induction success rate counts 10% of the overall TPPEM. Beginning in Fall 2015, graduates from Georgia's teacher preparation programs will obtain induction certificates that will be good for 3 years of employment in a Georgia public school. A teacher must perform at a certain level on the TEM during the induction period to move from the induction certificate to the professional certificate. In other words, the induction success rate is another method to measure the effectiveness of a teacher education program's graduates at producing student growth and achievement in the classroom.

Content knowledge. Content knowledge is 30% of the TPPEM. The content knowledge calculation includes candidate performance on Georgia's Content Certification Exam—GACE—and, beginning in Fall 2015, candidate performance on the edTPA. Both assessments are consequential and will be required for certification.

GaPSC annual performance data. GaPSC annual program performance data is 10% of a teacher preparation program's overall effectiveness calculation. This metric consists of a teacher preparation program's completion rates, retention rates, yield, and data from inductee and graduate surveys. Calculations such as yield account for a teacher preparation program's impact on Georgia's teacher employment market. The yield rate is calculated as the number of candidates graduating from a teacher preparation program who obtain employment in a Georgia public school in their certification fields.

According to Georgia's RTTT (GaDOE, 2010) application, the metrics outlined in the TPPEM will put the "pieces in place to apply a sound methodology to predict, track, and evaluate supply

and demand” (p. 100) for Georgia teachers. TPPEM is the policy prescription for monitoring human capital in the teaching field. As such, TPPEM accounts for the role teacher education plays in furthering economic progress in Georgia.

MISSOURI

In Missouri’s RTTT application, the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (MDESE, 2010) noted their intention to create a comprehensive data system that “will link teacher-level student performance data as well as school-level performance data with the educator preparation programs from which specific teachers and leaders obtained their training” (p. 30). This system, according to MDESE, would assist in developing “a rating system for teacher preparation programs based on the effectiveness of their graduates as measured in part by growth in student achievement” and a “standards-based evaluation tool for educator preparation program improvement” (p. 248). Although Missouri failed twice to attain RTTT funding in 2010, the application process set in motion a series of legislative and policy reforms for P–12 education and teacher education in the state.

The most ambitious reform effort was the development and adoption of a professional continuum for educators. In 2011, MDESE began creating a set of teacher standards, the Missouri Model Teacher Standards, aligned with the new Interstate Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (InTASC) standards. The Missouri Model Teacher Standards consist of nine teacher standards and 36 quality indicators detailing the outcomes that Missouri educators ought to know and be able to do.

Although several states have aligned their professional standards with InTASC standards, the unique quality about the Missouri Model Teacher Standards is that they provide a set of uniform professional expectations along a continuum from teacher preparation through P-12 employment. Each quality indicator features a description of certain knowledge or skills teachers ought to possess in one of five developmental stages: (1) candidate, (2) emerging teacher, (3) developing teacher, (4) proficient teacher, and (5) distinguished teacher. By articulating increasing degrees of expertise for Missouri teachers, these standards were designed as a method to measurably link the accountability measures of P–12 to teacher education.

Teacher Education Accountability in Missouri: Missouri Educator Gateway Assessments and the Annual Performance Report

After connecting teacher preparation to the professional educator continuum in Missouri, MDESE focused on developing accountability measures of teacher preparation in three interrelated phases. The first phase occurred in 2012 when the State Board of Education approved new program standards for educator preparation programs, the Missouri Standards for the Preparation of Educators (MoSPE). The second phase occurred in 2013 when MDESE unveiled the Missouri Educator Gateway Assessments (MEGA)—a new battery of assessments for teacher candidates in educator preparation programs. The MEGA battery consists of

1. Missouri Educator Profile: a dispositions assessment designed by Pearson Evaluation Systems that measures a teacher candidate’s work style.

2. Content Area Exam: MDESE allowed their contract with the PRAXIS content area exams to expire and signed a new contract with Pearson Evaluation Systems to develop a new series of content area exams that measure a candidate's certification area content knowledge.
3. Missouri Pre-Service Teacher Assessment (MoPTA): a performance assessment of student teaching developed by Educational Testing Services that requires candidates to respond to prompts, provide samples of lesson plans, assessments, student work, and submit a 15-minute video recording of instruction.

According to MDESE Commissioner Chris Nicaastro, these assessments were designed to help new teachers become effective educators, because “quality educators are the most important factor in providing students with the knowledge and skills they need for college, other postsecondary training, and a career” (MDESE, 2013a).

The third phase occurred in early 2014 when MDESE released the Comprehensive Guide to the Annual Performance Report for Educator Preparation Programs (APR-EPP; MDESE, 2014a). To ensure that programs were meeting the expectations set in MoSPE, the APR-EPP outlined new rules that subjected teacher preparation programs to annual continuing approval by the State Board of Education. Because assessing program performance was the goal of the annual review process, MDESE decided to focus on three MoSPE standards to determine continuing approval: academics (Standard 1), field and clinical experiences (Standard 3), and the transition from candidate to educator (Standard 4). Indicators for each standard were set, along with benchmarks that programs need to attain for continuing approval. These standards are outlined in Table 1.

The academics standard requires that 80% of program candidates pass content area exams in two attempts. The content area exams that will be used to measure program effectiveness are new Pearson Evaluation Systems content area exams available as of Fall 2014. In addition to the passing score on the content exams, 85% of candidates must have a content area or cumulative program grade point average that meets or exceeds 2.75.

For field and clinical experiences, no benchmarks have been set because the two indicators that will eventually be used are still under development. The first indicator is MoPTA—a performance assessment of student teaching. MoPTA was piloted in 2013 but will not be used statewide until Fall 2015. The second indicator is a rating on the Missouri Educator Evaluation System (MEES), an evaluation instrument of student teachers that aligns with the Missouri Model Teacher Standards and parallels the instrument that will be used to evaluate all Missouri public school teachers. The MEES is designed to “provide a determination on the degree to which the teacher candidate is able to put their knowledge articulated at the Candidate Level into practice as represented by demonstrating performance at the Emerging Level” (MDESE, 2014b, p. 11). The MEES for student teachers will be used by Missouri teacher preparation programs beginning Fall 2014.

The final standard that will determine the continuing approval of teacher preparation programs in Missouri is the transition between candidates and beginning teachers. To measure the effectiveness of programs to accomplish this standard, MDESE will use survey responses of program alumni who are in their first year of teaching in a Missouri public school as well as responses from their supervising principals. The benchmark for this standard is that 90% of program completers and supervising principals report “adequate” or better preparation at the conclusion of the first year of teaching.

TABLE 1
Missouri's Annual Performance Report-Educator Preparation Program (APR-EPP)

<i>MoSPE Standard</i>	<i>Data Source</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Benchmark</i>
Academics	Content assessments	Assessment Pass Rate	80% pass rate
	Completer demographics	Content GPAs	85% of candidates meet or exceed a 2.75 GPA in content area.
Field experiences	Performance assessment of student teaching: MoPTA	MoPTA pass rate	To be determined
	Evaluation of student teaching: Missouri Educator Evaluation System	MEES rating on observations of practice	To be determined
Candidate to beginning educators	First-year teacher surveys	Responses of first-year Missouri public school teachers	90% of first-year alumni rate preparation "adequate" or better.
	First-year teacher surveys	Responses of supervising principals of first-year teachers	90% of supervising principals of first-year program alumni rate preparation "adequate" or better.

MoSPE = Missouri Standards for the Preparation of Educators; GPA = grade point average; MoTPA = Missouri Pre-Service Teacher Assessment; MEES = Missouri Educator Evaluation System.

The APR-EPP represents the culmination of the activities utilized to construct a new accountability framework for teacher preparation in Missouri. By subjecting programs to the spectacle of public surveillance, Missouri is fulfilling the reforms promised during the RTTT application process. MDESE anticipates being able to measure all of the APR-EPP indicators by late 2015. However, this implementation timeframe is doubtful given delays in the operationalization of the new content exams, extensive problems with the response rate of first year teacher surveys, and delays with MoPTA because of poor rubrics and the inability of MDESE to secure commitments from local school districts to allow student teachers to video record P–12 students.

As Missouri begins to enact other promises of RTTT, the development of a student growth model will be added as a future element in Missouri's teacher education accountability efforts. In 2013, the state released draft principles of the Missouri Growth Model—a value added measure that attempts to identify and predict “the contributions of districts/LEAs, schools, classrooms and other contexts to student achievement” (MDESE, 2013b, p. 13). According to MDESE (2013), the use of the Missouri Growth Model is intended to provide teacher preparation programs student learning data for their continuing approval. Ostensibly, in the next few years, the Missouri Growth Model will serve as one more indicator of teacher preparation program effectiveness in the APR-EPP as another technique to connect the dots between student learning, teacher effectiveness, and teacher preparation program accountability.

ONE DESTINATION: ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Georgia's TPPEM and Missouri's APR-EPP are two examples of accountability systems that reify the paradigm that economic progress is the utility of teacher education programs. Although

there are differences in the sophistication and design of both accountability systems, each is predicated on the notion that performance-tracking systems can increase economic productivity. The assumption simply being that teacher preparation programs are responsible for producing high-quality teachers who are, in turn, responsible for creating a competitive workforce. As such, the single destination of these systems—accountability for economic progress—is troubling in at least three ways: (1) the substitution of purpose, (2) the possibility of being framed as disinterested in children, and (3) the inability to surmount policy lag.

First, by holding teacher preparation programs quantitatively accountable for teacher quality, the same neoliberal forces that have consumed questions of purpose in public education will begin to occupy teacher education. Although the value and purpose of teacher preparation has always been an open question, this question has typically been supported by a multiplicity of purposes that work to advance social interests such as a productive life, academic learning, human development, or social justice. When “scores” determined by agencies outside of teacher education become the sole indicators of progress and success, it is possible that many of the purposes teacher education values will be substituted by the broader paradigm of economic progress that drives accountability. Compliance will inevitably shift pedagogy and purpose in teacher education (Craig, 2010). Undoubtedly, the assessments and metrics in Georgia’s TPPEM and Missouri’s APR-EPP have the potential to focus the purpose of programs solely on outcomes like employability and student test scores—outcomes that ultimately reify the utility of schooling and teacher education as an economic pursuit.

Second, after more than a decade of public report cards, the assignment of school/district letter grades, and the release of individual teacher test score data in some states, the notion that teachers bear the sole responsibility for the economic success of students has become a prevailing notion. Following suit, the policy platforms of Georgia’s TPPEM and Missouri’s APR-EPP corner teacher education into advancing the narrative of sole responsibility by linking program performance to teachers’ abilities to raise P–12 student achievement scores (Missouri Growth Model, Georgia Student Growth and Achievement) and/or observation scores (TAPS; MEES). Calculating teacher preparation program performance through test scores and in-school observations places the culpability for failing schools on teacher education, despite the fact that most of the factors that lead to school failure are out of the control of preparation programs. With teacher education as a cause of school failure, those interested in the deregulation or deprofessionalization of teacher education can isolate teacher education and frame the field at odds with the interest of children and society. If applied to teacher education, the economic rationale can work—as it did in K–12 education—to decouple the preparation of teachers from larger social issues of equity. As Sleeter (2008) suggested, teacher education when framed simply as support for raising test scores narrows how equity can be discussed, “away from the need to address high-poverty communities’ chronic lack of basic resources . . . and toward conceptualizing gaps in academic achievement among various racial and social class communities in terms of standardized test scores only” (p. 1952).

Finally, even if these accountability systems were taken at face value as effective tools to “reform” the field, the policy process and the “high-stakes” nature of American politics troubles their implementation. Henig (2013) observed that since the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, there has been an emergence of education mayors, governors, presidents, and legislators that have leveraged the economic progress narrative to erode the control of education from local school boards. Because these politicians face significant electoral and institutional pressure to

solve perceived public problems as quickly as possible, they do not have the luxury of waiting on a long-term policy process. Accordingly, the appropriation of education and teacher education as a general city, state, and federal political problem creates a policy lag between policy makers demands for accountability and the implementation of effective accountability policies. Because of the prospect of the next election cycle, policy makers' demands for accountability travel faster than the time it takes to effectively implement sound policy. In Georgia, under pressure from a governor-appointed GaPSC board and elected state legislature, programs will be publically ranked starting in 2014 despite the fact that the TPPEM requires at least 3 years of data to provide reliable information on program performance. In Missouri, pressure from the governor-appointed State Board of Education and Commissioner of Education has led to a rapid pace of reform efforts that have been riddled with implementation mistakes. The constancy of these changes has led to either programs expending energy to change elements of their program that are now incorrect or to a wait-and-see attitude by preparation program leaders. Both states illustrate the potential consequences of policy lag and the obstacle that political expediency plays in enacting reasonable reforms to improve the quality of teacher education. Inevitably, this lag will be framed by future politicians not as a policy design problem, but as a policy implementation problem, giving more public credence to the further disciplining of teacher education with accountability measures and metrics.

CONCLUSION

Discussing the pervasiveness of the outcomes based thinking in teacher education, Cochran-Smith, Piazza, and Power (2013) noted that "the discourses of neoliberalism and outcomes are so ubiquitous in teacher education that they are no longer perceptible" (p. 13). Seemingly, the reforms introduced by RTTT have pushed the economic progress paradigm and the outcomes discourses that legitimize this paradigm further into our programs. However, despite the considerable problems with the economic progress paradigm contained within the accountability systems being constructed in Georgia and Missouri, it is important to note that policy paradigms are also capable of being rewritten. The power of *A Nation at Risk* was its capacity to define the problem of schooling and generate a compelling master narrative that set the stage for subsequent systems that responded to the ascendancy of that narrative. Mehta (2013) suggested that "paradigms create politics" (p. 316) and, thus, determine what solutions policy makers take up.

In teacher education, we must become more perceptive of the ubiquitous influences of the economic progress paradigm on our work. We must then work to problematize the paradigm, not just as an academic pursuit, but more importantly as a public and political pursuit. Moreover, we must work in concert with other stakeholders in public education to construct a different narrative and identify different problems (e.g., the problems inherent in the broader reform movement; ways to keep those decrying accountability accountable). Such a rewrite will certainly require different ideas such as collaborations within and across teacher education programs, collocating knowledge production with schools, elevating the status of practice within higher education, and even embracing public relations as a key function of the responsibility of teacher educators, education researchers, and education schools. In the meantime, as teacher education programs in Georgia, Missouri, and other states respond to changes demanded by new accountability systems,

understanding and identifying how and when these systems begin to substitute purpose, place our work at odds with children, and publically frame us as ineffective is an important step in being able to eventually craft a narrative of teacher education as a public good.

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