

Teacher Preparation at New Graduate Schools of Education

Studying a Controversial Innovation

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Abstract

A controversial innovation within the rapidly expanding field of teacher education is the relocation of teacher preparation to new graduate schools of education (nGSEs), which are not university based but are state authorized and approved as institutions of higher education to prepare teachers, endorse them for initial teacher certification, and grant master's degrees. Despite media attention and both public and private funding, however, there is little empirical research about the

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phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs based on access to actual programs, participants, materials, and institutional records. This article is the first in a planned series that draws on a Spencer Foundation–funded study of teacher preparation at nGSEs to introduce the phenomenon. It has three purposes: to situate the emergence of teacher preparation at nGSEs within larger professional, policy, and political contexts; to define and clarify the characteristics of teacher preparation at nGSEs and identify its institutional domain; and to present a field- and theory-informed analytic framework for studying teacher preparation at nGSEs.

Introduction

Within the rapidly expanding field of teacher education, a controversial innovation, which emerged in the early 2000s, is the relocation of teacher preparation to *new graduate schools of education* (nGSEs). We coined this term and acronym (Cochran-Smith, Carney, & Miller, 2016) because we were interested in the phenomenon of teacher preparation at new independent graduate schools. These nGSEs are not university based, but are state authorized and approved as institutions of higher education to prepare teachers, endorse them for initial teacher certification, and grant master's degrees. The most recognizable examples of this phenomenon are High Tech High Graduate School of Education, the first nGSE in the nation, and Relay Graduate School of Education, the largest.

This article draws on a Spencer Foundation–funded study of teacher preparation at nGSEs. It locates the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs within the context of three major policy discourses about teacher education reform. Next, the article defines the characteristics and the current domain of U.S. nGSEs that offer teacher preparation. Finally, the article offers a framework for analyzing and unpacking this phenomenon.

Teacher Preparation at nGSEs: Why Study It?

By offering *preprofessional teacher preparation*, nGSEs depart from many alternate approaches that provide fast-track entry routes into teaching or meet licensure requirements but offer little actual preparation. By entering the field of teacher education as *graduate schools*, nGSEs lay claim to institutional ground and program legitimacy, which, as educational historians (Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Labaree, 2004) have pointed out, have long been reserved for schools of education at universities. In this sense, nGSEs constitute a distinct group of teacher preparation providers. They are not part of the tradition and culture of universities, but to legitimize their standing as degree-granting schools of education, they must negotiate trade-offs and decisions related to knowledge resources, material and symbolic indicators of professional legitimacy, and access. Their entrée into the field of teacher preparation amid contentious debates about the purposes of teacher preparation and calls for radical reinvention adds to the importance of nGSEs as

an innovation worth studying. This article draws from our larger study of nGSEs, which has three goals: to unpack and critically analyze how teacher preparation is conceptualized and enacted within and across nGSEs, to examine how nGSEs operate institutionally, and to consider the implications of this new phenomenon for teacher education more broadly. It is important to note that the larger study's purpose is *not* to defend or dismiss teacher preparation at nGSEs, nor is the purpose to compare it to university teacher preparation in an evaluative way. Rather, the purpose is to understand the project of teacher preparation from the professional and political perspectives of nGSE leaders, advocates, and founders, along with the experiences and meaning perspectives of their participants, including faculties, teacher candidates, and graduates.

Although nGSEs represent a very small piece of the expansive field of teacher education in the United States, they have received considerable attention from the media as well as a disproportionate share of the private and public funding allocated to teacher education (Carney, 2019; Zeichner & Pená-Sandoval, 2015). As reflected in their use of university nomenclature, nGSEs have, in some ways, situated themselves as competitors of university-based teacher preparation. Despite media attention and funding, however, there is little independent, peer-reviewed, empirical research about the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. In fact, although a few important critical analyses of particular aspects of nGSEs have been based on publicly available materials and published documents (e.g., Philip et al., 2018; Zeichner, 2016), we could locate no independent empirical studies that examined teacher preparation at nGSEs *based on direct internal access* to program components, materials, learning contexts, participants, and institutional records.

This article is intended to introduce the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs to those interested in developments in the rapidly changing field of teacher education by reporting on Phase 1 of a larger three-phase study.¹ This article has three purposes, all of which are related to Phase 1: (a) to situate the emergence of teacher preparation at nGSEs within larger professional, policy, and political contexts by describing three prominent "ed reform" policy discourses about the "problem of teacher education"; (b) to define and clarify the characteristics of teacher preparation at nGSEs in the United States; and (c) to present a field- and theory-informed analytic framework for studying teacher preparation at nGSEs.

The "Problem of Teacher Education" and Teacher Preparation at nGSEs

In the decades since the release of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), a new "policy paradigm" has emerged in education in the United States (Mehta, 2013). Consistent with this new paradigm, policy makers and regulators have treated teacher education as a public "policy problem"

(Cochran-Smith, 2005). Here we use *problem* not to cast teacher education in a negative light or to refer to the programmatic and institutional challenges all teacher education providers confront. Rather, the "problem of teacher education" refers to how the language and rhetoric of policy discourses construct or diagnose teacher education as a "problem" that can be fixed by policy, including who or what "caused" the problem and what kind of problem it actually is. Most of the major policy discourses related to teacher education over the last three decades have been based on the (contested) assumption that boosting teacher quality depends on policy makers determining which of the policy parameters that they can control—for example, aspects of teacher recruitment, selection, preparation, assessment, and certification—is most likely to achieve desired educational outcomes and, ultimately, improve the economic health of the nation (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Furlong, Cochran-Smith, & Brennan, 2009; Kennedy, 1999). To situate the emergence of teacher preparation at nGSEs within larger policy discourses, we describe three discourses that have constructed the "problem of teacher education" in different ways.

Teacher Education as a "Regulation Problem"

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the discourse about teacher preparation regulation was constructed as primarily a tug-of-war between deregulation and professionalization (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Zeichner, 2003). Deregulation proponents argued that university teacher preparation was a substandard area of collegiate study and that certification requirements served merely as "hoops and hurdles" that kept talented people out of teaching (Hess, 2001; Kanstoroom & Finn, 1999; U.S. Department of Education, 2002, 2003). Proponents of deregulation also asserted that no definitive research had shown that university preparation significantly impacted either teacher or student performance (Abell Foundation, 2001; Ballou & Podgursky, 2000). Thus they called for the *deregulation* of preparation/licensure coupled with expansion of alternate routes (Abell Foundation, 2001; Hess, 2001; Kanstoroom & Finn, 1999).

In contrast, proponents of professionalization asserted that there was a clear, professionally established knowledge base about teachers and teaching (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005; Reynolds, 1989). Advocates of professionalization aimed to boost teacher quality through simultaneous reform of professional standards for preparation, program approval, and certification. Professionalization advocates also asserted that research showed that knowledgeable, fully prepared, and fully licensed teachers were the most important factor in guaranteeing all students' learning (Darling-Hammond, 2000; National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996; Sykes, 1999).

Although colleges and universities continue to prepare the majority of the nation's teachers, by the early 2000s, 48 of the 50 states allowed (and sometimes privileged) alternate pathways that streamlined or sidestepped collegiate pro-

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grams (National Association for Alternative Certification, 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2002, 2003). Emerging during the 2000s as a subset of the loose category of "alternate" pathways, teacher preparation at nGSEs is thus partly the result of deregulation. However, the professionalization agenda by no means disappeared at that time, and many teacher educators continued to advocate for high professional standards. To a certain extent, the professionalization agenda evolved into a standards and accountability agenda with heavy emphasis on accountability (Ambrosio, 2013; Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Taubman, 2010).

Teacher Education as an "Accountability Problem"

The policy discourse about teacher preparation as an accountability problem is based on the idea that policy makers (and the public) lack confidence in university teacher preparation as a profession (Crowe, 2008). One key charge is that university preparation has not been accountable for rigorous admissions standards for prospective teachers (National Council on Teacher Quality, 2013). Even more damning, however, is the charge that teacher preparation has not been accountable for outcomes, including teachers' performance, program impact, and graduates' effectiveness at boosting students' test scores (Allen, Coble, & Crowe, 2014; Crowe, 2010; Duncan, 2009).

When the policy discourse about teacher education is constructed in this way, the presumed solution to the problem is heightened accountability. It is important to note that although the accountability agenda was pushed primarily by policy makers, regulators, and critics of teacher education, the teacher education "establishment" also made a turn toward outcomes-based accountability (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Taubman, 2010). The effort to "hold teacher education accountable" was manifested in demands for standardized assessment tools, data-driven systems for continuous improvement, large-scale data systems for state monitoring of program impact, and state/federal reporting requirements through Title II of the Higher Education Act (Ambrosio, 2013; Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Lewis & Young, 2013; Taubman, 2010). The (contested) assumption here is that better organized, more standardized, and more systematically linked data systems can improve the quality of teacher preparation and thus enhance teacher effectiveness.

One connection between the discourse of accountability and the emergence of nGSEs is the rigorously disputed claim (Zeichner, 2016) by *some* nGSEs that they are not only more effective than other programs but also more willing to be accountable for their graduates' effectiveness at boosting student achievement (Gastic, 2014; Hess & McShane, 2014).

Teacher Education as a Theory–Practice Problem

The discourse about teacher education as a theory-practice problem is based on the critique that university preparation programs have not produced effective teachers because of the long-perceived gap between theory and practice (Zeichner, 2012). From this perspective, a sharp disconnect is presumed to exist between what candidates learn in university programs and what they need to know and do on the job. The contested assertion here is that this disconnect produces teachers who flounder in the early years because they are unprepared to manage classrooms, provide effective instruction, and work productively in today's schools (Gastic, 2014; Hess & McShane, 2014). Along these lines, critics within and outside teacher education have charged that university programs overly emphasize theory, values, and beliefs at the expense of teaching practice (Ball & Forzani, 2009; Gastic, 2014), thus leaving new teachers on their own to translate university-produced theory into classroom-ready practice. When the problem of teacher education is constructed this way, the presumed solution is more emphasis on clinical experience and on the practice of teaching (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education [NCATE], 2010).

Multiple efforts have been made to solve the so-called theory–practice problem, but it is very important to point out that these efforts are based on widely diverging meanings of *practice* and *practice-based teacher education* that reflect differing views about teaching, professional learning, teaching as a profession, and teaching effectiveness (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Forzani, 2014; Murray, 2016; Zeichner, 2012). These variations are reflected in many, quite different examples of the new emphasis on practice: requirements that teacher candidates pass a uniform performance assessment (e.g., Pecheone & Chung, 2006), residency models of teacher preparation (e.g., Torrez & Krebs, 2020), programs that emphasize "high-leverage" or "core" classroom practices (e.g., Ball & Forzani, 2009), new university program relationships with communities (e.g., Kretchmar & Zeichner, 2016), and teacher preparation at nGSEs, which is the focus of this article.

Teacher Preparation at nGSEs and the Problem of Teacher Education

The three preceding policy discourses construct the "problem of teacher education" in different ways, but they share two ideas, both of which are highly contested. Each discourse assumes the failure or general mediocrity of traditional university teacher preparation, and each assumes that this failure is a major cause of low teacher quality (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Fraser & Lefty, 2018). Interestingly, the three constructions of teacher education as a policy problem reach these conclusions based on different notions of effectiveness, different ideas about the purposes of schooling, and different lines of reasoning; thus, not surprisingly, they call for different solutions to the problem. The phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs, which has emerged within the increasingly crowded field of teacher education (Lincove, Osborne, Mills, & Bellows, 2015), is situated within the context of these three intersecting policy discourses about the "problem of teacher education."

Teacher Preparation at nGSEs: Defining the Domain

As noted, a major goal of Phase 1 of our larger study was to define and clarify the characteristics of the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs and then identify the institutional domain. The *domain* includes all the currently existing instances of teacher preparation at nGSEs in the United States.

Characteristics of nGSEs

Our interest in teacher preparation at nGSEs began when the Match Teacher Residency program, a project of the Match Charter Management Organization in Boston in our home state of Massachusetts, evolved into the Sposato Graduate School of Education (GSE), which was approved by the state as an institution of higher education to prepare teachers. The evolution of Sposato GSE and other similar new institutions, such as Relay GSE, which were emerging at almost the same time, led to our interest in exploring the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. In particular, we were interested in considering what it would mean for the larger field of teacher education to move teacher preparation away from the resources and knowledge sources of universities and relocate it within the context of charter schools or other nonuniversity entities. An important caveat here is that nGSEs and teacher residency programs are not equivalent. Teacher residencies are a model of teacher education usually defined as district-serving programs that pair a year of classroom apprenticeship with university course content (National Center for Teacher Residencies, 2020); however, the vast majority of teacher residency programs are university initiated and/or university sponsored (Torrez & Krebs, 2020). Although, as we indicate later, some nGSEs in the United States use a model of preparation, which they describe as a "residency," these do not involve university coursework, and they are not university initiated or sponsored.

Between 2015 and 2017, we formalized our interest in studying teacher preparation at nGSEs and secured Spencer Foundation funding to do so. During this time, we engaged in an iterative process to define the characteristics and identify instances of the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. We began with instances we knew of, such as Sposato and Relay, and a working definition of teacher preparation at nGSEs: new providers of teacher preparation that are approved as higher education institutions by their states to grant master's degrees and endorse new teachers but are not university based.

To hone our working definition, we researched new entities entering the organizational field of teacher education as professional graduate schools by conducting digital searches, using both ERIC and Internet search engines. Search terms included "new" coupled with "graduate school of education," "school of education," and "teacher preparation" as well as "innovative teacher education" and the names of known institutions. As our work expanded, we also received word-of-mouth referrals about organizations that might be part of the phenomenon. For each organization that seemed to fit our category of interest, we reviewed all publicly available documents, including the organization's website, journalistic accounts, press releases, accreditation documentation, and, using ERIC to search, academic research and/or other information about the organization.

For any organization that appeared to fit with our characterization of the emerging phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs, we arranged interviews with at least one senior leader at the organization. These informal interviews (n = 22) included background information about the study and then focused on the nGSE's program history, offerings, state approval, and status in terms of institutional and programmatic accreditation. The purpose of these initial interviews was twofold: They allowed us to determine whether and how each institution fit our list of emerging criteria for teacher preparation at nGSEs, and they also provided information that helped clarify or adjust the criteria for accuracy and capture important nuances.

On the basis of this iterative process, we established the characteristics of the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. These are presented in Figure 1 and elaborated in the following pages.

As Figure 1 indicates, teacher preparation at nGSEs is a "new" phenomenon in that it emerged in the early 2000s. This means nGSEs emerged within the context of a loose collection of education reforms, initiatives, and policies with the goal of improving teacher quality and increasing the number of teachers in shortage areas, given the widespread consensus that teachers had a major impact on both overall school success and national prosperity (Lewis & Young, 2013; Mehta, 2013).

By our definition, nGSEs are approved by their state departments of education

Figure I Characteristics of Teacher Preparation at New Graduate Schools of Education

- Established since 2000
- State authorized as master's degree-granting institutions of higher education
- Not university based
- Independent stand-alone institutions or part of larger nonuniversity entities
- Offer teacher preparation designed for teacher candidates at the initial level
- Use the academic nomenclature of universities (e.g., graduate school of education, graduate school, teachers college, dean, academy)
- May be institutionally accredited/seeking accreditation by a regional accreditor (e.g., MSCHE, NECHE, WASC) or a national accreditor (e.g., ACCSC)
- May be programmatically accredited by an accreditor in the specialized professional area of teacher education (e.g., CAEP/NCATE)

or specialized state credentialing agencies (sometimes in more than one state) as institutions of higher education. Importantly, however, nGSEs are not university based. Rather, either nGSEs are stand-alone educational institutions or they are part of, or have emerged from, larger nonuniversity educational institutions, including but not limited to charter management organizations. Although a few nGSEs are engaged in collaborations or special projects with universities, these relationships do not involve the granting of degrees. Rather, nGSEs grant their own degrees. Despite the fact that nGSEs deliberately break with the institutional structure and history of universities, many use university nomenclature, such as *graduate school of education, graduate school, teachers college, dean*, and *academy*.

One important feature of teacher preparation at nGSEs is the operating assumption that teaching is a learned activity that builds on, but goes beyond, individuals' subject matter knowledge, motivation, and/or aptitude. Consistent with this assumption, although they vary considerably in format and approach, all nGSEs offer teacher preparation that is intended for candidates at the initial level.

The final characteristic of teacher preparation at nGSEs has to do with accreditation, which is the major way higher education institutions in the United States establish and maintain credibility. The primary process for institutional accreditation in the United States is the century-old regional accreditation procedure by which university higher education organizations demonstrate high standards, establish procedures for the transfer of credits and degrees across institutions, and ensure that students are eligible for federal funds. Seven regional accreditors in the United States are members of the Council of Regional Accrediting Commissions (e.g., Middle States Commission on Higher Education, New England Commission on Higher Education, Western Association of Schools and Colleges). In addition, the New York State Board of Regents is nationally recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an institutional accreditation agency in New York, and the Distance Education Accrediting Commission (DEAC) accredits institutions with more than 50% of their offerings online (U.S. Department of Education, 2019).

As Figure 1 indicates, some nGSEs have earned institutional accreditation from a prestigious regional accreditor or from the New York State Board of Regents or DEAC. In contrast to the regional accreditor system, however, some new higher education institutions in the United States, including one nGSE, seek institutional accreditation from new national accreditors (e.g., the Accrediting Commission of Career Schools and Colleges), which do not have the same status as the regional accreditors (U.S. Department of Education, 2019). Finally, in addition to institutional accreditation, specialized professional areas within higher education institutions in the United States may be granted national programmatic accreditation. The relevant national programmatic accreditors in teacher education in the case of nGSEs are the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) and its forerunner, no longer in existence, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). As Figure 1 indicates, some nGSEs have programmatic accreditation from CAEP or NCATE.

The Institutional Domain of Teacher Preparation at nGSEs

Using the iterative process described previously, between 2015 and 2017, we identified seven nGSEs that met the criteria for teacher preparation at nGSEs, as listed in Figure 1. Once we confirmed an institution as an example of teacher preparation at an nGSE, we continuously tracked the organization through its website and the media to follow changes and new developments. This helped us capture and document subtle shifts in language and programming that speak to trends in and across sites.

In addition, in late 2018, we learned of a new nGSE that will begin preparing teacher candidates in fall 2021.² We are examining this institution using the same procedures as described earlier. Finally, to determine that we had located all instances of teacher preparation at nGSEs, between January and April 2019, we conducted a 50-state search (plus the District of Columbia) of the websites of state departments of education. From these state lists, we identified all possible nGSEs using the search terms "graduate school of education,""college,""institute,""academy,""residency," and "internship." For any possible nGSE not already on our list, we reviewed the program's website and other materials to determine whether it met our criteria for teacher preparation at nGSEs. This analysis yielded three additional nGSEs. We interviewed leaders at these institutions, as described, eventually determining that each met our criteria. This yielded a total of 10 current nGSEs (not including the nGSE that will open in 2021) that currently offer teacher preparation.

Each of the 10 institutions is described in brief narrative form in this article. Additionally, basic information about each institution is included in tabular form in Figure 2. These two sources of information should be read in concert to get a fuller sense of each nGSE. Readers should note that Figure 2 includes a listing of the teaching degrees offered by each nGSE; however, a number of nGSEs also offer additional master's or other degrees, which we have not included. In the column of Figure 2 labeled "Model of Teacher Preparation," we list the general program model(s) each nGSE uses. Here we use the term *internship* to refer to teacher preparation programs in which teacher candidates become the teacher of record at the beginning of the program and take courses concurrently with classroom teaching, but during time periods outside of the school day. *Residency* and *apprenticeship* are terms that refer to programs in which teacher candidates work alongside experienced teachers over time, usually a year or more, during most of the school week (e.g., 4 or more days per week), but the teacher candidates are not the teachers of record. During the residency or apprenticeship period, they take courses concurrently with classroom experience in the evenings or during 1 day a week. It is important to note that terms like *internship*, *apprenticeship*, and *residency* are not used consistently

Name	Teacher preparation model	Degree granted	State approval/ accreditation	Costs
Sposato Graduate School of Education, Boston, MA	Residency	Master's of Effective Teaching (MET)	State Approval: Massachusetts Institutional Accreditation: Accrediting Commission of Career Schools and Colleges (pursuing) National Programmatic Accreditation: None	Program Cost: \$24,000 Financial Aid: \$4,000 institutional scholarship \$8,000 placement fee per teacher paid by hiring schools Student Tuition: \$18,000
High Tech High (HTH) and High Tech High Graduate School of Education (HTHGSE), San Diego, CA	Internship (HTH) Residency (Apprenticeship HTHGSE)	MEd (Residency)	State Approval: California Institutional Accreditation: Western Association for Schools and Colleges (WASC) National Programmatic Accreditation: None	Program Cost: Internship: \$7,000 Teacher Apprenticeship: \$20,000 Financial Aid: Apprenticeship: Institutional fellowships available Student Tuition: Internship: \$7,000 Apprenticeship: \$20,000
TEACH-NOW Graduate School of Education, Washington, DC (headquarters)	Online activity-based modules delivered in collaborative cohorts leading to either certification only or to master's degree with certification	MEd	State Approval: Washington, DC Arizona Institutional Accreditation: Distance Education Accreditation Commission National Programmatic Accreditation: CAEP	Program Cost: Certification: \$6,000 Master's degree with certification: \$13,000 Financial Aid: Federal financial aid available to active-duty military, veterans, and military/veteran spouses only Student Tuition: Certification: \$6,000 Master's degree: \$13,000

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Name	Teacher preparation model	Degree granted	State approval/ accreditation	Costs
American Museum of Natural	Residency	MAT in Earth Science	State Approval: New York	Program Cost: \$44,750
History Richard Gilder Graduate School, New York, NY			Institutional Accreditation: New York State Board of Regents	Financial Aid: \$44,750 fellowship \$30,000 stipend
			National Programmatic Accreditation: CAEP	Student Tuition: \$0
Alder Graduate School of Education, Partner campuses in Bay Area, Central Valley, Los Angeles, C.	Residency	MAT	State Approval: California (pending, 2020)	Program Cost: \$47,600
	A		Institutional Accreditation: Western Association for Schools and Colleges (WASC)	Financial Aid: CA: \$30,000 tuition discount \$10,000-\$20,000 stipend Student Tuition: CA: \$19,000
			National Programmatic Accreditation: None	
Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, Cambridge, MA	Competency- based	MEd	State Approval: Massachusetts	Program Cost: \$27,000
	Δ		Institutional Accreditation: New England Commission of Higher Education (NECHE) (pursuing)	Financial Aid: Institutional aid Student Tuition: \$27,000
			National Programmatic Accreditation: None	

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Figure 2 (continued)

Name	Teacher preparation model	Degree granted	State approval/ accreditation	Costs
Relay Graduate School of Education, 19 urban campuses	Residency Certification only Master's degree leading to certification (models vary by state)	MAT	State Approval: 12 states Institutional Accreditation: Middle States Commission on Higher Education National Programmatic Accreditation: NCATE	Program Cost: Varies by location Certification: \$18,000-\$35,000 Master's degree with certification: \$35,000 Financial Aid: Institutional aid AmeriCorps funding Student Tuition: Varies by location Certification: \$5,200-\$18,000 Residency: \$6,500-\$7,000 Master's degree with certification: \$18,000
Upper Valley Educators Institute/ Upper Valley Graduate School of Education Lebanon, NH	Residency	MAT and MEd	State Approval: New Hampshire Institutional Accreditation: UVEI: Accrediting Council for Continuing Education and Training (ACCET) NECHE (pursuing) National Programmatic Accreditation: None	Program Cost: Certification: \$16,680 Certification and MAT/ MEd: \$23,280 Financial Aid: Certification: Federal aid and scholarships MAT/MEd: None Student Tuition: Certification: \$16.680 Certification and MAT/MEd: \$23,280

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Figure 2 (continued)

Name	Teacher preparation model	Degree granted	State approval/ accreditation	Costs
Teachers College of	Internship Residency (2019)	MEd	State Approval: California	Program Cost: Degree: \$9200 - \$17,930
San Joaquin, Stockton, CA	(2019)		Institutional Accreditation: WASC	Financial Aid: Residents placed in districts that offer stipends
			National Programmatic Accreditation: None	(\$5,000-\$9,500) for residency year and, in some cases, tuition discounts
				Student Tuition: varies Certification: \$9,680–11,390 Degree: \$9200–17,930
Reach Institute for School Leadership, Oakland, CA	Internship	MEd in Teaching	State Approval: California Institutional	Program Cost: Certification: \$16,600 Master's degree in teaching: \$8,100
			Accreditation: WASC	Financial Aid: None;
			National Programmatic	application pending
			Accreditation: None	Student Tuition: Certification: \$16,600 Master's degree in teaching: \$8,100

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Figure 2 (continued)

across programs or states, which means that it is necessary to review individual program arrangements to confirm the models used.

The Match Education Reform Organization, a charter management organization in Boston that serves preK–12 students at multiple campuses across the city, founded the Match Teacher Residency program in 2008. Building on this successful teacher preparation program, the Sposato GSE, named after the first Match School principal, was officially established in 2012. The mission of Sposato is to prepare "unusually effective novice teachers" (Sposato Graduate School of Education, 2019a) for "high-performing, high poverty" urban charter and "turnaround schools" (Sposato Graduate School of Education, 2019b). Sposato teacher candidates engage in an intensive yearlong training program, which is "hyper-prescriptive and detailed regarding the nuances of great teaching" (Sposato Graduate School of Education, 2015, para. 5). Sposato enrolled its eighth cohort of teacher candidates in 2019.

Based in San Diego, the High Tech High Charter Management Organization established the High Tech High (HTH) GSE in 2006. The High Tech High Charter Management Organization offers two teacher preparation programs embedded within its network of project-based charter schools: a district internship program at HTH, which began credentialing teachers in 2004, and an apprenticeship program at HTH GSE, which began in 2018. Teacher education at HTH/HTH GSE is equity focused and characterized by a constructivist philosophy that parallels its approach to K–12 student learning. The aim is to develop an "innovative and disruptive context for candidates to reimagine what is possible for K–12 education" (High Tech High, 2019, para. 2).

TEACH-NOW was established as an online for-profit teacher education provider in 2011 and began endorsing teachers for certification in 2013. TEACH-NOW GSE, which was established in 2015, offers streamlined and cost-effective preparation to prospective teachers in more than 130 countries around the world. The goal is to "equip, enable, and empower tomorrow's teachers for tomorrow's learners in tomorrow's world" (TEACH-NOW, 2019, para. 1), using a proprietary e-learning platform for all content. Utilizing collaborative candidate cohorts, TEACH-NOW offers a 9-month certification-only program comprising eight activity-based modules informed by the standards of the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium as well as a 12-month certification plus master's degree program comprising 12 modules. Master's degree candidates choose from six specializations, including early childhood education, special education, and teaching multilingual learners. Since its founding, TEACH-NOW has trained more than 4,000 teachers.

The Richard Gilder Graduate School (RGGS) at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), which was established in 2006 to prepare PhDs in comparative biology, began credentialing teachers in earth science for Grades 7–12 in 2012. The MAT program, which was authorized in 2015 as part of RGGS at the AMNH, works through partnerships with "high-needs" public schools (American Museum of Natural History, n.d., para. 1) in New York City and Yonkers. The MAT

residency program combines "intensive mentoring and extensive use of technology to provide degree candidates with a deep understanding of scientific content and of the importance of an inquiry-based approach to learning" (American Museum of Natural History, n.d., para. 2). Program graduates commit to teaching for 4 years in "high-needs public schools with diverse populations" (American Museum of Natural History, n.d., para. 1).

The Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning was launched in 2018 to credential new teachers and grant master's degrees; it was renamed the Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Teaching and Learning in 2019. Woodrow Wilson began as an outgrowth of a partnership between the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The aim was to "reinvent teacher education for the 21st century" (Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning, 2018, para. 1). Offering preparation in secondary biology, chemistry, and mathematics and utilizing both online and face-to-face learning environments, the institution follows a competency-based model wherein candidates progress through a "problem-based, individualized, adaptive curriculum by mastery of core competencies" (Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning, 2018, para. 2). The Woodrow Wilson Graduate School aspires to be a model for schools of education in the United States by offering open-source access to its work.

Relay was founded by the leaders of the charter management organizations behind the charter school networks known as *Uncommon Schools*, the *Knowledge Is Power Program*, and *Achievement First*. Relay was piloted as "Teacher U" in partnership with Hunter College from 2007 to 2011. Relay GSE was established in 2011. Although Relay GSE began in New York, it has expanded to 19 campuses in urban and traditionally underserved communities across the country. Envisioning itself as "the place where a new generation of continuously-improving, mission-driven individuals can fulfill their destiny in the world's greatest profession" (Relay, 2018b, para. 1), the institution's cornerstone preparation program is the Relay Teaching Residency, which is centered on coaching, practice, and "a curriculum built to match classroom experiences" (Relay, 2018a, para 2). Relay requires candidates to demonstrate satisfactory-level preK–12 student growth to graduate (Relay, 2019).

The San Joaquin County Office of Education in Stockton, California, began credentialing teachers in 1998. Building on this program, the Teachers College of San Joaquin (TCSJ) was established as a GSE in 2009. TCSJ initially offered a district internship in which candidates simultaneously pursued a master's degree while serving as teachers of record. In 2019, TCSJ initiated a new clinically intense, 1-year teacher residency program to "provide an opportunity for aspiring teachers to earn their preliminary credential in one year working alongside a master teacher" ("Residency at TCSJ," n.d.). Upon completion, residents receive priority consideration for employment in partner districts.

The Aspire Charter Management Organization began credentialing teachers in 2010. Aspire University, established in 2015, was renamed the Alder GSE in 2017.

Alder GSE works with K–12 partner schools in historically underserved regions in California's Bay Area, Central Valley, and Los Angeles. With the aim of "expand[ing] and diversify[ing] the teaching population" (Alder Graduate School of Education, 2018a, para. 2), in the Alder GSE program, teacher candidates work 4 days a week with "expert mentor educators" (Alder Graduate School of Education, 2018a, para. 3) at the schools where they will eventually teach. Candidates participate in face-to-face coursework (70%) and online coursework (30%) and a weekly daylong seminar to "bridge educational theory and research with the direct experience taking place in the classroom" (Alder Graduate School of Education, 2018b, para. 3).

The Upper Valley Educators Institute and the Upper Valley GSE (UVEI/ UVGSE) in Lebanon, New Hampshire, are two organizations with the same faculty, philosophy, and physical space. The New Hampshire Higher Education Commission considers the two as one unit for review purposes, as we do for the purposes of this study. The Upper Valley Educators Institute began credentialing teachers in 1974 through a 1-year residency-based program, referred to as an internship. The Upper Valley GSE was established in 2010 to offer master's programs in teaching and school leadership. UVEI/UVGSE "prepares, inspires, and supports teachers and school leaders... [by] engaging reflective educators in developing their knowledge, understanding, and clinical practice for the benefit of their students and colleagues" (Upper Valley Graduate School of Education, 2019).

The Reach Institute for School Leadership was founded in Oakland, California, in 2008 to support teachers "committed to creating and sustaining effective urban schools" in pursuit of "a more equitable world" (Reach Institute, n.d.-a). Reach offers a 2-year job-embedded intern credential program, induction for teachers seeking a clear teaching credential, two inquiry-based master's degrees, and preliminary and clear credentialing for school administrators. With initial funding from the Dean Witter Foundation, Reach aims to "reinvent teacher education" with a program designed by Bay Area teachers (Reach Institute, n.d.-b). Reach also offers two master's degrees for experienced teachers and teacher leaders to "become a regional force for high quality teacher development" (Reach Institute, 2009).

These short descriptions of teacher preparation at nGSEs, along with the material in Figure 2, suggest that although they all share the characteristics of the institutional domain of teacher preparation at nGSEs as we have defined it, there is considerable variation across nGSEs. In fact, our search of state department of education websites confirmed that teacher preparation is a varied, dynamic, and complex organizational field with many new providers and many novel, hybrid, and rapidly shifting organizational and digital formats. On the basis of the results of our state search, we also identified some alternate route organizations that offer teacher preparation in new and hybrid forms (but that are *not* nGSEs) as well as some institutions that have some of the characteristics of nGSEs and appear to be developing new programs. We anticipate that more nGSEs will offer teacher preparation in the future.

Given the variation we have already documented, in the next section of this article, we present an analytic framework for unpacking the new phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. We are using the framework to scaffold our case studies of teacher preparation at nGSEs as well as our cross-case analysis of teacher education at nGSEs, tasks that constitute Phases 2 and 3 of the larger study.

Unpacking the Phenomenon of Teacher Preparation at nGSEs: A Framework

As noted, the major purpose of our larger study is understanding the emerging phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. A central part of this is unpacking and examining how teacher preparation is conceptualized and enacted at nGSEs, including how the central tasks of teacher preparation—recruitment, selection, preparation, assessment, and certification—are taken up. However, our early findings suggested that this approach would yield only a partial picture of the phenomenon in which we are interested, given that nGSEs lay claim to institutional territory and professional legitimacy that have been the purview of professional schools at universities for many years. Thus our study is designed also to analyze nGSEs as institutions. We are particularly interested in how institutional contexts and institutional environments shape and are shaped by decisions and actions about teacher preparation program structures and activities. Our larger study aims to develop critical, complex, and situated analyses of teacher preparation at nGSEs *and* of the implications and consequences for teacher education as an organizational field.

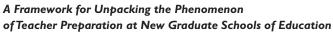
Herein we describe an analytic framework for unpacking the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs. The framework, represented in Figure 3, was derived from multiple sources—early findings from our case studies of teacher education at four nGSEs; key concepts and ideas from our theoretical frameworks; and the questions, interests, and concerns expressed by colleagues and others who heard early presentations about our work. The framework is a heuristic to facilitate sense making and interpretation—rather than evaluation—of teacher preparation within and across nGSEs by capturing four central dimensions: (a) mission, (b) institutional contexts and environments, (c) conceptualization and enactment of the project of learning to teach, and (d) funding. As the outer frame of Figure 3 suggests, underlying each dimension are values, beliefs, and assumptions that reflect the nuances of meaning related to each dimension.

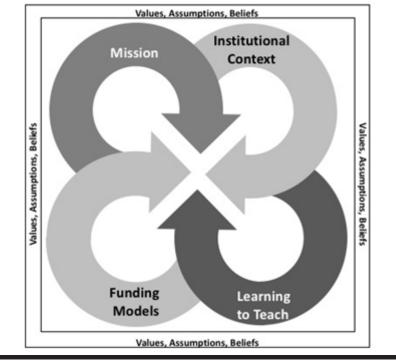
Dimension I: Mission

Nearly all teacher preparation programs want to produce "excellent" teachers. However, there are many ideas about what *excellence* means and for whom, and there are differing assumptions and values about the roles of teachers, schools, and teacher educators in school and social change. Different missions involve different priorities among competing goals, and there are sometimes discrepancies between what is stated as a mission and what is enacted in practice. Aware of these considerations, we use *mission* as an umbrella term that encompasses the ideas, goals, and values that animate and motivate the day-to-day work of teacher preparation at nGSEs as well as more far-reaching aspirations and visions related to teaching and learning and to broader issues, such as equity and access. It is important to note that this framework does *not* stipulate what a program's mission *should be*, nor does it advocate for a particular set of animating values, such as "equity" or "justice." Rather, the point of the framework is to provide an open conceptual space for unpacking the range and variation of the stated and enacted missions of particular programs from the perspectives of participants. The framework will help expose which values and ideals any individual nGSE privileges as well as which they may downplay or omit.

An important part of the mission dimension is the history of teacher prepara-

Figure 3





tion at nGSEs. This includes what the leaders of nGSEs perceived to be the need for a new kind of teacher preparation institution that granted master's degrees but operated outside of universities—in short, what leaders perceived as the problems of the educational "status quo" and, more particularly, of the teacher education status quo as well as how they believed a new institutional arrangement would solve those problems. This is reflected in how nGSEs position themselves within the policy and practice discourse related to teacher education and how they compare or juxtapose their programs to others.

Finally, the mission dimension also includes what institutional theorists refer to as "institutional logics," which are bigger than particular institutional goals and influenced by external institutional environments (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Logics have to do with broad-level "socially constructed institutional practices and rule structures" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) that give meaning to institutional reality within institutional environments. In short, these are the broad institutional practices and structures that make teacher preparation at nGSEs make sense to their leaders and participants.

Dimension 2: Institutional Contexts

The second dimension of our analytic framework is *institutional contexts and environments*, which has to do with the structures of nGSEs, the infrastructures that support them, and their institutional processes and rationales for decision-making. This dimension also includes the relationships of preparation programs to the larger institutional entities of which they are part as well as the external public and private agencies (Meyer & Rowan, 2006) that govern, evaluate, regulate, and/or accredit them. How nGSEs navigate the complex array of institutional and programmatic accreditation options is related to their efforts to establish jurisdiction and legitimacy in teacher education, which have symbolic as well as material implications, such as student eligibility for grants. The dimension of institutional context also includes what we term the *spaces and places* of teacher preparation at nGSEs and how these influence learning environments. Spaces and places include the facilities in which teacher preparation programs are physically embedded, such as a set of K–12 schools or a museum, but also include online learning spaces that exist only through technology.

As new providers of teacher preparation and as a new genre of higher education institution, nGSEs involve many actors—from founders, leaders, instructors, school mentors, and teacher candidates themselves to those who are considered by nGSE leaders to be experts, consultants, partners, and supporters. The dimension of institutional contexts accounts for the characteristics of nGSE participants, including the credentials and experiences of program leaders and faculty and whether they are traditional or new actors on the teacher preparation stage who have entered through traditional or nontraditional channels (e.g., from the business world, technology, or private philanthropy). Finally, the dimension of institutional context also includes the formal and informal organizations and associations nGSE leaders consider to be their allies or affiliate groups according to mission, intellectual tradition, and values and beliefs.

Dimension 3: Learning to Teach

The third dimension of the framework, *learning to teach*, refers to how nGSEs conceptualize what it means to learn to teach as well as how they enact those ideas in courses, learning modules, activities, clinical and field experiences, assessments, and other contexts through which teacher candidates are expected to learn. Essentially, the "learning to teach" dimension gets at the theory of action underlying teacher preparation, which involves operating ideas about what "good teaching" looks like; what counts as evidence that teacher candidates are making "progress"; how, when, and where teacher candidates' knowledge and performance are assessed; and how nGSE teacher preparation programs define and measure their effectiveness.

Of central importance to this dimension are the assumptions nGSEs make about the knowledge teachers need to teach well, the primary sources of that knowledge, the nature of teaching practice, and relationships between knowledge and practice (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). For example, some programs assume that the knowledge teachers need is embedded in practice itself, specifically in the actions of "highly effective" teachers, while others emphasize the application of knowledge and theory generated by external researchers. This dimension of the framework captures variations in assumptions about knowledge and about what "practice" means, from more technical to more complex views (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999) and more decontextualized to more contextualized views (Philip et al., 2018).

Another important aspect of the "learning to teach" dimension is the array of pedagogies teacher educators use. In addition to the pedagogies teacher educators model, this includes the assignments they construct, the reading and writing they require, and the ways they sequence activities to support teacher candidates' learning. This also includes how candidates' clinical work is arranged and how teacher educators collaborate with school-based educators to socialize candidates into teaching and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

Dimension 4: Funding

Although funding models are in a sense a subset of "institutional contexts," we treat funding as a separate dimension here because it appears to be central to nGSEs and because it is among the more controversial aspects of teacher education at nGSEs, along with issues related to privatization, the role of venture philan-thropy in teacher education, and funding from organizations or individuals with vested interests in the outcomes. The *funding* dimension of the framework has to do with how nGSEs operate financially, how various funding sources factor into

their financial operations, and what the relationships are between funding models, sources of funds, and decisions/actions related to all aspects of teacher education. In short, the funding dimension gets at who pays for teacher preparation programs at nGSEs and why that matters, which has to do with the changing influence of philanthropy (e.g., Zeichner & Pená-Sandoval, 2015), new approaches to social and educational entrepreneurship (e.g., Hollar, 2017), and the corporatization (e.g., Baltodano, 2012) of teacher education. The funding dimension includes attention to tuition and program costs—tuition fees, stipends, scholarships, and out-of-pocket costs paid by candidates. This dimension also includes nGSEs' business models related to growth, sustainability, and revenue production, including whether and how nGSEs operate as nonprofit (or for-profit) entities and/or whether and how they employ entrepreneurial efforts to disseminate their mission and work.

Finally, the funding dimension includes the external funding sources involved in the operation of teacher preparation at nGSEs, including the outside organizations and individuals that supply grants, aid, and in-kind donations to teacher preparation programs and nGSEs. These sources sometimes include a network of family and private foundations or other entrepreneurial and venture philanthropy entities with very specific agendas as well as state and federal sources of aid. It is important to note that the involvement of both government resources and private funders is not new in teacher education (Zeichner & Pená-Sandoval, 2015). However, this dimension of the framework calls attention to these issues and allows for consideration of whether and how the philanthropic community is increasing its role in nGSEs at the same time it is turning away from investing in university-based preparation.

Teacher Preparation at nGSEs: Controversies and Implications

Teacher education is a major enterprise in the United States, with some 200,000 new teachers prepared every year in more than 2,000 teacher preparation programs (King, 2018). However, over the last decades, there has been marked lack of consensus about the value of teacher education, and market-based responses to the perceived pressures of the global economy have been dominant (Ambrosio, 2013; Scott, 2016). These and other forces have produced a crowded, rapidly changing, and fragmented teacher education field with multiple reforms. The field includes a remarkably varied array of teacher preparation providers (Lincove et al., 2015), which are large and small, public and private, nonprofit and for-profit, brick-and-mortar and online, and old and new.

At roughly the same time that the field has expanded, there has been a marked drop in enrollment in many university teacher education programs across the country and a concurrent increase in enrollment in teacher education not based in higher education institutions (Partelow, 2019). Given this, it is not surprising that the phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs is perceived by many as a challenge to

the existing organizational field of teacher education. Along these lines, however, it is also important to note that in the relatively recent history of teacher preparation, new approaches, such as alternate route programs and pathways, have tended to be regarded as threats to university-sponsored preparation and have initially been critiqued—and rejected by many university teacher educators—as if they could be evaluated in comparison to university programs in some large, general sense. Although this kind of logic was initially applied to the emergence of alternate routes, it was later shown not to be appropriate (Humphrey & Wechsler, 2007). In fact, over time, multiple studies and reports (Committee on the Study of Teacher Preparation Programs in the United States, 2010; Feuer, Floden, Chudowsky, & Ahn, 2013) revealed that there was great inconsistency across studies and states in what was considered "alternate" and that there was wide variation in the programming, policies, and practices of both university-based/sponsored teacher education, on one hand, and non-university-based/sponsored alternate approaches to teacher education, on the other. In short, as it was demonstrated repeatedly in empirical studies and argued in policy reports, there was often as much variation within "new" approaches as there was between "new" and "traditional" approaches, accompanied by inconsistencies in terminology that made valid comparisons nearly impossible.

As we noted earlier, nGSEs are highly controversial, with both advocates and opponents expressing strong viewpoints in print-based forms and in the social discourses collectively constructed at conferences and other professional settings or on social media. In print, advocates have described and praised some nGSEs for their focus on practice (Caillier & Riordan, 2009; Newman, 2009) and accountability (Gastic, 2014; Kronholz, 2012). Furthermore, advocates have claimed that teacher education at some nGSEs represents a constructive disruption of business as usual in teacher education (Caperton & Whitmire, 2012) that creates beginning teachers who teach as well as, or better than, veterans (Schorr, 2013). In contrast, critiques of some nGSEs point to lack of a theory base (Stitzlein & West, 2014), rigid expectations for teaching and students (Smith, 2015), unsubstantiated claims about quality and effectiveness (Zeichner, 2016), and a narrow focus on technical and decontextualized practices that relegates issues of justice and equity to the periphery (Philip et al., 2018).

These markedly different viewpoints about teacher education at nGSEs underscore the need for studies of nGSEs based on access to participants, materials, and programming, which until now has been largely unavailable to independent researchers. Even though we, as authors of this article, are university teacher education researchers and practitioners—some of us long established—our intention with the larger study is to be as evenhanded as possible in examining how teacher preparation is conceptualized and enacted at nGSEs, how nGSEs operate institutionally, and what the implications are for teacher education and professional education more broadly. Our goal is to develop theoretically and empirically grounded knowledge about the aims, practices, and policies of teacher preparation at nGSEs and about the experiences and backgrounds of participants. We also aim to analyze the implications of nGSEs' epistemological and institutional break from universities for the larger field of teacher education and for the long-standing professionalization agenda for the reform of teacher preparation.

With these purposes, the larger study has the potential to contribute to the field by unpacking and analyzing a complicated, controversial, and situationally varied innovation. Until we have analyzed, unpacked, and deconstructed teacher education within and across multiple nGSEs based on an array of data sources and full access to materials, participants, and program courses and structures, either dismissing or embracing teacher education at nGSEs is a far too simplified response to a complex emerging phenomenon.

Even though it is premature to describe fully the implications of nGSEs, it is clear that this new phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs has the potential to have far-reaching implications for the field and that it raises many questions about accountability, effectiveness, and sustainability. Potential implications include how nGSEs define and track their own effectiveness, how they assess teacher candidates' impact and their progress at learning to teach, and what happens to their graduates when they work in the specific contexts for which they were prepared or in other contexts for which they were not specifically prepared. A central question of our larger study is how learning to teach is conceptualized and enacted at nGSEs, especially given their intentional break from the knowledge sources and traditions of universities. Given that teacher preparation at nGSEs has had a disproportionate share of private and public funding, the development of new funding models may also have implications for the future of teacher education as a public/private enterprise.

In addition, some nGSEs explicitly aim to remake teacher education by altering its underlying institutional logic. Along these lines, it remains to be seen whether and how teacher preparation programs at nGSEs conceptualize and enact justice and equity goals as well as whether and how they construct the role of prospective teachers as agents for social change. These issues have the potential to impact the larger field in important ways. The analytic framework we offer here provides the conceptual space for examination of many of the complex and thorny issues related to nGSEs as a new phenomenon as well as the major policy discourses that have constructed teacher education as a policy problem. In addition, by providing an evenhanded empirical analysis of teacher preparation at nGSEs, the results of the study can serve as a baseline for future critique, point to new lines of needed research, and explore whether and how teacher preparation policies and practices at nGSEs both diverge from and converge with traditional and other approaches.

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Notes

¹ Phases 2 and 3 of the larger study are not the focus of this article. Nonetheless, we provide brief information here as background. Phase 2 of the study examines how teacher preparation is conceptualized and enacted from the perspectives of participants and founders within four nGSE case study sites, selected from the larger institutional domain of nGSEs, which is defined in this article. Phase 3 explores teacher preparation across multiple nGSEs through cross-case analysis. Two theoretical frameworks inform the larger study: institutional theory (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 2006; Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) and theories of knowledge, practice, and teacher learning within communities (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Data sources for Phases 2 and 3 include interviews with participants, observations of major teacher learning and assessment contexts, public and proprietary program materials, and institutional data. Data analysis for Phases 2 and 3, which will be organized according to the dimensions discussed in the analytic framework in the final section of this article, relies on consensual qualitative data coding (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). Phases 2 and 3 of the study will be reported in a planned series of articles, which will elaborate the research design, theoretical frameworks, procedures for data sources and analyses, and findings.

² The Rhode Island School for Progressive Education, which will offer preprofessional preparation and is approved by the state of Rhode Island as an institution of higher education offering master's degrees, will open its doors in 2021. Thus we do not yet include it in our list of current instances of teacher preparation at nGSEs.

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